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ABSTRACT

These 17 issues include feature articles and perspectives on the study of adult education, as well as book reviews/recensions of works related to adult education. Some articles are written in English, and some are written in French. Among the feature articles included are the following: "The Fifties: Pivotal Decade in Canadian Adult Education" (Selman); "'A Most Insistent Demand': The Pas Experiment in Community Education, 1938-1940" (Welton); "Feminist Discourse and the Research Enterprise: Implications for Adult Education Research" (Warren); "The Effectiveness of Education Interventions in the Development of Nontraditional Occupational Role Identification" (Brook); "Learning to Name Our Learning Processes" (Griffin); "Learning and Philosophy of Mind" (Selman); "1972--Year of Affirmation for Adult Education" (Selman); "Adult Education and Public Funding Policies: The 'Whiskey-Money' in Britain and Its Implications for Adult Education in Canada" (Keane); "Survey of Adult Education Research in Canada" (Garrison; Baskett); "International Studies in Graduate Programs in Adult Education in Canada" (Draper); "Factor Structure of Variables Associated with Dropout: A Confirmatory Study" (Garrison); "Women as Learners: Issues for Visual and Virtual Classrooms" (Burge); "Study of the Student Retention Effort in the New Brunswick Community College System" (Phillips); "Critical Adult Education: A Response to Contemporary Social Crisis" (Little); "Can Critical Theory Save Adult Education from Post-Modernism?" (Finger); "Preparation for Partnership: Reform of Professional Education" (Stewart); "Women's Learning: Implications for Adult Education Research and Practice" (Smith); "Theoretical and Empirical Perspectives on Marine Incidents and Their Prevention through Education" (Boshier); "Personal Change through Participation in Social Action: A Case Study of Ten Social Activists" (Scott); "Educative or Miseducative Work: A Critique of the Current Debate on Work and Education" (Hart); "Political Economy of Adult Education in Comparative Perspective: A Critique of Mainstream Adult Education Models in Canada, Mexico, and Tanzania" (Torres; Schugurensky); "Organizing with Immigrant Women: A Critique of Community Development in Adult Education" (Lee); "Teaching Activists for Social Change: Coming to Grips with Questions of Subjectivity and Domination" (Razack); "Adult Learner/Teacher Relationship and Sexual Harassment: De-meaning Traditions" (Stalker); "Tele-Distance Education in Women's Studies: Issues for Feminist Pedagogy" (Smith; Norlen); and "Educating Union Canada" (Spencer). (MN)

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The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education

la Revue canadienne pour l'étude de l'éducation des adultes

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May/mai 1987

CANADIAN JOURNAL FOR THE STUDY OF ADULT EDUCATION

Editorial Policy

The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education is published by the Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education (CASAE). The Journal is committed to the dissemination of knowledge derived from disciplined inquiry in the field of adult and continuing education. It is a refereed journal, subject to the canons of review which determine the quality of the papers to be included for publication.

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L'Association canadienne pour l'étude de l'éducation des adultes publie la Revue canadienne pour l'étude de l'éducation des adultes deux fois par année et la distribue à ses membres. Les non-membres peuvent s'abonner à la revue pour un montant de $10.00 par numéro (payable à OISE). On doit faire parvenir la correspondance relative aux abonnements à l'adresse suivante: Dr. D.H. Brundage, Department of Adult Education, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 252 Bloor Street West, Toronto, Ontario M5S 1V6.

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LA REVUE CANADIENNE POUR L'ÉTUDE DE L'ÉDUCATION DES ADULTES

Vol. I, No. 1, May/mai 1987

Table of Contents/Table des matières

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE/MESSAGE DE LA PRÉSIDENTE 1

Articles

The Fifties: Pivotal Decade in Canadian Adult Education
Gordon Selman 5

On The Meaning of Learning: Reflections with Dewey
Thelma Barer-Stein 25

Perspectives

Academic Adult Education
Alan M. Thomas 51

Les défis de l'éducation des adultes comme champ d'étude: Commentaire
Adèle Chené 59

Academic Adult Education: A Comment
Larry Orton 62

Book Reviews/Recensions

Workers' Education: An International Perspective
Philip G.H. Hopkins
Reviewed by Grant MacDonald 64

Adult Education and Socialist Pedagogy
Frank Youngman
Reviewed by Richard Taylor 67

Enhancing Adult Motivation to Learn
Raymond Wlodkowski
Reviewed by Patricia M. Clapp 69

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE/MESSAGE DE LA PRÉSIDENTE

THE CHALLENGE OF A NEW JOURNAL

Marie A. Gillen
President

Beginnings are usually important events, worthy of celebration. And the beginning of our Journal, *The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education,* is no exception. The first issue is truly a noteworthy event, laudable and worth applauding.

The years leading to this day can be characterized as a period of growing pains for the Association; a time when the members vacillated between high hopes and utter frustration. A journal was desperately needed in Canada; ideas for creating one were presented; and promises were made. Apparently, in the view of many of the members, nothing was happening. The whole issue came to a "boiling point" at the Montreal conference. I remember vividly the high emotional feelings at the annual meeting; how could I forget! That was the day I assumed the presidency of the Association.

Quickly I made a mental note of the seriousness of the situation and resolved to do something about getting a journal launched. I wasn't sure just what, but about one thing I was quite sure: the future of the Association depended to a great extent on the resolution of this dilemma.

Now, two years later, with many thanks to a host of people who helped to bring about this day, the first edition of the Journal is off the press.

My challenge, as I saw it, was to get the Journal started. The next challenge, one that involves all of us, is to keep it going. And for this to happen, we will continue to need a dedicated group of workers to assume the managing and editorial functions which Hayden Roberts, Don Brundage and Alan Thomas are doing now; we will need a membership eager to support the Journal; and most important, we will need contributors willing to share their ideas.

There is an old familiar story about two people looking out through prison bars, one seeing mud and the other stars. Over the years there have been many interpretations of the story, but it occurred to me that the homely truth of this narrative might have some relevance for our Journal, specifically for contributors.

Most of us do not like to think of prisons and mud because the words suggest that which is imperfect; however, we do like to think of stars with all their brilliance and magnificence. The prison, for me, is ourselves. As adult educators, many of us get so caught up in the daily activities of our hectic lives that our thoughts, our ideas, and our inspirations stay locked within ourselves, and we overlook the opportunity of getting these ideas down on paper, and sharing them with others. Like the prisoner who sees only mud, we have a tendency to get stuck in the mire of our ideas, our vision grows dim, sometimes fades, and the rest of the world goes by unnoticed. But a few others, like the prisoner who sees stars, are the opposite. These adult educators do not stay locked within themselves, instead they become luminaries. As thoughts, ideas, and inspirations take shape in a written form and are published, a brilliance emerges that will serve as a guide or inspiration to others. Like stars, these ideas will be joined with others; constellations of thoughts will form, and in this way the field of adult education will be enriched.

Having a brilliant idea, therefore, is only half the issue; the other half is sharing this idea with others. There is an essay by Martin Buber, the great philosopher, world-wide scholar, and adult educator, in which he writes, "Each of us is encased in an armour which we soon, out of familiarity, cease to notice. There are only moments which penetrate it and stir the soul to sensibility." It is my sincere hope that the launching of this Journal will be a special moment for all of us, stirring many of you to contribute to its pages.

The months and years stretch out before us. The horizon beckons, and today, the future for the study of adult education looks promising. Together let us try to keep it this way while remembering that one reasonable anchor for looking at the future and predicting success, is the past. In a relatively short period of time, our Association has developed and matured into a bona fide learned society. We also must remember that the future, too, is what we make out of the complexities of the here and now. So, as we celebrate the beginning of the new Journal, I extend to each of you the challenge of continuing today's success.

LE DEFI D'UNE NOUVELLE REVUE

Les lancements sont généralement des événements importants, qui méritent une célébration. Et le lancement de notre revue, la Revue canadienne pour l'étude de l'éducation des adultes, ne fait pas exception à la règle. Le premier numéro est un événement particulièrement notable, louable et digne d'applaudissements.

Les années menant à ce jour peuvent être caractérisées par une période difficile pour l'Association; une période où les membres vacillaient entre des espoirs fructueux et de la pure frustration. Au Canada, on avait désespérément besoin d'une revue; on a présenté des idées pour en créer un; et des promesses ont été faites. Apparemment, selon plusieurs membres, rien ne s'est passé. Le sujet en est venu à un "point d'ébullition" lors de la conférence tenue à Montréal. Je me souviens très clairement de sentiments très émotifs à la réunion annuelle. Comment pourrais-je les oublier! Dès lors, j'assumais la présidence de l'Association.

Rapidement, j'ai pris mentalement en note le sérieux de la situation et j'ai décidé de faire quelque chose concernant le lancement de la revue. Je n'étais pas exactement certaine de quoi, mais je peux vous assurer d'une chose en particulier: dans une large mesure, l'avenir de l'Association dépendait de la résolution de ce dilemme.

Aujourd'hui, deux années plus tard, avec plusieurs remerciements à une foule de gens qui ont aidé à l'avènement de ce jour, le premier numéro de la revue est maintenant sorti des presses.

La façon dont je perçois mon défi, c'était de partir la revue. Le défi suivant, celui qui implique chacun d'entre nous, est de continuer son parcours. Pour ce faire, nous continuerons d'avoir besoin d'un groupe de travailleurs et travailleuses dévoués pour assumer les fonctions de gestion et de rédaction, tâches qu'accomplissent actuellement Hayden Roberts, Don Brundage et Alan Thomas. Nous aurons besoin d'une adhésion de membres prêts à supporter la revue; et, ce qui est le plus important, nous aurons besoin de collaborateurs et collaboratrices prêts à communiquer leurs idées.

On connaît cette vieille histoire de deux personnes qui regardent à travers les barreaux d'une prison. Une de ces personnes regarde le sol boueux et l'autre, les étoiles. Au cours des années, cette histoire fut interprétée de différentes façons, mais il me semble que la vérité simple de ce récit peut contenir des liens pertinents pour notre revue, spécialement pour les collaborateurs et collaboratrices.

La majorité d'entre nous n'aiment pas penser aux prisons et au sol boueux, parce que ces mots suggèrent quelque chose qui n'est pas parfait. Nous aimons penser aux étoiles, caractérisées par leur brillance et leur splendeur. Pour moi, la prison est nous-mêmes. En tant qu'éducateurs d'adultes, plusieurs d'entre nous sommes tellement emprisonnés dans les activités quotidiennes de nos vies très agitées que nos pensées, nos idées et nos inspirations demeurent enfermées et nous oublions de profiter de l'occasion pour mettre ces idées sur papier et pour les partager avec d'autres. Comme le prisonnier qui ne voit que le sol boueux, nous avons tendance à être enfermés dans le cercle de nos idées; notre vision devient obscure; quelquefois elle se fane, et le reste du monde passe inaperçu. Mais quelques-uns, comme le prisonnier qui regarde les étoiles, sont tout à fait à l'opposé. Ces éducateurs d'adultes ne sont pas emprisonnés en eux-mêmes, mais ils deviennent des astres lumineux. Alors que les penseés, idées et inspirations prennent forme écrite et qu'elles sont publiées, on voit une brillance émerger qui servira de guide ou d'inspiration aux autres. Comme les étoiles, ces idées seront rejointes par d'autres; des constellations de pensées se formeront et, de cette façon, le domaine de l'éducation des adultes sera enrichi.

Par conséquent, avoir une idée brillante ne représente que la moitié du travail; l'autre moitié est le partage de cette idée avec les autres. Martin Buber, le grand philosophe, l'homme érudit reconnu par le monde entier et l'éducateur d'adultes, a écrit un essai dans lequel il déclare: "Chacun d'entre nous est enfermé dans une armure que, à cause de sa familiarité, nous cessons de remarquer. Il n'y a que quelques moments qui la pénètrent et remuent l'âme jusqu'à la sensibilité." C'est mon espoir le plus sincère que le lancement de cette revue soit un moment spécial pour chacun d'entre nous, encourageant plusieurs d'entre vous à collaborer à ses pages.

Les mois et les années se déroulent devant nous. L'horizon nous fait signe et, aujourd'hui, le futur de l'étude en l'éducation des adultes paraît très prometteur. Ensemble, essayons de continuer comme ça tout en nous rappelant qu'une des ancres raisonnables pour anticiper le futur et pour prédire le succès est le passé. Dans une période relativement courte, notre Association s'est développée et a mûri en une société de bonne foi. Nous devons aussi nous rappeler que le futur consiste en ce que nous retirons des complexités actuelles. Alors que nous célébrons le lancement d'une nouvelle revue, j'offre à chacun d'entre vous le défi de continuer le succès d'aujourd'hui.

The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education/
la Revue canadienne pour l'étude de l'éducation des adultes
May/mai, 1987, Vol. I, No. 1, Pp. 5-24

Articles

THE FIFTIES: PIVOTAL DECADE IN CANADIAN ADULT EDUCATION

Gordon Selman
University of British Columbia

Abstract

Research reveals that whereas in the United States, the late thirties and forties brought a distinct shift from social movement to professional tendencies in adult education, in Canada this was a phenomenon of the 1950s. This thesis is examined from four main perspectives: the sense of vocation or professionalism in the field, the availability of training opportunities, institutional support, and the literature of adult education. These matters are discussed from both a national and, as appropriate, a regional (largely British Columbia) point of view, and emphasis is placed on the central role played by Dr. Roby Kidd and the CAAE in these developments. The fifties can justifiably be seen as the "take-off" period in the increased professionalization and institutionalization of adult education in Canada.

Résumé

La tendance à comprendre l'éducation des adultes comme un mouvement social cédait à un point de vue qui insistait plutôt sur l'importance de la pratique professionnelle. Ce changement a eu lieu aux États Unis dans la période de 1935 à 1945, mais nous voyons maintenant que c'est pendant les années cinquante qu'il se manifestait au Canada. Nous explorons cette thèse en en considérant quatre aspects: le sentiment de professionnalisme, les possibilités de formation, la disponibilité de ressources institutionnelles et la documentation dans le domaine. La discussion comprend des points de vue nationaux et régionaux (ces derniers venant principalement de la Colombie Britannique) et nous insistons sur le rôle central joué par Roby Kidd et L'Association canadienne pour l'étude de l'éducation des adultes. L'analyse ne laisse aucun doute sur le fait que c'est dans les années cinquante qu'on voit le décollage du développement institutionnel et l'accroissement du professionnalisme dans l'éducation des adultes au Canada.

Introduction

Of the recent decades in our history, two stand out as having a pronounced character or flavor of their own, the 1930s and the 1960s. The 1940s are synonymous with World War II. The fifties and the seventies are generally seen as quieter interludes during which our crises were less extreme and most people could get on with their lives in pursuit of personal interests. Donald Creighton, in his history of the period, referred to the fifties as a

11

"sober and conventional period" (1976:245) and in his history of social policy, Tom Kent has termed it "our conservative decade" (cited in Guest 1985:142). Research carried out in recent years is indicating that as far as the field of adult education is concerned, at least, the 1950s were far from a quiet period. It was a time during which the character of adult education in Canada was transformed dramatically, a new spirit of professionalism began to emerge, and generally the foundations were laid for many developments which have become more pronounced in the subsequent decades.

This article examines the nature of the changes which took place in the fifties. The scene is set by a brief examination of the nature and reputation of adult education in Canada at the beginning of the decade, with particular reference to The Canadian Association for Adult Education and to Dr. Roby Kidd, who became its Director in 1951. Kidd was to be the leading personality in many of the developments during the decade. The signs of emerging professionalism in adult education are then examined under four headings: a sense of vocation or profession, the development of training opportunities, institutional development, and the literature of the field. In each case, these topics are examined from a national perspective and then, as appropriate, from a regional point of view.

The article is an attempt to take a closer look than we have before at the fifties and to identify some of the major developments and forces in connection with adult education which were at work, both nationally and regionally. The author having for some years carried out historical research on adult education in British Columbia, that region will be used mainly to illustrate some of the more important changes at the more local level. The evidence indicates that for adult education in Canada, the 1950s may justifiably be judged a "pivotal" decade.

In what sense may it be seen to be pivotal? It would appear that the institutional base of the field, especially in the public educational systems of Canada, was significantly strengthened across the country. The number of persons who came to identify themselves and their careers with the field of adult education was greatly enhanced during the decade. Generally the period was one of an expanding sense of professionalism on the part of growing numbers of workers in the field, involving increased concern about the systematic and appropriate use of methodology and the development of appropriate adult curricula. This in turn led to a demand for training opportunities in adult education. Leaders in the field came to an increasing realizaton of the significance of Canadian achievements in adult education. This decade also saw the creation of a number of organizations of adult educators at the national and provincial levels.

It is interesting to note that according to several authorities in the field in the United States, the corresponding period of development in that country was perhaps fifteen or twenty years earlier. Based on a study of the literature of the field, Webster Cotton (1968) concluded that there was a strong trend towards the professionalization of adult education "in the middle and late 1930s" (p. 7). Cotton contrasted what he termed the social reformist tradition of adult education, one which existed in the early years of the movement and supported adult education as a means of improving society, with what he termed the professional position, which placed greater emphasis on serving individual needs, building a sense of common cause among practitioners based on expertise and, as he put it, transforming the adult education enterprise "from one primarily oriented toward social reform to that of a more purely educational undertaking" (p. 9). Cotton identified the emergence of the professional point of view with the creation of the American Associaton for Adult Education in 1926, the launching of its journal three years later, Columbia University's introduction of a doctoral degree in the field in 1935 and the publication of the first textbook for the field in 1936 (Bryson 1936). Other American scholars who have studied this trend in their country, most notably Malcolm Knowles (1977) and Cyril Houle (1956, 1960), are in general agreement on the timing of these developments.

Although it is possible in this way to identify some elements of emerging professionalism in adult education in the United States as early as the 1920s and 1930s, a profession in the full or classical sense of the term has never been realized. The late A.A. Liveright examined this question at some length in the landmark American study, *Adult Education: Outlines of an Emerging Field of University Study*, which was published in 1964, and he concluded that adult education could not then be classified as a profession in the full sense of the word. It is certainly not being suggested here that in the decade being studied, anything approaching professional status in the full sense was even aimed for, much less achieved, in Canada. Rather, attention is focused here on signs of an emerging sense of a profession-like approach, or professionalism on the part of practitioners, efforts made to promote such a tendency and the growing institutionalization of the field.

The Role of J. R. Kidd

Many of the noteworthy developments towards the professionalization of adult education during the 1950s can be connected with the efforts of Dr. J. Roby Kidd, whose tenure as Director of the Canadian Association for Adult Education (CAAE) coincides with the period. Kidd worked for eleven years with the Y.M.C.A. in Montreal and Ottawa early in his career and earned his Masters degree at McGill University. After the war, he went to New York to study for his doctorate in the field of adult education at Columbia University, graduating in 1947 and thus becoming the first Canadian to receive a doctorate in this field. (Kidd enjoyed making the point that his claim to this distinction hung on a technicality, in that Florence O'Neill of Newfoundland had earned her doctorate at the same institution three years earlier, but that until 1949 Newfoundland was not a part of Canada!) Kidd returned to Canada upon graduation to become Associate Director of the CAAE. When E. A. Corbett retired in 1951, Kidd became Director, a post he held until the spring of 1961.

Kidd's effectiveness with respect to the building of the adult education enterprise in Canada during this period and the encouragement of a more professional view of the field can be explained on several grounds. First of all, the fact that he had earned a doctorate in adult education, and from the most prestigious university in the field at that time, opened certain doors for Kidd. He could deal with educational officials, government leaders and academic institutions and be seen by them as having outstanding formal qualifications in his field of operations, qualifications beyond what any but a handful of Canadians possessed. Secondly, his position with the CAAE provided him with unique opportunities. In a country where education was a provincial responsibility, there were few organizations concerned with education at the time which had a national membership and mandate. The fact that the CAAE was a small organization and represented a field of activity which was little recognized at the time was a handicap from certain points of view. But this meant that Kidd and the organization were a threat to no one, and could move relatively freely in the politically sensitive national and inter-provincial educational scene, promoting the development of educational activities. A further advantage of his position with the CAAE was that Kidd had at his disposal the national information networks which had been built up by the organization, in terms of both personal contacts and publications. Of course, all of this would have been of little avail if Kidd himself had not been committed to the promotion of the institutionalization of, and a more professional approach to, the field. His belief in the importance of these matters, demonstrated in so many ways, was basic to his efforts. As the decade of his tenure as Director of the CAAE progressed, Kidd gained increasing stature in the field, most notably through his published works and also his growing reputation at the international level (Cochrane 1986, Selman 1982). The final attribute which contributed to Kidd's effectiveness as a promoter of adult education at this time was his capacity to build relationships and attract the respect and affection of others with whom he worked and had contact. He was effective in inspiring in others—fellow workers in adult education and others outside the field—a sense of the significance of adult learning and the importance of promoting and supporting it effectively in Canadian society. This he pursued in three main ways: the promotion of a more expert or professional work force in adult education; the documentation of Canada's experience and accomplishments in that field; and the strengthening of the institutional base of operations for the field. There were, of course, many other persons who contributed to the developments at this time, and a number of them will be mentioned in this article, but Kidd was undoubtedly the most important figure.

The Field at the Beginning of the Fifties

At the beginning of the fifties, adult education in Canada had already achieved a considerable reputation among those who were knowledgable about the field, largely on the basis of several outstanding projects. These would include, certainly, two programs sponsored by the CAAE and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation: the National Farm Radio Forum and the Citizens' Forum, which made imaginative combined use of broadcasting, print and local discussion groups. The extension program in education about co-operatives, sponsored by St. Francis Xavier University in Nova Scotia under the leadership of the Rev. Moses Coady, was widely known internationally. The work of Frontier College in bringing basic education to men in isolated centers on the frontier, that of the Banff School of Fine Arts in providing education in the arts, and the activities of the Joint Planning Commission as a clearinghouse for organizations involved in the social and cultural development of the country, were also well known in some circles. There was, of course, much adult education being conducted in other settings, in voluntary organizations, co-operatives, university and agricultural extension, and a few local school boards, but this work was on the whole not noteworthy on an international scale.

The CAAE was also widely known as an organization by this time, at least in adult education circles. Its reputation rested on two main things. First, under the leadership of Ned Corbett, its founding Director, the organization had established several projects of importance. National Farm Radio Forum and Citizens' Forum have already been mentioned and the methodologies developed for those programs were being adapted for use in many other countries (Sim 1954, Wilson 1980, Faris 1975). In 1947, Corbett found funding and launched the Joint Planning Commission, a vehicle for consultation and co-operation among over a hundred national organizations and departments of government (Clark 1954). North America was strewn with the corpses of defunct clearinghouse bodies of this kind, but Canada's Joint Planning Commission seemed to work and visitors came from several other countries to study its structure and methods.

These and other significant projects had established the reputation of the CAAE as an innovative and capable programming agency. While these projects were important in themselves, it was the nature of their overall purpose and content which constituted the basis for the second characteristic of the CAAE which had attracted wide attention. The CAAE was founded in 1935, largely by persons from the universities and government, to serve as a clearinghouse for the field, generally to be the servant of practitioners and institutions. Before long, however, as a result of the leadership of Corbett and other early leaders, and also of the conditions brought on by the Second World War and the period of reconstruction thinking in the late and post-war period, the Association was transformed from a clearinghouse body to a direct programming agency, largely in the field of education about public affairs (Faris 1975, Selman 1981).

In the somewhat radicalized period of reconstruction thinking in the latter war years, the CAAE conference of 1943 approved a "Manifesto" which gained it a reputation in some quarters of being a leftist, anti-free enterprise group. The legacy of this incident and the almost inevitable controversy which flared up from time to time over its handling of public issues in the Farm Forum and Citizens' Forum series plunged the organization into disputes in the late forties and early fifties, just as Kidd took over as Director (Faris 1975). In the October 1951 issue of *Food For Thought* the CAAE's journal, in an unsigned portion of the editorial column, but no doubt written by Kidd himself, a statement was printed which explained that the CAAE's advocacy role was restricted to speaking about "adult education in Canada" and that the Association would "take no partisan position on controversial questions" (The CAAE and Social Action 1951:9). It was with considerable feeling, no doubt, that in his first report as Director of the Association, in the spring of 1952, he told his colleagues that during the year the Association had been subjected to criticism from all parts of the compass, and while much of it was undeserved and misguided, there was need for caution.

> An organization like ours has bounds and limitations which we must recognize. It is not, and by its nature cannot be, the radical agency of social action which some of you might prefer. Nor can it be a research agency only–simply observing and reporting facts. Our work cannot be done in splendid isolation; we must stay close to where groups are living and working. The CAAE is concerned about the welfare of, but cannot be the mouthpiece of, the farmer, the union member, the housewife, the businessman (p. 5).

For all this, however, it would be a mistake to interpret Kidd's remarks as signalling a rejection of the citizenship education thrust of the organization. He was cautioning against an extreme social action position, but it is clear from his actions as Director of the Association in the ensuing decade that he was firmly committed to the citizenship education mission of the CAAE. With respect to the field as a whole, what he promoted was a more professionalized field of practice, with the strongest possible institutional base, but one which at the same time retained a lively sense of the social as well as the individual needs to be served, and benefits to be delivered.

A Sense of Vocation

The emerging sense of professionalism or profession-like commitment on the part of practitioners in adult education was pronounced in the 1950s, although it perhaps came into greater prominence in the following decade. The concept of the adult education leader as a professional person did not of course originate in the 1950s. In the report of the survey of the field which was undertaken at the time of the formation of the CAAE in the mid-thirties (Sandiford 1934), there was an obvious assumption that the leadership of adult education in Canada would be an increasingly professionalized group, and that the field would become more tightly co-ordinated at the provincial level. At the first Western Regional conference on adult education, held in Saskatoon in March of 1938, the need for trained leaders in the field was stressed (Rayner 1938). When, for instance, the Public Library Commission of British Columbia conducted a comprehensive survey of the field in B.C. in 1941, the recommendations in its report called for a co-ordinated system of adult education, led by "specialists in adult education, not child educationists" (B.C. Public Library Commission 1942:7). During the 1940s at least three Canadians earned doctoral degrees in adult education in the United States–Roby Kidd and Florence O'Neill, who have already been mentioned, and John Friesen of

Manitoba (Houle & Buskey 1966). In 1947, successive issues of *Food For Thought* carried articles on the history of adult education written by Corbett (1947, 1947b) and later in the year, a long description was carried of the report of the Manitoba Royal Commission on Adult Education (Tweedie 1947). The first of a series of biographical sketches of adult education leaders in Canada appeared in the CAAE Journal in late 1947, a further sign of an emerging self-conscious adult education movement (Corbett 1947c). In the same issue, an article appeared describing the Adult Education Division of the Department of Education in Saskatchewan, written by its Director (Smith 1947), and early in the following year an article appeared which examined the "democratic safeguards" which needed to be adopted if governments were to get into the business of financing adult education (Needler 1948). At the annual meeting of the CAAE in June, 1948, consideration was given (as far as can be determined, for the first time in Canada) to policy concerning the development of training programs for adult educators. Recommendations called for the development of university degree programs (In Our Opinion 1948). In the same year the first article carried by the Association's journal on the training of adult educators appeared, making reference to the "elements of a profession" as they relate to adult education (Hallenbeck 1948). (Attention had been given earlier to "leadership training" for a variety of community workers.) These few examples serve to illustrate that prior to 1950, recognition of professional concerns and of the need for professionally qualified adult educators was present in the field. What occurred in the fifties was a very considerable further development along these lines.

As has been suggested, the most important person in the promotion of a sense of professionalism or of the need for well trained leadership in the field was undoubtedly Roby Kidd (Selman 1983, 1986). His work took him back and forth across the country and provided many opportunities to talk to both adult educators themselves and also their employers, such as senior officials in educational institutions and large voluntary organizations, and key officials in departments of government. The fact that in some respects he was the epitome of the professional adult educator, with a doctoral degree from the most highly regarded graduate program in the field on the continent, who frequently was teaching degree credit courses in the field at Canadian universities, and who was the head of the only national organization in Canada devoted to adult education, helped to open many doors for him. His very great capacity to convince and influence others and his skills, however cloaked with personal modesty, to present his case in compelling, winning ways, contributed to his undoubted success in getting support for his point of view.

Kidd seemed to lose no opportunity to emphasize the responsibility of adult educators to address and make use of the increasing knowledge that was becoming available about how adults could be assisted in their learning. As well, he persistently stressed to the employers of adult educators the importance of selecting first class people and providing them with opportunities to study about the field. A study of the major addresses, reports and publications produced by Kidd and his organization during the 1950s reveals what a consistent theme this was (Selman 1982, 1983). For example, in his Director's Report to the CAAE in 1956, which was devoted in large part to professionalism in the field, Kidd spoke strongly about the need for good personnel and training:

> I have only one serious apprehension about the future. More and more the conception of continuous learning is being accepted. But will we have the staff who are numerous and talented enough? Every year several important positions are open which require men and women of considerable capacity and long experience. So we quickly look around for a suitable person as if we did not fully understand that such people aren't just found, they must be "grown", and the growing period starts many years before.

In the latter 1950s, more space was devoted than before in the Association's journal to professional concerns such as training, information services and research. In his consultations with educational authorities across Canada, Kidd repeatedly stressed the need to employ able people to take charge of adult education. For instance, in his major report to the Toronto Board of Education, written late in the decade, he included strong recommendations on the need for training in adult education for teachers and counsellors of adults and for administrators and planners of adult education programs (Kidd 1961).

Other people were providing leadership in this same direction within their spheres of influence. In British Columbia, Dr. John Friesen, Director of the Extension Department of the University, and one of few Canadians holding a doctoral degree in the field, urged and enabled his staff members to advance their study of adult education. He was joined in this in mid-decade at the University by Alan Thomas, who had completed all but his dissertation at Columbia University at that stage and who was by the end of the decade writing articles in *Food For Thought* on professional matters (Thomas 1959, 1959b). Dr. Bert Wales, who earned his doctorate in the field from Oregon State University in 1958, and who became Director of Adult Education for the Vancouver School Board the following year, was leading by example towards a more professionalized approach to adult education, particularly among the rapidly increasing number of school board adult educators. Encouragement in this direction was also provided by L.J. Wallace, who became provincial director of adult education in B.C. early in the decade and who, by various means, encouraged the adult educators employed by the school boards to take a broader, more professional view of their responsibilities (Report of the Provincial Conference 1955). British Columbia was one of the regions in Canada showing leadership with respect to the development of adult education in this period. It was perhaps not typical of the country as a whole. At least four other Canadians earned doctoral degrees in the field during the 1950s (Houle & Buskey 1966), and it is clear from other developments, described later, that some similar things were happening elsewhere.

Training Opportunities

Opportunities in Canada for acquiring training in the field of adult education expanded very greatly during the 1950s. There had been some work of this general kind going on for many years in certain quarters. The literature of the forties contains many accounts of "leadership training" activities in fields such as group work, recreation, and especially late in the decade, human relations training. The Y.M. and Y.W.C.A., and other voluntary organizations, the folk school, co-operative and labor movements were active in this work. Roby Kidd recalled that he had been a student in a credit course in adult education at Sir George Williams College in 1934-35, which may have been the first such course in Canada (Selman 1982).

When Kidd returned from his doctoral studies in 1947 and joined the staff of the CAAE, the promotion of training opportunities for adult educators was one of his priorities. He suggested the formation of a CAAE "Committee on Personnel in Adult Education", whose initial report in 1948 has already been mentioned. It indicated that, of the 86 full-time adult educators in Canada who responded, only two had had any training in the field, even a single course, and recommended that the CAAE take a lead in the promotion of both formal and non-formal training programs (Kidd 1950). The endorsment of this report provided Kidd with a mandate for his continuing efforts to these ends during the fifties. He pursued this goal in various ways: by encouraging the organization of training programs by various organizations, including the CAAE, and playing a leading role as instructor in this work; by fostering regional meetings of adult educators at which in-service development training could take place; by assisting with the formation of regional and provincial associations of adult educators; by encouraging senior administrators in employing institutions to seek training for their adult education staff; by raising funds from foundations which could be used to assist individuals to engage in professional training; and by assisting interested universities in Canada in the development of credit courses and programs.

Non-credit in-service development activities for adult educators were an important new feature of the period and Kidd played a leading role. A few examples will indicate the types of programs which were organized. The first training course for adult educators in the western region, a two week program on "Extension Methods and Techniques", was held at Banff in 1949, co-sponsored by the CAAE and the University of Alberta. Kidd took part in the planning and the instruction. He frequently taught courses for adult educators in the labor movement. In 1951, he secured a foundation grant to support a two-year series of training programs designed for workers in the outports of Newfoundland. The first regional training course for the Atlantic region was organized by the CAAE in 1958.

In 1950, at Kidd's suggestion, the CAAE made a decision to hold national conferences every second year and to sponsor regional conferences in the Western and Atlantic regions in the intervening years. The chief reason for this suggestion was that the regional meetings would be more accessible to practitioners than were national ones and could serve as a vehicle for in-service professional development. The Atlantic region was the first to pick up on the idea; the "first Atlantic Region Conference" was held at Amherst, Nova Scotia, in June of 1951 (Maritime Conference 1951:32). Further such meetings followed every second year throughout the decade, the programs focusing mainly on the social and economic development of the region. In the West, the meetings did not begin until 1953, the first being held in Banff, but were held regularly thereafter. Although the conferences in the West, like those in the Maritimes, devoted some attention to social development, there was much more focus in the West on the formation of provincial organizations of adult educators, their functions and their relationship with the national organization. It is clear from the reports of these meetings, East and West, that the decision to facilitate the holding of regional meetings under CAAE sponsorship was an important factor in stimulating in-service development activities in both regions (Selman 1982). In the case of the Western region, there was also a great impact on the development of provincial organizations.

There had been a few local and regional associations of adult educators in Canada prior to the fifties–one in Winnipeg in the mid-thirties, in Ontario and the Eastern Townships of Quebec in the early forties and in Alberta beginning in 1943 (Selman 1982)–but by the late forties, no such organizations were functioning. Arising out of suggestions discussed at Banff in 1953, and worked out by leaders in the field in British Columbia, steps were taken in that province to create a provincially based organization. An organizational dinner which was addressed by Roby Kidd in September of 1954 led to the first of what were to be a continuing series of semi-annual conferences on adult education which continued on a regular basis until 1961 (Selman 1969). The B.C. organization was a council of agencies rather than a personal membership body, but the B.C. Adult Education Council sponsored a significant series of in-service development activities within the framework of the semi-annual conferences. In 1956, all four Western provinces held provincial conferences of adult educators and in all but B.C. (where an organization already existed), plans were discussed for the possible creation of provincial bodies (Selman 1957). As it turned out, plans developed more quickly in Saskatchewan than in the other two provinces and under the terms of a revision in the CAAE consitution passed in 1958, the B.C. and Saskatchewan organizations subsequently became "affiliated" with the CAAE and had representation on that organization's National Council. The meetings in the Atlantic region did not lead to the promotion of provincial bodies as they had in the West and that development did not come until the following decade.

Apart from the CAAE, there were other organizational developments in the field at the national level. The French language national body, the Institut Canadien d'Education des Adultes, which had developed out of a standing committee of the CAAE, was reorganized in 1952 and became a more vigorous and effective instrument for that language group. Those who worked in the field of university extension, after a considerable period of consultation with an already existing organization of colleagues responsible for summer session activities, joined with them in 1954 in forming the Canadian Association of Directors of Extension and Summer Sessions (Kidd 1956). Educators interested mainly in the rural and agricultural aspects of adult education had formed an Extension Group under the Canadian Society of Technical Agriculturalists in 1940, but this organization met only sporadically during the following decade and disappeared by 1953. In 1959, a decision was made to revive such a body, and the Canadian Society of Rural Extension came into existence the following year (Adema 1984).

Similarly, the decade was one of significant beginnings at the provincial level. In British Columbia, as described above, the first organization of adult educators (more accurately, of adult education organizations) was formed in the year 1954, with leadership coming from three institutions: the University Extension Department, the Vancouver School Board and the Provincial Department of Education. The Vancouver School Board, which had, since early in the century, been the leading board in the province in adult education, gave strong support to the field and by the 1950s employed a considerable number of program administrators, who had come to identify themselves in career terms with adult education. In 1955, the dynamic director of adult education in the Department of Education, L.J. Wallace, organized an ambitious five-day conference of night school directors in the province in which 22 night school directors and 16 resource persons took part and which, in retrospect, may be seen to have marked the beginning of a major expansion of school board sponsored adult education. The result was that in the ensuing decade such work in B.C. became the leading example of this aspect of adult education in all of Canada (Wales 1958). Dominion Bureau of Statistics figures showed school board adult education enrolments in 1959-60 to be leading the country and proportionately approximately twice as large as the national average (Dominion Bureau of Statistics 1962). Further regional conferences of night school directors were held within the province in 1959 and 1960 and in his annual report in the latter year, the provincial director made the point that the traditional term "night school" was giving way to "adult education" as a better reflection of the broad community service for adult learners which the school boards were aiming to provide.

By the end of the decade, there were large numbers of educators in British Columbia who identified themselves and their careers with the field of adult education. At the thirteenth semi-annual conference of the B.C. Adult Education Council, held in the spring of 1961, there was a concerted effort to plan for the decade ahead and one among several task forces was asked to consider what kind of organization for adult educators would serve the field appropriately in the future. In reporting to the conference, this group stated emphatically that the existing Council, which was an inter-agency clearinghouse, was no longer adequate because there had been such a large increase in the number of adult educators who wished a personal commitment to the field and desired an organization to which they could belong on a professional basis and through which they could receive assistance in their professional continuing education (Selman 1969, 1980).

A further dimension of working towards adequate training opportunities for adult educators involved efforts directed at employers of adult educators, most notably educational institutions, school boards and provincial departments of education. At the CAAE conference in 1950, a working group gave attention to "Provincial Divisions of Adult Education" (meaning units within departments of education). In 1957, 1959 and 1961, conferences on the role of governments and school boards in the field were organized in co-operation with the Canadian Education Association. Beginning in the late fifties, the CAAE had standing committees both on governments in adult education and on school boards in the field. Reference should also be made to Kidd's pamphlet, *Adult Education and the School* (1950b), and his major study of adult education in the Metropolitan Toronto area carried out in 1961 on behalf of the Board of Education of that city (Kidd 1961). The committee organizing the Second Canadian Conference on Education, held in 1962, commissioned Kidd to write a background study on adult education, which was one of several on specialized topics, and by means of this substantial pamphlet, he made the most of the opportunity to address the educational establishment of Canada with respect to the system's responsibilities in adult education (Kidd 1961b).

Kidd was also active in raising funds from foundations for the purpose of financing training activities. Reference has already been made to the funds he raised for training work in Newfoundland, beginning in 1951. In 1953, a party of leading adult educators from English and French Canada was enabled, with the help of funds secured from Carnegie, to visit outstanding people and projects in Europe. In 1955, school board adult educators from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were assisted with a study tour to American and Canadian centers. For several years in the late fifties, some $15,000 a year which he secured from the Fund for Adult Education in the United States was used to make study tours or degree study possible for individual adult educators.

This was also the period during which academic degree programs in adult education were inaugurated in Canada. With his doctoral degree, Kidd was clearly qualified to be appointed to teach university courses. In the late forties and during the fifties he taught the first credit course in adult education at several Canadian universities and in 1951, he taught the first graduate course to be offered, at the Ontario College of Education. A course he taught at the University of British Columbia in the summer of 1956 was utilized by several leaders at that institution as the first step in developing and securing official approval for a masters degree program in the field, which when introduced in 1957 became the first degree credit program in adult education in Canada. (By this time there were at least twelve universities in the United States which were offering advanced degree programs in the field (Houle in Knowles 1960)). The University of Guelph became the second institution to offer such a program when it admitted its first masters candidates in this field in 1960 to a Master of Science degree with a specialization in agriculture and rural matters (Personal Communication, M.W. Waldron, September 10, 1986).

It is apparent from the foregoing that during the fifties considerable strides were taken in both providing various kinds of training opportunities and attempting to convince both adult educators and their employers that such training was desirable.

Institutional Development

The matter of institutional development has already been touched upon in several ways. The efforts made during the decade to convince the public educational authorities were in large measure directed to this end. Kidd made use of the available opportunities, at meetings and in the course of his constant travel back and forth across Canada to promote the field and the need for adequate institutional provision for this work. CAAE standing committees on school board and government adult education work have already been mentioned, as have several conferences held during the decade with representatives of those sectors of the field. The consultation carried out for the Board of Education in Toronto (Kidd 1961) and the opportunity to write one of the study pamphlets for the Second Canadian Conference on Education in 1962 (Kidd 1961b) were high profile opportunities to address the educational establishment in Canada. Another opportunity presented itself in 1953, when the National Conference of Canadian Universities commissioned Kidd to write a study concerning adult education in the university. The outcome was a volume entitled *Adult Education in the Canadian University*, which was published in 1956. Although it is impossible fully to trace the influence of such reports, several universities in Canada subsequently created extension departments.

There were grounds for encouragement particularly with respect to provision for adult education within the structure of the provinicial departments of education. Kidd attached particular importance to this matter and approached it not only by means described above, but also through personal representations whenever possible. He also gave whatever prominence he could, through the Association's journal and by other means, to accounts of successful examples of work by the provincial departments. The stormy events surrounding Watson Thomson and his work as Director of the Adult Education Division in Saskatchewan in 1944-45 (Welton 1983) were largely ignored, but when the government of Nova Scotia created a Division of Adult Education a year later, Kidd gave great prominence to that development, carrying frequent news items in *Food For Thought* and printing a full account of the work of the Division as one of several pamphlets he arranged to have published in the early fifties (Henson 1954). Advances in this area were most satisfactory in this period. In 1945, only one provincial department of education in Canada–Saskatchewan–had an adult education unit (as distinct from just an official with responsibility in this area). When Kidd wrote his pamphlet entitled *Continuing Education* in 1961, he could report that all ten provincial departments had such a unit (Kidd 1961b). It was this kind of development which prompted J.D. Wilson and his colleagues in their general history of education in Canada to identify the fifties as a period during which adult education "lost much of its amateur status" (Wilson, Stamp & Audet 1970:412).

The Literature of the Field

The literature of adult education in Canada was another area in which there was significant advance during this decade. It is generally understood that a field of practice, in order to advance towards professional status, must have a body of knowledge on which to base its growth and development. While adult education in Canada could not be said to have reached the stage of theory building or other advanced forms of research and scholarship at this time, what was attempted was to document the nature and history of the field in Canada and to assist adult educators who were ready to do so, to take an increasingly serious interest in the methods and problems of practice.

There was very little literature about the field in Canada published before the fifties. There were the accumulated files of the two CAAE journals, *Adult Learning* (1936-39) and *Food For Thought* (1940-), Fitzpatrick's plea for and account of the early years of Frontier College (1920), the survey of adult education activities in Canada edited by Sandiford (1934) as part of the process of founding the CAAE, and Rev. Moses Coady's account of the philosophy and methods of the Antigonish Movement, *Masters of Their Own Destiny* (1939). Aside from a few other articles, institutional and government reports, and a very few pamphlets, these seem to be the only published works on adult education in Canada prior to 1950 (Kidd 1950). Due to the efforts of Roby Kidd as both author and publisher and those of a growing, but still small circle of practitioners in Canada, this picture changed substantially during the fifties.

Walter Stewart, in his study of the content of the CAAE journals over the years (1983) perceived a distinct shift of emphasis in *Food For Thought* in 1950 compared to five years earlier:

> The clearly intended audience of the 1950 issues is those who are engaged in educating adults and not those who were being educated as had been true in the 1940s (p. 36).

He commented further that at this time the journal became "a magazine about adult education rather than an instrument of adult education" (p. 54). He noted that an interest in the history of the field was being reflected in the journal and that, by 1960, the journal was including articles on philosophical issues, on methods and techniques and on evaluation. He comments that by that time, the journal "had made some moves towards becoming a professional journal" (p. 39).

Kidd's own writing about the field during the fifties was prolific, extremely varied, and may be seen to fall into five main categories. The first, that of descriptive studies of the field in Canada, is represented by two books of collections of articles about Canadian adult education, *Adult Education in Canada* (1950) and *Learning and Society* (1963) and two pamphlets, *People Learning from Each Other* (1953), the summary pamphlet in the "Learning For Living" series which appeared from 1952 to 1954, and *Continuing Education* (1961b), written to represent the field at the 1962 National Conference on Education. On several occasions during the decade, Kidd produced substantial publications as a result of consultations which he or the CAAE undertook. These several reports have already been mentioned, one on the field as it related to the school (1950b), one on the place of adult education in the university (1956), and the major report to the Toronto Board of Education (1961). There were several publications on methodological aspects, two on film and film utilization (1953, 1959) and a guide for discussion leaders, a pamphlet published in 1956 (1956b). As Kidd became progressively more involved in the international dimensions of adult education, he began to write about that sphere of interest, this taking the form of articles in the main during the fifties. Kidd's most notable publication during the period in some respects was his textbook for the field, *How Adults Learn* , published in 1959. The first textbook for the field is generally considered to be Lyman Bryson's *Adult Education,* which appeared in 1936. Two others were published during the fifties in the United States (Sheats, Jane & Spence 1953, Kempfer 1955), but Kidd's was the first to be published in Canada and was a significant departure from all its predecessors in at least one major respect, the relative prominence given to learning theory. The book was well received in the field in North America, but especially so in other countries and it has since been translated into at least five other languages (Cochrane 1986) and has been used as a text in at least forty countries (Selman 1982).

Over and above Kidd's own writing, the field benefitted from his efforts in encouraging and publishing a great deal of material through the CAAE. Soon after his publication of *Adult Education in Canada* in 1950, he secured a grant from the Fund For Adult Education to make it possible to continue the program of documenting Canadian achievements in the field. The result was a series of eleven substantial pamphlets (up to 120 pages in length) in a series entitled "Learning For Living", which appeared between 1952 and 1954. A few other representative examples of CAAE publications during the decade were: a survey of labor education in Canada (Smith 1951), a bibliography of Canadian writings in adult education (Thomson & Ironside 1956), and *Residential Adult Education: A Canadian View* (Loosley 1960). There were as well several other notable volumes about the field which were published commercially at this time. They included Donald Cameron's history of the Banff School of Fine Arts (Cameron 1956), E. A. Corbett's reminiscences, *We Have With Us Tonight* (1957), and at the end of the decade, A. F. Laidlaw's history of the Antigonish Movement (1961).

Other organizations at the national level were publishing material at this time: the Canadian Labor Congress, the Canadian Library Association, the Canadian Film Institute and the Canadian Citizenship Council. As well, an increasing amount of material about adult education was being published at the local and provincial level. The bibliography published by the CAAE in 1956 (Thomson & Ironside 1956) selected a number of items related to adult education from *Saskatchewan Community* and *Community Courier* (Ontario) and listed a number of other newsletters and bulletins published at the provincial level. The Extension Department of the Univesity of British Columbia began in 1954 the publication of a series of monographs under the title, "Occasional Papers on Adult Education" and they appeared at the rate of one a year for the balance of the decade.

At the beginning of the 1950s there was very little Canadian literature in the field of adult education, whereas by the end of that decade, practitioners and students had a considerable and growing body of writings from Canadian sources on which to call, covering not only aspects of practice, but also Canadian perspectives, policies and achievements in the field.

Summary and Comment

While it is certainly not suggested, by way of summary of this account, that by 1960 adult education had become a professionalized field, or that Canada had reached an advanced stage in the institutionalization of this activity, it does seem justifiable to conclude that the field had moved very substantially in those directions during the previous decade. Whether this matter is approached in terms of the number of persons who identified themselves and their careers with adult education, the opportunities available for professional training and in-service development, the expansion of the institutional base and provision for adult education, or the expanding body of knowledge and literature available about the field in Canada, it is clear that the 1950s were a period of rapid advance towards a more professionalized field. In the terminology of the economists, the period might be seen as the "take-off" stage in which lines of development were established, ones which would set the general directions for the ensuing period.

At the beginning of the fifties, professionalism was simply not a significant issue in the field as a whole in Canada. But ten years later, during the period of preparation for the National Conference on Adult Education to be held in the fall of 1961, Alan Thomas, writing in *Food For Thought* under the pen name of Parameter, was expressing concern that adult education in Canada, in the face of rapidly advancing professionalism and institutionalization, was in danger of losing its quality of being a movement (Thomas 1961). In his closing address to the National Conference, Boris Ford, a visitor from Britain, commented on the obvious emphasis in the keynote address on "The Social Implications and Responsibilities of Adult Education" and the concern which had been expressed that with advancing professionalism in the field, education for adults would come to be seen too predominantly in terms of meeting individual needs to the neglect of social needs (National Conference on Adult Education 1961:60). Such concerns were far removed from the situation a decade earlier.

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ON THE MEANING OF LEARNING: REFLECTIONS WITH DEWEY

Thelma Barer-Stein
Adult Education Consultant

Abstract

John Dewey's educative process and Barer-Stein's learning process offer two perspectives that may enhance the adult educator's glimpse of the true meaning of learning. The congruency of these two processes provides a strong basis for speculating that learning and educating may be differing aspects of the same process; that the learning of children and the learning of adults may be congruent; and finally, that a form of reflective thinking may be central to each and essential to an outcome of *personally relevant meaning*. Some implications of these speculations for adult educators are offered; other implications are left for individual reflection.

Résumé

Le processus éducationnel de John Dewey et le processus d'apprentissage de Barer-Stein offrent deux perspectives qui peuvent élargir la vision qu'a l'éducateur d'adultes du sens réel de l'apprentissage.

La congruence de ces deux processus fournit une base solide à la spéculation sur l'idée que l'apprentissage et l'éducation peuvent être des aspects différents d'un même processus; que l'apprentissage chez les enfants et l'apprentissage chez les adultes peuvent être congruents; enfin, qu'une forme de pensée réfléchie peut être au centre de chacun d'eux et essentielle à l'atteinte d'un sens personnel pertinent.

Quelques implications de ces spéculations sont offertes aux éducateurs d'adultes; les autres sont laissées à la reflexion personnelle.

Introduction

> One has to be aware of something in order to distinguish it from anything else. Being aware provides the access, it is the opening door... (Barer-Stein, 1987).

Adult educators become accustomed to their habitual tasks of assembling materials and services, projects and programs all for the purpose of educating other adults. Usually they are more aware of communicating information than they are in absorbing it themselves. It seems a truism that educators educate; learners learn. But the doing of one can provide us with an awareness of the other, providing we can distinguish between the two. Being aware of educating and of learning as processes of human experience may guide us to understanding learning itself. That there is a pressing need to move beyond an understanding of learning based on experiments with animals (Jarvis, 1983) towards an understanding of human learning in the context of daily living, has already been strongly expressed by many educators (Bourgeault, 1985; Osborne, Charnley & Withnall, 1982; Cross & McCarten, 1981).

Thomas (1986) puts it this way:

> The practice of adult education has allowed us to glimpse some of the true meaning of learning, freed from the context of schooling. The next and critical step is to glimpse it from a perspective that is independent of education, even of the education of adults.

Practising adult educators working in informal and non-formal settings and drawing on the experiences of adult learners as rich resources, already have an acute awareness that learning extends and continues beyond the formal context of schooling. They may have an uncomfortable awareness that such schooling may even have constrained learning. Within such musings, educators accept a link between educating and learning but find it difficult to complete the gaps. As such awarenesses accumulate to press forward our need to know more about learning itself, Thomas' remarks seem to suggest a practical way of getting yet another glimpse of learning from two perspectives other than adult education: one that is "independent of education" and another that is "independent of the education of adults".

The purpose of this paper is to offer examples of two such suggested perspectives of learning, as an inducement to adult educators to progress towards a more profound understanding of learning itself, and to explore the implications and practical applications of such understanding in each one's practice.

Most educators would likely agree with Dewey's conviction that the process of educating is "the art of guiding learning" (Dewey, 1933:266), but may balk at confronting the less familiar details of *how* this may be so. As adult educators, we are almost as familiar with speaking of educating and learning in the same breath as we are with our habitual educative tasks. Yet such a "halt to examine what is really ordinary" (Barer-Stein, 1987) must be recognized for its value in exhuming long-held beliefs, unexamined assumptions, and habitual behaviors.

A brief comparison of Dewey's educative process, as an example of learning that is "independent of the education of adults", with a process of learning studied by myself, offers not only a means of adding two more perspectives to our reflections on the meaning of learning, but also the opportunity to search for congruency or disparity between a stated "educative" process and a stated "learning" process. Since each of these is published elsewhere[1] in much greater detail, only aspects pertinent to this discussion will be presented. Dewey's educative process is taken from his work directed to teachers of children, while my own model of the learning process is grounded in the crosscultural experiences in the everyday life of one individual.[2]

Within the comparison of the two processes, a congruency does emerge to provide a strong basis for speculating that learning and educating may be differing aspects of the same process: educating as offering the potential for guiding the learning of *others* to discover personally relevant meaning, and learning as the potential for guiding *self*-learning to discover personally relevant meaning. Further, such congruency may also provide a basis for speculating on the congruency of the learning of both adults and children--or learning at any age. Finally, it may provide a basis for speculating that a form of reflective thinking may be central to each process and essential to an outcome of *personally relevant meaning.*

It was in this reflective approach to exhuming meaning, that I came to see that we do not learn what we already know, but are repeatedly drawn to explore and discover meaning, to understand that which differs.

This brings us to the notion of meaning. Meaning does not exist as an entity or commodity. It is forever coming into being, shaped and reshaped by the peculiarities of the context in which it is sought and pressed to individual relevance. Meaning can only be sought by individuals and discovered through personal reflection. Like learning itself,[3] it is individual and cannot be compelled; it is cumulative in its effects; it is associated with most human activities and characteristics; and at any age humans have the capacity to seek it. This helps to explain my emphasis throughout on 'personally relevant meaning'. *It may be that meaning is the impetus, the perpetuator, and the ultimate goal of learning.* Is it the goal of educators and education?

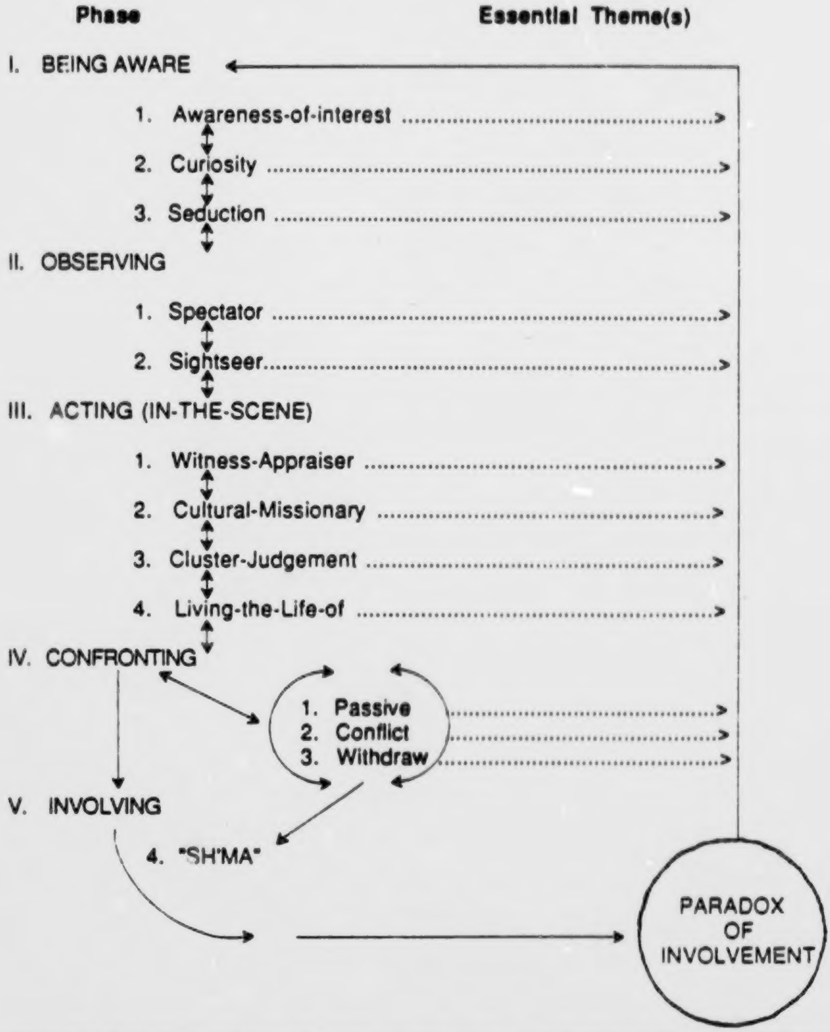
Examining the Relationship Between a Learning Process and an Educative Process

In order to create an understandable framework, the model of *Learning as a Process of Experiencing the Unfamiliar* - (Barer-Stein, 1987) will be shown in Figure No. 1 and briefly explained below. Within this framework, excerpts will be quoted from *How We Think: A Restatement of Reflective Thinking to the Educative Process* (Dewey, 1933). It is important to note that while Dewey refers to a "constant spiral movement of knowledge" (Dewey, 1933:140), he makes no effort (at least in that work) to delineate such a movement or process. The quotes are selected for their appropriateness to stages of the model, from various parts of his book.

Introductory Comments on the Model

Originally seeking only to gain a deeper understanding of the meaning of the concept of culture, I set out to dialogue with English Second Language teachers, asking them only, "How did you learn to teach adults from differing cultures?" I felt their work seemed to exemplify immersion and communication with differing cultures. Of all the teachers with whom I

Figure No. 1: A Model of a Process of Learning as a Process of Experiencing the Unfamiliar (Difference)


Phase
Essential Theme(s)
I. BEING AWARE
1. Awareness-of-interest
2. Curiosity
3. Seduction
II. OBSERVING
1. Spectator
2. Sightseer
III. ACTING (IN-THE-SCENE)
1. Witness-Appraiser
2. Cultural-Missionary
3. Cluster-Judgement
4. Living-the-Life-of
IV. CONFRONTING
1. Passive
2. Conflict
3. Withdraw
V. INVOLVING
4. "SH'MA"
PARADOX OF INVOLVEMENT

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talked, noting how their interests seemed to coalesce around a central interest in people and places that were different, one ESL teacher's articulation of crosscultural experiences affected me profoundly. I found myself immersed within the experiences she related. In the ensuing analytical separation and interpretive reunion of details that formed this phenomenological work, I became increasingly aware of the inherent power of the questioning "How?" to strip away the surface details of time and place and to eventually reveal the structure of her process of experiencing that which was initially unfamiliar (different), to an outcome of profoundly relevant personal meaning: Involving.[4]

A first reading of a phenomenological work often proves disconcerting. Upon encountering a differing–highly subjective–mode of writing, and an often hyphenated grouping of words, the reader may feel such strangeness unwarranted. But such a differing use of language is necessary to indicate how I have gradually "transformed the meaning of the action" (Blum, 1970), which I am reflecting upon.

An attempt to depict the possible movements within this model of a learning process is indicated with arrows. The entire process is sequential; each phase can only come into being on completion of the previous one. *Each movement including the entry and exit from the process is always dictated by personal choice.* Each phase, and the sequential essential themes within it, may sometimes occur so briefly and close together that differentiation may be difficult. However, even a chance remark or gesture, or fleeting feeling, may be sufficient to mark the individual's transit, providing initial effort is made to distinguish a particular Awareness-of-Interest.

Solid arrows indicate the dominant possibilities of movement, while dotted arrows indicate the path of a waning Awareness-of-Interest and the movement out of one process into the start of another. Although Interests may be in some way related each to the other, the differing facet or aspect may be sufficient to begin the process anew. All in all, four possibilities of choice in movement exist:

1. progression
2. distraction to another Awareness-of-Interest
3. regression
4. remaining in a phase or essential theme.

Each segment of this process of learning as marked by the five dominant phases and the essential[5] themes within each, represents the characteristic and essential behavior drawn directly from the grounds of experience in daily life.[6] *Each represents a distinct change or shift from what was previously experienced.*

Finally, while behavior is commonly considered to be that which may be externally observed, in this work, behavior encompasses the totality of overt expressions *as well as* what is being felt by the individual at the source of that behaving.

Phase I: Being Aware

One has to be aware of something in order to distinguish it from anything else. Being Aware provides the access, it is the opening door to the process of experiencing the unfamiliar.

That which is familiar requires minimal effort. That is why we so readily append certain meanings to that which is familiar: secure, safe, predictable and therefore comfortable. Facing the familiar or moving through its patterns is something we do with much confidence and little attention or energy, simply because it is already worn smooth with use and there are no snags to jar us.

But all this is quickly replaced with a flicker of attention when we note something different. There is a *Reflective Pause* during which a decision is made whether or not to move forward towards understanding this thing or not. At least three sets of interpretive practices occur:

1. a *collecting* of information
2. a brief *questioning* of that which is collected
3. a brief *comparing* with previous knowledge.

Each of these is based on superficial observations, readily attained. Dewey notes, "As long as our activity glides smoothly...there is no call for reflection" (Dewey, 1933:14), and reminds us that:

> It is a commonplace of psychology that we do not attend to the old, or consciously mind that to which we are thoroughly accustomed (Dewey, 1933:289).

He therefore takes this opportunity to chastise teachers who insist on beginning lessons from the familiar and find the children "apathetic".

> Accordingly, unless the familiar is presented under conditions that are in some respect unusual, there is no jog to the thinking, no demand is made upon hunting out something new and different (Dewey, 1933:290).

Within this phase of Being Aware, three essential themes are evident: Awareness-of-Interest, Curiosity and Seduction. It is *Awareness-of-Interest* (no matter how brief or fleeting) that gives birth to the powerful potential of *Curiosity: the need/desire to know more.* The power of Curiosity is an intensely personal, intensely internal one. It may be 'piqued' as we say, externally, but it resides in and derives from the specific *cultural matrix* of the individual.

Dewey equates "natural desire" with curiosity and the human need for "a fuller and closer knowledge of persons and things" (Dewey, 1933:248). He believes in the existence of three stages or levels of curiosity: a ceaseless display of exploring and testing, as social stimuli (e.g. the child asking, "Why is that?"), and the third stage of "intellectual...when curiosity is transformed into interest in finding out for oneself the answers to questions aroused by persons and things" (Dewey, 1933:37).

The difficulty in separating *Seduction* from both Curiosity and Awareness-of-Interest may testify to their interwoven relationship that tends to make them virtually indistinguishable. Seduction is commonly understood to include one or more inducements or enticements. More bluntly, it is the bait: *it is what you think you want and believe you can get.* Like the unwary fish, we each cling to the belief that we will be able to take the bait and avoid the hook. This may help to explain some of the disillusion occurring when learners discover that the beginner's course was just that; they may have felt it would make them an expert. Literacy education, workplace courses, parenting classes and weight loss programs seem to exude the promise of a better life, a better person or job, only to give way to the reality that the promise requires lifelong effort and vigilance.

Phase II: Observing

Dewey opens a section of his 1933 book with this title: "Observation Impelled by Sympathetic Interest in Extending Acquaintance" (Dewey, 1933:249). I have described the behavior of an individual moving into the second phase of *Observing, as just looking*. In a very real way, Dewey's "extending acquaintance" provides the link between Being Aware, which could be seen as that 'flicker of attention', and Observing, which suggests a longer hold of attention. Observing has no real focus at first, and no commitment or responsibility even to continue. But a certain *sustained awareness that gradually intensifies* becomes obvious in the essential theme of *Spectator.* Attentive, but distant from the scene of action, the Spectator's building Curiosity soon moves him/her for a closer look. Further persistence now becomes exemplified in the *Sightseer,* indicative of the transformed Spectator who now moves with the *express purpose of seeking out and focusing on an Awareness-of-Interest.* The Spectator, and increasingly the Sightseer, carries an air of confidence, discrimination and persistence.

Phase III: Acting (In-the-Scene)

The behavior in the Acting phase is clearly different from the previous two phases, which depicted various ways of looking in at something from the outside. *Acting* depicts *the entry into the scene (or thing) of interest.*

The Reflective pause used only occasionally in the previous phases now becomes the dominant behavio of the *Witness-Appraiser* busily collecting all that may be observed, and questioning and comparing it with what is already known—and telling others about it too. In the process of doing this, since the comparisons are based on the individual's accumulated store of knowledge, the Witness-Appraiser is repeatedly delving a little deeper into that accumulation and increasing knowledge of self as well. The increasing personal confidence has been developed by superficially observing, yet the quality of such knowledge seems less important than the busy accumulation of quantity. The behavior of the Witness-Appraiser seems to melt into the *Cultural-Missionary*[7] fired with the zeal to want to do something. The world seems clearly divided into two: those who have similar collections of knowledge and confidence about a certain something, and those who do not. It seems as clear as saying a have-culture and a have-not culture complete with values, behaviors and attitudes.

Eventually, so complete is this dichotomy of 'cultures' that individual differentiations blur as all others are seen as being alike. Such a judgemental sweeping up of other individuals (or things) into one indistinguishable mass, I have named as *Cluster-Judgement*.

More precisely, the intertwining of the essential themes of Cultural-Missionary and Cluster-Judgement encompass these aspects:

1. a clear sense of differentiation between one's own culture and that of others (thing or group of things);

2. the conviction of the rightness of one's own culture;

3. the two-fold capacity which enables one to see no fault with one's own culture, and thus its appropriateness for all others lacking it; and at the same time one's unquestioned assumption that others need or want this *right away* ;

4. the conviction that those who do not share one's own culture (or thing) really have nothing, so better-with-mine-than-with-nothing-at-all;

5. an overpowering charitable desire to share one's culture with others less fortunate (or impose?).

Dewey does not use this terminology of Cultural-Missionary or Cluster-Judgement, but he has strong words to say about the essential narrowness of vision and dogmatism and even authoritarianism that they depict. In particular, he rails against the authoritarian and superior teacher, the incessant demand for letter-perfect memorizing and subsequent reciting, the use of ready-made (and unquestioned) definitions, and the deadly effect of routines upon the intellect (Dewey, 1933:58-64).

> ...verbal and mechanical memory...versus judicious memory: the latter seizes the bearings of what is retained and recalled; it can

> therefore use the material in new situations where verbal memory would be at a complete loss (Dewey, 1933:79).
>
> But in themselves these definitions are second-hand and conventional; there is danger that instead of inciting one to effort after personal experience that will exemplify and verify them, they will be accepted on authority for direct observation and experiment (Dewey, 1933:162).

The cumulated behaviors are present throughout the process, yet give way to the dominance of certain behavior that presses the shift into the next phase or essential theme. Seduction may now, for example, emerge more boldly and flirtatiously than before. The essential themes of Cultural-Missionary (or authoritarian teacher) and Cluster-Judgement (students are ignorant alike), even though the bearers of negative traits, have served both to increase self-knowledge and to bring the individual closer to the Interest. As Interest and Curiosity intensify, Seduction may actually originate (or increase) from within the individual's own daydreaming and imagination that serves to expand the Interest (and the believed enticements) beyond reality.

The ballooning qualities of all-knowing confidence, the embellished self-conceived image of reality, together with "thinking it is what you want and believing you can get it"—all based only on superficial observation and superficial reflection (Reflective Pause), push one into the essential theme of *Living-the-life-of*.

Living-the-life-of represents the ultimate expression of believed familiarity with the Interest. (Margaret Lawrence, the great Canadian novelist told the story of the brain surgeon who, after telling her that he enjoyed one of her recent novels, remarked, "When I retire, I think I will write novels". To which Lawrence remarked wryly, "Yes, and I will become a brain surgeon!") Participating "like the natives", seemingly accepting and accepted, this theme represents comfort without present commitment, ongoing concern or even any past rootedness. It provides (like the entire phase of Acting) a means to appear to be really a part of what is going on, to be fully participating/experiencing not only to oneself but usually to others, but without any responsibility, commitment or connectedness: in short—without becoming involved. In other writings (Barer-Stein, 1985; 1987) I have used the analogy of the entire phase of Acting as a talented actor upon a stage, or better, as a potted tree whose presence adds a decorative note to the scene, but upon removal leaves no trace.

Intermittent Reflections

Throughout the learning process depicted so far, the subtle shifts in behavior and the exhuming of the essential themes within (all from the crosscultural experiences of one ESL teacher), became apparent through the persistence of two questions:

1. what is the individual *really* doing?
2. what differing behavior marks each shift?

Being Aware, Observing and Acting are common behaviors in everyday life. Some of the essential themes may be enlightening but overall there is a familiar ring. *But that is precisely the point that must not be overlooked.* For what I have done here is simply to "halt to re-examine (meticulously) what is really very ordinary". It is in the examination of the ordinary in our everyday life—that which makes it what it is—that we can hope to gain an understanding of that everyday life in which each of us is immersed:[8] our cultural matrix.

All of these phases are characterised in greater or lesser degree by passivity, distancing from Interest, willing acceptance of superficiality (even its cultivation in terms of outward gestures and behaviors, appearances), and the misconception that the Reflective Pause is synonymous with reflective thinking. At the very core of these first three phases is the soporific passivity that unquestioningly seeks and accepts authority, dogma and even routine and ritual; in fact the opposites, shared responsibility, flexibility and a questioning stance, are considered to be disquieting. ("Just tell me what you want me to do...") Heidegger (1962:163-168) speaks of this quality of "averageness" almost as of an all-pervasive and oppressive blanket of inertia militating against any spark of Curiosity in the individual. Dewey (1933:194) clearly depicts this phenomenon as well:

> Certain men or classes of men come to be the accepted guardians and tramsitters—instructors—of established doctrines. *To question the beliefs is to question their authority;* to accept the beliefs is evidence of loyalty to the powers that be; a proof of good citizenship. Passivity docility, acquiescence come to be primal intellectual virtues. Facts and events providing novelty and variety are slighted or sheared down till they fit into the procrustrean bed of *habitual belief.* Inquiry and doubt are silenced by citation of laws or a multitude of miscellaneous and unsifted cases. *This attitude of mind generates a dislike of change* and the resulting aversion to novelty is fatal to progress. What will not fit into the established canon is outlawed; men who make new discoveries are objects of suspicion and even persecution. Beliefs that perhaps were originally the products of originality and careful observation are *stereotyped into fixed traditions and semisacred dogmas, accepted simp authority* and are mixed with fantastic conceptions that to have won the acceptance of the authorities. (italics mine)

Initially I had mentioned that it was possible to remain in one phase. Acting seems to be the most comfortable, requiring the least effort (little effort past the initial ones) and seeming to yield the most in outward appearance of participating/experiencing. (This calls into question the enormous research efforts in adult education directed towards studying 'adult participation' (Courtney, 1981), especially since these were largely conducted as scientific *observations.)* As "average" and as "public" as this phase has been described, it exemplifies the self-ness of the first three phases all together: being self-satisfied with brevity, superficiality, unwilling to expend great effort. Any surge of Curiosity to be different or to do different things is readily suppressed with the assertion that 'nothing is really new' or with 'everyone knows that'. Over all, the self-conceived image of reality is easier than the effort to confront or understand the true reality—or the authentic self.

To shift from comfortable security and familiarity deliberately into something that is none of these things, is difficult. It means a change. It is a voluntary choice to move toward and into the unknown; a position always clouded with anxiety if not fear. Above all, to make a conscious choice to shift away and out of the familiar into (or close to) the unfamiliar is an implicit if not explicit willingness to accept the possibility of change.

The commonality of the first three phases share the special quality of togetherness that resides in 'averageness' and in mediocrity. Never to aspire to be different, to do differently, or to think differently, at least assures one of a company of equals and the security of sameness. Dewey (1933:238) expresses it like this:

> ...to get and give correct answers, to follow prescribed formulae of analysis, the pupil's attitude becomes *mechanical rather than thoughtful;* verbal memorizing is substituted for *inquiry into the meaning of things.* (italics mine)

And it was Dewey who emphasized that "Learning in the proper sense is not learning things, but the meaning of things" (Dewey, 1933:236-7), and stated further that:

> ...ability to repeat catch-phrases, cant terms, familiar propositions, *gives the conceit of learning and coats the mind with a varnish that waterproofs it to new ideas.* (italics mine)

Phase IV: Confronting

It is possible that even the comfortable individual, long a resident in the Acting phase of any particular Interest, momentarily driven by a surge of Curiosity and perhaps Seduction, may move forward to the *Confronting* phase. Commonly, 'confronting' is taken to imply conflict. Its essential meaning, however, *is a coming face to face.* This expresses exactly the closeness and the sudden silent realisation that occurs when two entities face and thus really see each other for the first time (of course it is possible that recognition may occur). Face to face and in this fullness of direct close attention is what I mean by Confronting.

But what has happened here that has not happened previously? What can draw one from complacency to the anxiety of unfamiliarity?

Faced with something or someone unfamiliar, quite inexplicably the application of familiar well-used 'tools', (the Reflective Pause) *does not yield meaning.* The explaining tools don't work: a hammer will not turn a screw. This fact of 'not-working' alone may precipitate wide-eyed Confronting and even increase Curiosity. It is jarring, startling. Nor is this unusual, for others have noted in some way that perplexity, doubt, confusion, the unexpected—each stimulate focused attention and subsequent reflection. Gadamer (1975:237) speaks of this as the "experience of being brought up short"; Mezirow (1981) has named such an experience "a discordant experience"; Dewey (1933:13) speaks of "whatever...perplexes and challenges the mind so that it makes belief at all uncertain...".

The abrupt confronting of difference or the unfamiliar is not always an externality, it may be the discovery of the unfamiliar in one's self rather than in one's everyday life. Either way, this can be devastating when Living-the-life-of has become believable and entrenched. The security erected on the shifting sands of superficiality topples when faced with the deeply-rooted unfamiliarity that has now emerged from the depths of Submerged Knowledge.[9]

As at every point of a shift in behavior, the individual has a choice:

1. to choose to be *passive:* to ignore the Confrontation or at least to meet and pass in a way that expresses no apparent reaction or forward movement;

2. to choose to engage in *conflict:* to engage in verbal or physical battle (including the subterfuges of battle such as distraction and surprise attacks) in the hope of winning one's way through strategy to prove that there really is not a differing way or thing;

3. to choose to *withdraw:* usually implying a retreat from this source of anxiety into oneself, one's past familiar world; and may also represent a halt to forward progression.

In the work from which the account of this learning process has been taken (Barer-Stein, 1987), I have compared this whole phase of Confronting with the possible interplay of its choices, to the behavior of a cat suddenly confronting the twitching end of his tail as though it were a quarry to be stalked and caught. Round and round it goes, to no avail; a pause and then it tries the alternate direction. Suddenly bored with this useless exercise, it seems to abruptly notice something much more important and stalks haughtily off, tail in the air.

The individual engaged in this interplay of choices (now trying one and now the other) is actually playing the cat game. The pretence of distraction is easier than closely examining the reality that the tail is part of oneself, one's daily life, one's culture. It is worthy of close scrutiny.

How frequently the matter of choice is presented as an absolutely random or arbitrary movement, yet the choice of a choice is not at all arbitrary. *The initial entry into any Awareness-of-Interest represents but one of countless possibilities of Interests each linked with the other by virtue of their emergence from one and the same ground: the individual's cultural matrix.* Elsewhere I have explained this in detail (Barer-Stein, 1985, 1987); suffice it here to recall that while there are many ways of considering the meaning of culture itself, I have come to my own expression (1985:2):

> ...culture is expressive of the many unique ways in which individuals group together, compose, understand and live their daily lives and in so doing, transmit a way of daily living to others.

Such a means of expressing culture permits the possibility of its including socio-economic status, gender, age, profession, and so on, even to being considered as a series of sub-cultures, each augmenting the individual's identity and connectedness. In this way each person is a conglomerate yet unique composition of the sum of culture and sub-cultures *without which the individual could not be that which he/she is.* One's world is viewed through the glass of this lifelong implantation of values, beliefs and attitudes; reality is made sense of, and language and behavior shape its expression. In this way, through verbal and non-verbal transmission enveloped in the primal need to belong, the expression of cultural norms becomes the 'stuff' of learning. Montagu (1968) emphasizes that cultural identity is not inherited but is learned. It is also dynamic and continually evolving with the human experiences that it exemplifies. From this deeply imbedded cultural matrix does Interest emerge and ignite that flicker of initial attention.

Dewey, too, reflects on the links between experiences, and in many instances in his 1933 book, purportedly directed to teachers of children–about children–he refers to adults:

> ...the carrying over of skill and understanding from one experience to another is dependent on the existence of like elements in both experiences (p. 67).

And more to the point:

> Adults normally carry on some occupation, profession, pursuit and this furnishes the stabilizing axis about which their knowledge, their beliefs and their habits of reaching and testing conclusions are organized (p. 49).

Accompanying choice, as close companions on all occasions, are questions. The matter of choice itself implies an implicit question. Figure No. 2 offers another way of seeing the learning process, as well as the educative process, in terms of a series of such questions.

Figure No. 2: Characteristic Questioning Within the Phases

	Phase	Dominant Question
I	Being Aware	"What is this?"
II	Observing	"How does this compare with what I know?"
III	Acting	"Shall I try it out?"
IV	Confronting	"Do I know this?" "Do I want to?"
V	Involving	"How did this come to be?" "What are the possibilities?" "Which make sense?" "What is the relevant meaning for me?"
	Paradox of Involvement	"I understand this—what else (awareness-of-interest) is there?"

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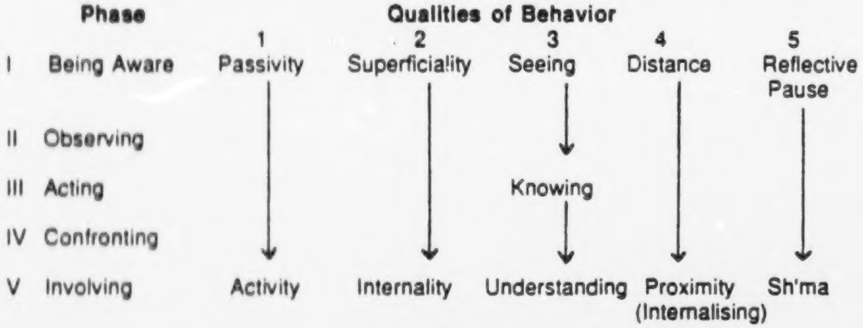
Phase V: Involving

With the Curiosity-driven questioning of "How did this come to be?, the individual has side-stepped the cat game and catapulted immediately into Involving. To ask *how* something different and unfamiliar came to be that which is, to ask such a question that can only find answer in the peeling away of layers of meaning until the innermost essential quality is laid bare, is to show an openness to that fourth choice that lies beyond passivity, conflict, and withdrawal, that is:

> ...to choose *to engage in the Sh'ma*–that process through which Submerged Knowledge may be disclosed in order to make possible the discovery of personally relevant meaning. This four-fold behavior encompasses: hearing/listening, reflecting/heeding.

This "deeply burrowing inward reflection" (Barer-Stein, 1985), so like the careful exhuming of the field archeologist, removing and sifting layer after layer, also shares the archeologist's inability to predict the outcome. The archeologist seeks hidden treasures from the past, the Involving individual seeks understanding, and its special place together with all other personally relevant meanings.

Figure No. 3: The Sequential Intensifying of Behaviors


Phase
Qualities of Behavior
1
2
3
4
5
I Being Aware
Passivity
Superficiality
Seeing
Distance
Reflective Pause
II Observing
III Acting
Knowing
IV Confronting
V Involving
Activity
Internality
Understanding
Proximity (Internalising)
Sh'ma

Also:
-from 'easily removed' to 'rootedness'
-from 'minimal information to profound information
-increasing accumulation of the 'thing'
-increasing interest of the 'thing'

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Perhaps the most significant aspect of Figure No. 3 is the distinction between 'knowing' and 'understanding'. For educators such distinction is crucial. Dewey (1933:148) noted:

> It is assumed too frequently that subject matter is understood when it has been stored in memory and can be reproduced on demand. The net outcome of our discussion is that *nothing is really known except insofar as it is understood.* (italics mine)

To emphasize this difference between 'knowing' and 'understanding', and to pursue Dewey's thoughts above, one can imagine the "subject matter stored in memory" as so many books stored on a shelf: we may know where to find them and even something of what is written within, but we do not really understand their content until we have reflectively grasped their expressed meaning in our own everyday life.

To move from Acting (knowing) into Involving (understanding) can only be achieved through the Sh'ma. Taken from the Hebrew word *shema* which means 'to hear' but which also commonly implies to hear and to heed (as in the central prayer of Judaism, *The Shema* (Hertz, 1972:920-924), the Sh'ma is not a body of knowledge to be learned nor even a method to be memorized. It encompasses a broad grasp of reflective thinking that includes what is necessary to come to that thinking, what may be involved within the thinking itself, and its outcomes. It is most akin to phenomenological thinking[10] that seeks to unfold and to exhume and disclose meanings and possibilities of meanings. Its ways are groping, angular, circular and even looping back and forth. Since the act of thinking transcends any depicted methodology[11], such reflective thinking transcends any methodological limitations and must also be as uniquely engaged in and enacted upon, as the individual doing it. Because my use of this term, Sh'ma, is intended to embody the totality of such an individual process, it can only be explicated in broad brush strokes as: hearing/ listening, reflecting/heeding:

1. the *hearing* represents the awareness and immediate recognition of what is heard[12], pressed forward by the intensity of Curiosity and likely past experience of the enticement of such knowing;

2. the *listening* represents the close attentiveness of a dialogue with the thing: an opening of oneself, a willingness to see differently[13];

3. the *reflecting* represents on the one hand a playful freeing of the mind to imagine, to project, but also to collect from Surface and Submerged Knowledge[14], from comparisons and inferences a display of all possible possibilities. Then begins the 'trying out' to see which fits best and "makes no sense to doubt" (Blum, 1970). Such reflecting continually moves forward and loops back with the questioning of

   How did this come to be?
   What possibilities made this possible?
   Which possibilities make sense?
   In this context: Which is relevant for me?

4. the *heeding* represents the new-found appreciation and understanding of the thing and the consequent vigilance for its appearance, care and use. It represents the now effortless movement to embrace and enclose the 'thing' precisely because of the effort of discovering its meaningful place for the self.

Within itself, the Sh'ma represents and reflects the larger PROCESS OF LEARNING AS A PROCESS OF EXPERIENCING THE UNFAMILIAR in the phases it shifts through of Being Aware, Observing, Acting, and Confronting embraced with Involving in the Sh'ma. Confronting the unfamiliar with a confident shift to Sh'ma, and thus to Involving, forms the central point of the entire process of learning.

For Dewey, reflective thinking in some form is also central and essential to the educative process he is encouraging teachers of children to understand (Dewey, 1933). From his title *How We Think*, to his many explanations of reflective thinking, he, too, stresses the necessity of "unconstrained mental play in the early stages of acquaintance with a subject" and the alternation of "projection and reflection" (without recognising that projection is an aspect of reflection) and even "random experimenting" (Dewey, 1933:282) as the beginning of "thinking". Two techniques within reflective thinking are particularly stressed by Dewey:

> 1. *Inference* is the process of arriving at an idea of what is absent on the basis of what is at hand... Inference involves a leap...a jump from the known to the unknown (p. 95).
>
> *Inference* relates to what is possible rather than to what is actual. It proceeds by anticipation, supposition, conjecture, imagination (p. 104).
>
> 2. *Abstracting* gets the mind emancipated from conspicuous familiar traits that hold it fixed by their very familiarity. Thereby it acquires *the ability to dig underneath the already known* to some unfamiliar property or relation that is intellectually more significant because it makes possible a more extensive reference (p. 201). (italics mine)

Dewey alludes to what I have previously depicted (Barer-Stein, 1985, 1987) as Surface and Submerged Knowledge. In another part of his 1933 book he even refers to the five phases or aspects of reflective thought as: suggestions, intellectualizations, hypotheses or ideas, mental elaboration of those and finally testing by overt or imaginative action (p. 107). Finally, to emphasize the centrality and the crucial quality of reflective thinking to the educative process of children, Dewey himself has italicized this section:

> *The function of reflective thought is therefore, to transform a situation in which there is experienced obscurity, doubt, conflict, disturbance of some sort, into a situation that is clear, coherent, settled, harmonious* (p. 100).

It seems that within one sentence, Dewey has anticipated and almost described the process of learning that I would observe fifty-two years later. In one articulate expression, he has condensed Confronting and Involving, the central aspects of the learning process–yet he is speaking of an *educative process.*

To continue the analogy of the tree that I presented to clarify the notion of Acting, it could be said that Involving is represented by a deliberately planted tree with its spreading roots burrowing into clinging and nourishing soil. Those intertwining roots and soil represent a reciprocal connectedness from which extrication would prove wrenching, even damaging. Furthermore, Involving is a willful shift, not just towards something but *actually becoming one with the thing itself,* the movement in itself connoting willing, inextricable, and meaningful connectedness (Barer-Stein, 1985, 1987).

Dewey, too, had a strong notion of this sense of oneness, completion when he wrote:

> To experience a thing fully is in familiar phrase to get a 'realizing sense of it';...to have it come home to one, to have it take possession...Barriers and obstructions that have previously come between the mind and some object, truth or situation, fall away. The mind and subject seem to come together and unite. This is the state of affairs that is designated by the word 'appreciation'...experienced with a heightened intensity of value (1933:277).

The Paradox of Involving

I have attempted, in Figure No. 1, to show that the Paradox of Involving is not another phase, but a phenomenon that commonly occurs with the entrenchment of the Awareness-of-Interest into the deeply worn ruts of understanding. The more deeply the Involving becomes, the more has the Interest now become internalized as an inextricable part of oneself, and the more insiduously it threads its way within the common, habitual daily activities of the individual.

This is the same as saying that to be truly Involved would be to be able to take something for granted, or to say, *the better you know something the less you are aware of knowing it.* Seldom really noticed, it is this growing familiarity with which the final phase of Involving is gradually tipped and then tilted towards a new Awareness-of-Interest.

And in 1933, Dewey was saying:

> It is significant that one meaning of the term 'understand' is something so thoroughly mastered, so completely agreed upon as to be assumed: that is to say, something taken as a matter of course without explicit statement. The familiar "it goes without saying" means "it is understood" (p. 280).

And was this another way to describe learning itself?

> There is no end to this spiral process: foreign subject matter transformed through thinking into a familiar possession becomes a resource for judging and assimilating additional foreign matter (Dewey, 1933:291).

Or was Dewey anticipating the movement towards "Lifelong Learning"? The striking congruency between the various aspects of the learning process and what Dewey has explicated as an "educative process" leaves little room for argument that each process not only validates the other, but enhances the meaning of teaching as "guiding learning." The congruency of these two processes and the centrality of reflective thinking in each is further emphasized in Figure No. 4.

Figure No. 4: Explications of Learning Process Compared with Dewey's Explications of Educative Process

LEARNING PROCESS	EDUCATIVE PROCESS
I. Being Aware: "Something here is different"	"As long as an activity glides smoothly, there is no call for reflection" (14)
Reflective Pause: - Collecting) - Questioning) Superficial, Brief - Comparing)	"The familiar and the near do not excite"(289) "We do not attend to the old, or consciously mind that to which we are accustomed" (289)
Occurs When: 1. Something is different or unfamilial 2. Some aspect of the familiar seems different 3. Deliberate effort to reflect: "halt to examine the ordinary"	"Reflection begins with significance, expectations of characteristic behaviours, a filtering process of selection of meanings...he tries to apply in every new experience whatever result of his old experience will help him understand and deal with it" (156)
Essential Themes: *Awareness-of-Interest:* - the glance or pause that denotes "something different or unfamiliar" *Curiosity:* - a desire/need to know more (anticipation, excitement, suspense) *Seduction:* - the bait: what you think you want and hope you can get	"all persons have a natural desire--akin to curiosity-- ...for a fuller and wider knowledge" (248) (aware = acquaintance)
II. Observing: "just looking"	"observation is impelled by sympathetic interest in extending acquaintance" (249)
Spectator: Distant sustained awareness *Sightseer:* With purpose of focusing and seeking out interest	
III. Acting In-The-Scene): "entry into the scene of interest"	"accepted on authority as substitutes for direct observation and experiment"
Witness-Appraiser: busy with many "reflective pauses", collecting, questioning, comparing (superficial, brief)	"but only information acquired by thinking can be put to logical use" (64)
Cultural-Missionary: "the zeal to want to do something--and belief in self as best"	"external standards manifests itself in the importance attached to the right answer" (66)
Cluster-Judgement: "inability to differentiate individuals from groups, parts from whole"	"passivity of mind" (261) "habitual belief" (194)
Living-The-Life-Of: Accepting & Accepted "ultimate expression of believed familiarity"	"accepted simply and solely on authority" (194)

BEING AWARE) "public-ness, average"
OBSERVING) -Acceptance of Authority
ACTING) -Passive
-Accept Dogma, Ritual, Routine

"whatever requires little effort or reflection"
"quantity more important than quality, depth"

IV. Confronting:
"as a coming face to face"

Occurs When:
"this unfamiliar thing will not yield meaning through the (superficial) Reflective Pause"
Choices:
1. *Passive*
2. *Conflict*
3. *Withdraw*

"the 'cat-game' of distraction rather than examining the reality that is part of one's life"

V. Involving/Understanding:
"discovery of personally relevant meaning"

Choice:
4. *SH'MA:* understanding, internality, proximity to interest from engagement in:

HEARING/LISTENING
REFLECTING/HEEDING

Paradox of Involving:
"the better you know something the less you are aware of knowing it"

"...threading its way deeply within the common, habitual daily activities"

"Passivity of mind dulls curiosity and generates mind wandering" (261)

"the origin of thinking is perplexity, doubt, confusion" (15)

"the difficulties of an experience are to be cherished as the natural stimuli to thinking" (87)

"thinking begins with a disturbance to one's equilibrium" (15)

"nothing is really known except insofar as understood" (100)

"to experience a thing fully is to have it take possession...mind & subject seem to unite (277)

"function of reflective thought is to transform obscurity, doubt,...to a situation of coherence, clarity, harmony" (100)

"projection & reflection should alternate" (282)

"thoughtful persons are heedful" (76)

"meaning of the term 'understand' as so completely mastered & agreed upon as to be assumed"–"it goes without saying" (280)

"habits that introduce coherence into our experience without our being aware of their operation" (161)

TOTALITY OF THE PROCESS:
"Understanding of a subject or of a new aspect of an old subject must always be through acts of experiencing directly" (162)

Collected Reflections and Possible Implications for Adult Educators

Since Thomas (1986) has suggested that further glimpses into the "true meaning of learning" may enhance the practice of adult educators, this paper has attempted to provide such glimpses within the two perspectives suggested by Thomas (1986): one that is independent of any educational system (Barer-Stein, 1987) and one that is independent "even of the education of adults"–hence the chosen educative process as depicted by Dewey for teachers of children. Using the framework of "Learning as a Process of Experiencing the Unfamiliar" (Barer-Stein, 1985, 1987) selected excerpts from Dewey's 1933 work, *How We Think*, were discussed.

Initially, this very juxtaposition of two philosophically reflective works seems to add credence to Dewey's contention that "philosophy should be cultivated to deal with the problems of men" because "philosophy is a phenomenon of human culture" (1933:cover). It also seems to strengthen speculation of a strong relationship both existing and necessary between education (what educators do) and learning (what learners do). For as Dewey noted, the process of educating children is "the art of guiding learning" (1933:266).

Nor does he leave any doubt as to *what* that learning must entail:

> There is nothing educative in an activity, however agreeable that does not lead the mind out into new fields (p. 217).

And finally, his memorable words:

> Learning is learning to think... (p. 78).
>
> Learning in the proper sense, is not learning things, but the meaning of things... (p. 236).

If we concede that this examination of two perspectives of learning, one independent of education and the other independent of the education of adults has yielded a further glimpse of learning itself, we still must ask, "What does this mean for adult educators?" A relationship between educating and learning has long been a cherished assumption that has now been shown to have some basis in human behavior. If educating and learning can be seen as congruent processes that may progress through like phases, what can be gained for the adult educator through understanding these phases and their essential themes? How might the understanding of the centrality of a form of reflective thinking practically affect the tasks within the educator's practice?

It is possible that such understanding (not resting at a mere 'knowing') may enable an adult educator:

1. to recognise the phase of teaching and the phase of learning attained at any point by both educator and learner;
2. to determine if the learner's Interest is progressing or waning;
3. to frequently introduce challenges of doubt, perplexity, unfamiliarity;
4. to support, encourage and guide the learner's progress in a forward movement;
5. to offer assurance to the learner that each shift of behavior is simply a part of a process;
6. to help the learner reflect on their choices of possibilities;
7. to present information and skills as incomplete, unformed, undefined, requiring–demanding–the reflective engagement of the learner (encouraging the explorer or detective approach);
8. to guide learners towards seeking relevant meaning for themselves, in their own contexts (family, community, world);
9. to encourage projects and activities that create links with what is known and familiar and what may be enticingly explored;
10. to provide time for thought within each project or program;
11. to be open to pursuing related topics, relevant concerns;
12. to retain a personal awareness of what it means to be aware, to be observing, to be acting, to be confronting and to be involving;
13. to recognise the role of reflective questioning (the 'how' questions) towards understanding and appreciating.

Educators must reflectively question their own tasks of planning, administering, marketing and teaching. While adult educators speak so familiarly of 'needs' and 'participation', a vigilant awareness of the phases and essential themes within a learning process as shown here, may help to develop a hesitancy about both concepts, since each must be continuously appraised in the light of the inherent dynamism of all human experience. Do I 'need' today, this moment, what I expressed as a 'need' yesterday, a month ago? Is there a possibility that my 'participation' (a euphemism for learning?) waxes and wanes even as my Curiosity?

The recognition by adult educators that their own task of educating others may be more effective, more efficient, and more exhilarating if they themselves could come to grips with the fact that each group, each class, each situation or project or program, is never quite the same as the one before; there is always at least an element of difference, of unfamiliarity—and therefore an entry into a process of learning for the educator! Add to this that each group of people differs by virtue of the unique individuals within each and there arises added and growing incentive for the adult educator to confront each difference with the Sh'ma.

But we must return to the fact that a learning process as depicted herein is grounded in the everyday experience of an adult, whereas Dewey's educative process is intended for teachers of children. Can we derive any implications out of the congruency of these two processes about the possible relationship of education and learning in the everyday lives—within the context of schooling and outside of it—of adults and children? Dewey's main thrust was the singular aim of awakening the child's innate Curiosity and of helping to guide and sustain it towards and through a reflective thinking experience. Can we substitute 'adult' for 'child', or might we progress by a more serious and practical application of the term 'learner' to replace either adult or child?

Presenting the incomplete, the unexpected, avoiding routine and dogma and eschewing the temptation of control and authority, what then remains for the educator?

What remains is a clearer picture of what educating could be. It could be given the willingness to risk, the willingness to be flexible and the willingness to be open to change synonymous for both educator and learner. It could be a collaboration of experiences, ideas, imaginings, projections and inferences. So-called[15] experiential learning could be a mutual experience of deciding, planning and doing. Most importantly, regardless of the subject at hand, each excursion into the unfamiliar could be a reinforcement and an expansion of individual Sh'ma: a more intensified hearing, a more open listening, a broader display of possibilities within reflecting, and a more vigilant and conscious heeding.

Notes

[1] The sources of discussion and quotations, and all figures except Figure No. 4, are taken from previous publications:
Barer-Stein, Thelma, "Learning as a Process of Experiencing the Unfamiliar", *Studies in the Education of Adults,* U.K. N.I.A.C.E. October 1987.
Dewey, John, *How We Think: A Restatement of the Relation of Reflective Thinking to the Educative Process,* Boston: D.C. Heath, 1933.

[2] The original research detailing the grounds of the findings and the research approach are to be found in Barer-Stein, 1985.

[3] The listing of the "Universal Aspects of Learning" are taken from Thomas, 1983 and also quoted in Barer-Stein, 1987.

[4] See Barer-Stein, 1985 for the detailed grounds of these findings.

[5] The use of the term 'essential' in a phenomenological work is derived from Husserl, 1913. He stated that what is essential to a thing is "that

without which the thing could not be what it is".

[6] The grounds of our experience in daily life become the 'stuff' of investigational research in a phenomenological work. No experimental situation is contrived, no variables are deleted or limited. What attracts the researcher, what commands attention and demands explanation—is how some matters dominate while others recede: it is a matter (as in daily life) of relevance.

[7] Throughout this work the term 'culture' is to each individual as water is to each fish; we exist within it, we are shaped by it and we cannot live without it. Used as in "Cultural-Missionary" it refers to the broadest possible interpretation of culture.

[8] Immersion in culture (as in the note 7 above) is not a matter of choice or selection it is what we are and what we have emerged from, and it is within us and around us—our baggage, our identity, the sum total of our daily living.

[9] My use of Submerged Knowledge and Surface Knowledge is more detailed in Barer-Stein, 1985 and 1987. Briefly, Surface Knowledge is that knowing of which we are readily aware, while Submerged Knowledge refers to each individual's storehouse of knowings which requires varying degrees of effort to exhume (literally dig out and bring to light) in order to discover relevant meaning.

[10] This description is quoted from Barer-Stein, 1985:44-45:

> To think phenomenologically is to force aside the natural reticence of thinking about what is *not* exposed and of what has *not* been said (as well as what has):
> It is to reflect on that which is known and visible (Surface Knowings) as well as what is not (Submerged Knowings);
> And it is to call forth an assembly of all possible facets of these Surface and Submerged Knowings for concentrated reflection;
> It is to encompass within each act of reflecting an analytical separating and then an interpretive reunion into new possibilities of meaning 'that it makes no sense to doubt'.

[11] The notion that thinking transcends method may be easier to grasp when we realise that methodology is derived from reflective thinking, and similarly is improved or changed. Thinking can be directed or temporarily constrained by a methodology, but thinking cannot be limited to a particular way. (See also Gadamer, 1985:25).

[12] See Heidegger (1962:206-207) for an elucidation of the notion of hearing as existentially primary and that what is first heard is readily identified as the 'what' of hearing. Whether or not we progress in this 'what' dependent upon individual Interest. I have felt that hearing seems to draw a little more individual attention than does 'seeing', also "existentially primary", but which may be more cursory than it is possible to be with a hearing.

[13] From Barer-Stein (1985), the subject expresses openness:

> I think there is a quality of the mind, a willingness to move into a different way of seeing, a willingness to understand a different point of view at least to entertain it, to listen...

[14] See Note 9 and 10 above.

[15] I have used "so-called" with the intent to raise at least a questioning eyebrow. Each educator must ask him/herself the extent to which an individual has really had meaningful (thoughtful) participation in any 'learning experience'. Who decided it was needed? Who planned it and organized it? Who actually did it? Who made sense of it?

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May/mai, 1987, Vol. I, No. 1, Pp. 51-58

Perspectives

ACADEMIC ADULT EDUCATION

Alan M. Thomas
The Ontario Institute for Studies in Adult Education

It ought not to be news to practicing adult educators, university and otherwise, that the academic arms of adult education are in trouble. While relationships between the academic adult educators and the practitioners have been uneven, to say the least, nevertheless what happens to any other area of "adult education" must be of interest, if not concern, to all other areas.

It was in 1958 that the first full-time Masters program in adult education in Canada was created at the University of British Columbia. Prior to that there had been courses in adult education offered at various Canadian universities for professional educators pursuing graduate degrees in education. Following that development, full programs appeared at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, the University of Montreal, the University of Saskatchewan, and St. Francis Xavier University. Other universities have offered work in this area, providing for the growing number of individuals who found themselves in positions requiring some "expertise" with respect to adults engaged in learning. Two characteristics have dominated the very rapid growth of the provision of opportunities for individuals to study adult education in Canadian universities since 1958. First, the programs of study have been offered at the graduate level; second, almost all of the students have been older than the average graduate student, largely because they had been employed in the practice of adult education before they sought the opportunity to improve their skills and understanding. While this circumstance reflected the rapidly increasing participation by adults in education throughout the 1960's, 70's and 80's, it also reflected the characteristic pattern of the adult learner, who seeks learning as a result of current challenges and problems, rather than as preparation.

Both of these aspects have presented an endemic problem for graduate departments of adult education. They have been caught between the demands of being vehicles of graduate study with an emphasis on pure research and proper contribution to learned journals, and being professional schools with an emphasis on practice and contributions to policy development. As long as the "palmy days" of almost unlimited public financial support for universities continued in Canada, the ambiguities were tolerable, but when those days ended and universities were forced to reassess their roles and function, the tolerance disappeared.

There is some considerable irony in these developments. While financial support for universities has declined, and the contribution to the public well-being of their two functions, teaching and research in all areas, has been questioned (at all levels, both inside and outside of the formal educational system) even in the face of higher fees and restricted access, adult participation in education has grown rapidly. Where this has been the case in other areas of university interests and contributions, say, in computer applications, resources have been made available and departments have been created, but not in adult education.

Most academic departments of adult education have been intellectual sports (in the biological sense of the word) of the academic environment in which they were created. At O.I.S.E., for example, there were originally ten departments of academic specialization. Nine of those departments, including Curriculum, Applied Psychology, Sociology, History and Philosophy, Special Education, Computer Applications, Measurement and Evaluation, Educational Administration and Educational Planning, were devoted to the education of children and young people. The tenth, Adult Education, was defined in terms of a totally different and, now, larger population–adult students/learners–and was expected to cope, for that population, with all of the specializations represented by all of the other departments. In short, it was expected to be able to reflect, for its students, the history, philosophy, sociology, curriculum development, special education, psychology, and so on, of the education of adults. As long as the education of adults was perceived to be a remedial enterprise, dealing with those small numbers who had somehow failed the opportunities provided for all Canadian children, the ironies of distribution of responsibility went unnoticed, except by adult educators.

Recently, all this has changed. Study after study in Canada and elsewhere in the industrial world has indicated that the population of adults engaged in formal education, presumably needing the skills of graduates of departments of adult education, is not composed of the failures of the formal system, but its successes. In addition, those same studies have indicated that there are increasing numbers, whom the formal system has failed and who cannot survive equitably in Canadian society unless they, as adults, have access to educational opportunity which they, as adults, understand. No democratic society, which genuinely wishes to survive as a democratic society, can afford to ignore these citizens.

Adult education has come of age. The consequences of this development are now making themselves felt on the academic departments.

There are two separate consequences. The first is that the dominant institutions of Canadian society, indeed of all industrial societies, the big battalions, have discovered the potential of adult education. Business, health, the military, and the clergy, have discovered that they cannot survive without taking seriously the learning of their employees, clients, patients, and/or members. Having discovered this, they are not likely to leave the development of educational support systems for adults to the existing academic departments of adult education. In short, adult education is much too important to be left to adult educators. Already it is clear that these various institutions are developing training and educational programs, at least to the "masters" level, for adult educators who will function within them. The likelihood is that the existing departments will lose their most influential and best endowed students in masters level programs over the next few years. They will attract a few back for doctoral work, and in those cases the ideological problems will be very stimulating. What will be lost will be a unifying idea which the common academic experience of all adult educators who have sought academic education has provided up until now, the idea that it is the adult learner who is at the center of the enterprise of adult education. It is a subtle idea, and a subtle relationship, difficult to maintain between teacher and learner under any circumstances, and in any context. But as teachers of adults are, in increasing numbers, trained in specific institutional contexts, interests of those institutions are likely to be unquestioned.

The second consequence is one to which academic adult educators are more vulnerable, since it comes from within the academic establishment itself. For thirty years, academic adult educators have worked, mostly, in an atmosphere of benign neglect from their colleagues, to establish adult education as a respectable field of study and teaching. They have not much minded, in fact they have enjoyed, incorporating all the other specializations in their work because they have been convinced that when you alter the educational equation by substituting an adult for a child, everything else in that equation changes. There has been a lot of genuine learning taking place, among professors and students alike, the kind of learning that universities are supposed to foster, and do, but rarely.

This preoccupation has blinded most of the academic adult educators to some other developments. For instance, Canada, and the professional educational faculties, are running out of children. Fewer children, despite the arguments for increased resources for them and their teachers, means fewer teachers to be trained. The professional establishment of teacher trainers has been noticing that there is a huge population of adult learners, much larger than any projection of the future numbers of children, and—well—a teacher is a teacher. Existing faculty members have genuinely been extending their interests to young adults—community college students—and to others. However this may have been happening with individuals, university administrations have concluded that the education of adults is a normal and legitimate extension of the present capacities of their faculties; usually without acknowledging that work with adult learners requires different skills. As a result, individual professors, with quite legitimate skills in the education of children, have been moved into responsibilities for educators of adults. There is nothing wrong with this, as long as systematic opportunity for these people to learn some of the differences in working with adults is in place. Adult educators are committed to the belief that adults, all adults including university professors of education, can learn. We had better, in the next few years, remember that commitment.

In the case of the departments of adult education at the Universities of British Columbia and Montreal, the extension of the interests of the rest of the faculty would appear to be the case. A few years ago, at the University of British Columbia, the adult educators were moved into a department of Higher, Administrative and Adult Education. Subsequently it was proposed that the adult education group, as a distinct group, be eliminated, and its members distributed amongst other faculty groupings. Students would be able to pursue a program of studies in adult education only by means of the selection of courses and faculty members from groups organized under other rubrics. So far this proposal has not been implemented, though there are no guarantees.

An argument can be advanced for that sort of arrangement, provided, and only provided, that the faculty as a whole is organized on the basis of a conception of continuing or life-long education. The interests of adults must be functionally and intellectually incorporated in the entire range of study. That may be, at present, too much to hope for, but the UBC proposal may also be a glimpse of the real future.

At the University of Montreal, repeated attempts have been made to reorganize the faculty, with the Department of Androgogie folded into a new grouping, including Educational Administration. So far, this has been resisted by the androgogic group, but it is far from sure that the resistance will be successful.

At the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, the issue appears to have been one of the conflict between whether it is a school of graduate or professional study. After a review by the Ontario Council of Graduate Schools in 1984-85, the Ph.D. program was closed because the faculty members had not published sufficiently in refereed journals. No other reason was given for the closure, and no discussion of the availability of such journals or of their value was permitted. A glance at the faculty members is revealing. Half of them have come from field practice, in mid-life, and the other half are what might be termed "career academics". What is probable is that those who entered in mid-career have not been entirely "seized" by the significance of publishing in the small number of small circulation refereed journals available. That this statistic, the number of published articles, is a measure of their research capabilities, and therefore a measure of their ability to supervise Ph.D. students, was unappealable. That only career academics, with the proper respect for the refereed journals, are the best teachers for practitioners of adult education now, and the the future, is a matter that urgently needs debate. Perhaps the designation of a professional school is the right one, and the existing departments should make sure that they are very good professional schools and forget about competing on grounds that they cannot win, where, perhaps, winning would be irrelevant to adult education. Professional schools in universities have served medicine, law, social work, for example, very well indeed, and that is not bad company for adult education to be in. However, we should also note that almost all of these professional schools are now in trouble.

At a 1985 meeting of a relatively new Learned Society, The Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education, an oral survey of all of the existing academic programs in adult education revealed that the big programs were in difficulty, while the smaller ones were flourishing. Further discussion revealed that the big and older programs were those with specific designations of adult education, while the smaller ones were more integrated in various ways with dominant programs of educational studies. It is likely that the model reflected by the smaller and newer programs will prevail. The bigger ones seem doomed to some form of integration. However, there must be a struggle to ensure that what they are integrated into is educational study, and teaching, that is based on a concept of "continuing education". That is, an educational system that includes all ages and that is open to predominantly voluntary participation at every stage of life. That, in fact, is what is happening to education in Canada now, and we must be sure that the academic study of education reflects that reality.

We pointed out that one of the dominant characteristics of existing academic departments of adult education is that without exception they are graduate level departments. Why this is the case is simply a matter of history. Existing faculties of education in Canada, for the most part, grew out of teacher training institutions. Prior to the late 1950's, any Canadian wishing to study education as an academic discipline, distinct from wishing to train as a teacher of children and youth, was obliged to pursue such study outside of Canada, predominantly in a few institutions in the United States of America. With the growth of teacher training institutions in Canada into schools of academic study, it was inevitable that adult education, a marginal enterprise at the time, would find a place at the graduate level. After you had learned how to teach children and young people in school, you encountered the teaching of adults. Much of the school curriculum, mathematics in particular, has been constructed on the basis of such historical development. There is no logical reason why descriptive geometry cannot be taught in grade two or three.

The result was that these graduate schools of adult education attracted not only students with an intellectual interest in education, which included increasing numbers of adults, but they also attracted larger and larger numbers of individuals who found themselves faced with the challenge of practicing the education of adults, and wished to learn how to improve their skills and understanding. Many of these individuals had not trained as teachers of children, and many came from situations unfamiliar to the conventional perspective of what the practice of education consisted of: they came from hospitals, banks, insurance companies, churches, voluntary organizations, in short, all of the major locations of adult life. They included individuals already professionally trained: nurses, doctors, social workers, clergymen, administrators, lawyers, and some teachers who were aware of the changes taking place in formal education. The result has been a formidable and enormously stimulating intellectual mixture; what, in our opinion, the university ought to be. But in the somewhat narrow academic practices that presently dominate Canadian universities, that ferment has caused problems.

The major characteristic that these students brought was that they understood how to combine learning, of a systematic and determined nature, with all of the ordinary demands of adult life. Unlike the conventional graduate student, they had not spent their lives entirely as students. Some of the academic programs, OISE as an example, constructed their admissions policies, and their programs, on the basis that such knowledge was not teachable; it could be learned from experience only. To try to teach young and conventional students, who had never interrupted their schooling, about the circumstances of the adult student, was impossible. It could only result in knowledge without understanding.

The dilemma then was, and is, that a group of relatively highly trained individuals demand from a graduate school of adult education a greater ability to practice adult education. The result has been a very high demand for teaching and discussion, and the use of the results of research from an enormous variety of other academic disciplines. After all, all disciplines are the result of people learning things–and it is to this learning that adult educators must direct their attention.

As a result of the creation of departments of adult education, and the legitimate demands of students, programs in those departments have been an uneasy mixture of apparently "technical" and "academic" courses. A further result has been a division of faculty members between those who have been fundamentally preoccupied with teaching, and the intellectual demands of already highly qualified students, and those faculty who have pursued the conventional paths of publishable research–and with distinction. While we can, and should, argue that the combination of such interests within single departments has benefitted everyone, the fact is that the dominant university system in Canada rewards only one of the two parties to the enterprise.

Another perspective is that some of what is now taught in academic departments of adult education is really not graduate level study at all, but should be taught at the level of teacher training which is, in Canada, a curious mixture of graduate and undergraduate instruction. This argument has some point, if we consider what ought to take place, in Canada, with respect to the training of school teachers in the future. In Ontario there are now over 50,000 full-time, day-time, secondary students, over the age of 21. Most of them are women, and their numbers have grown by 700% in eight years. There is every reason to believe that those numbers will continue to grow as the numbers in conventional age groups continue to decline. Indeed, what appears to be the case is that the future of the public school system, at least in that province, depends on adult students, not on children. For that reason, teacher training must adapt itself to what we have learned over the past fifty years about working with adult learners. That is to say, that future graduates of teacher training institutions must learn to be teachers, irrespective of the chronological age of their students. They must be trained to teach forty-year olds, twelve-year olds, or any mixture of ages they encounter. It is very instructive to examine the current practices and materials of teacher training and to discover how much is unself-consciously based on assumptions about the ages and social inclinations of the students.

The existing departments of adult education that are already administratively integrated have some formidable tasks ahead of them. Those that face integration, like the University of British Columbia, the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, and the University of Montreal, have equally formidable challenges, but for them, the lines are drawn more clearly, if no less painfully. There is only one final measure, however difficult it may be to define and make operational: the interests of the adult students must not be sacrificed to administrative convenience, or any other.

There are still, however, lessons to be learned from existing departments; how they grew and flourished over three decades. We must not abandon recklessly or in panic what we have had. They were for the most part made up of a mixture of the following: mature adult students, already with some professional training and with considerable experience in dealing with adult learning under a wide variety of circumstances; faculties composed of career academics with considerable experience with and respect for the rituals and procedures of academic life; and of others with academic qualifications who have spent considerable periods of their lives in the practice of adult education. In these communities, the search for truth about adult learning was and is pursued with reasonable skepticism about all established beliefs and procedures. Whether that truth is to be discovered only by conventional research, and made manifest only in the pages of frail but properly refereed journals has been a constant subject of debate.

The increasing use of "qualitative research methods" does suggest that it may equally well be found in the intense interactions of these communities, and all other human communities. For that reason we have tried to treat our students, and they have tried to respond, not only as vessels to be shaped by superior knowledge, but as participants in these enquiries, contributing invaluable knowledge and experience of their own. For that reason their presence in the departments, and their accomplishments afterwards have been and remain of critical concern to us. Once learning is acknowledged to have escaped from the confines of the classroom, indeed of an educational system, its forms seem to be variable, elusive, and subject to constant change. We must not surrender what we have been learning about learning, without a struggle, to a university system which has misplaced its sense of mission precisely because it has lost its dominance of particular outcomes of learning.

In contemporary Canada, the answers to that question, those questions, are not certain. But the question must be asked, and asked on an everyday basis. If we are to redistribute, as we must, our teaching, over different students and in a much greater variety of situations, we must retain the kind of exchange that these departments have represented at their best in the past two decades. Despite the present circumstances and the "take-over" threats from all sides, we must take what we have represented seriously, and not allow these precious lights to go out.

So, having spend forty years or more in the "marginal" wilderness, both practically and intellectually, we must now face the problems of success. These are apt to be far more difficult than those we have faced in the past, precisely because there is so much at stake. Everything of significance is determined in the minds of "men" (persons) and when those persons are also learners, the world is there to win–or to lose.

We must accept that there will be many new people and organizations emerging, within and without universities, as teachers of adult educators, and we must accept that they can learn, as we accept that all adults can learn. And, we must fight within our own and other organizations to make sure the integrity of the learner, adult or otherwise, is and remains the bottom line. We have enjoyed a certain freedom of self-determination these past twenty years, we must now prove to ourselves and to others that is has been justified.

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LES DÉFIS DE L'ÉDUCATION DES ADULTES COMME CHAMP D'ÉTUDE: COMMENTAIRE

Adèle Chené
Université de Montréal

Les positions d'Alan Thomas sont prudentes en nous conviant à regarder dans les directions de l'avenir autant que dans celles du passé et en déguisant derrière de nouveaux défis la nostalgie des origines.

Le tableau qui est tracé du développement des programmes d'études supérieures en éducation des adultes et des paradoxes de l'insertion de la formation professionnelle dans l'université pourrait valoir pour l'ensemble des programmes d'études supérieures en éducation. De plus, ni l'âge ou l'expérience, ni l'hétérogénéité des adultes qui poursuivent leurs études en éducation des adultes, que l'on pose souvent comme des caractères distinctifs, ne sont à vrai dire des caractères exclusifs, si l'on tient compte du fait que même les programmes de perfectionnement centrés sur les problématiques de l'éducation, du pré-scolaire au post-secondaire, s'adressent non seulement à des enseignants, mais à des personnes qui travaillent en dehors de l'école. Pour ce qui est de l'âge, d'après les données de 1983-1984 du rapport de l'étude sectorielle en éducation (Conseil des universités, 1986), dans l'ensemble du réseau québécois, 22.2% des personnes inscrites aux maîtrises en éducation et 39.8% des personnes inscrites aux doctorats ont plus de 39 ans. Par ailleurs, les normes d'admission aux études supérieures, du moins en ce qui concerne l'Université de Montréal, font que des personnes avec des passés académiques et professionnels différents n'ont parfois en commun que leur objet d'étude quand elles entreprennent leur programme de maîtrise ou de doctorat. A notre avis, le plaidoyer de l'éducation des adultes souffre souvent, et c'est le cas du texte de A. Thomas, de ne pas tenir compte des interfaces avec d'autres champs d'étude en éducation.

On ne se tromperait pas en disant que les adultes ont forcé l'université à reconnaître l'importance du perfectionnement professionnel. En effet, il ne peut plus être indifférent à l'institution que la majorité des étudiants et étudiantes aux études de 2e cycle soient inscrits à des programmes professionnels. Par exemple, sur 776 inscrits au 2e cycle à la Faculté des sciences de l'éducation de l'Université de Montréal à l'automne 1986, 545 étaient inscrits au programme professionnel et 231, au programme de recherche; seulement pour le programme d'andragogie, la proportion était de 143 contre 31. Les programmes professionnels ne peuvent se consolider ou se renouveler sans que leur signification ne s'ajuste constamment à l'évolution des pratiques. Par ailleurs, que l'université ne soit la réplique de l'entreprise ou des lieux d'éducation non formelle n'est pas sans cohérence, si une fonction sociale mérite de lui être reconnue. Les adultes qui fréquentent l'université s'attendent à y trouver ce qu'ils ne trouvent pas ailleurs, qu'ils soient inscrits à des programmes professionnels ou à des programmes de recherche.

L'université est devenue un des lieux importants de l'éducation des adultes, sans que soit réduite pour cela l'importance considérable des autres lieux de l'éducation des adultes. On peut alors se demander d'où vient la mauvaise conscience de beaucoup d'universitaires qui oeuvrent dans le champ d'étude de l'éducation des adultes. Cette mauvaise conscience, latente depuis l'origine de l'Association canadienne pour l'étude de l'éducation des adultes, fait facilement surface annuellement, dans des discours d'universitaires qui opposent chercheurs et praticiens, université et milieux d'éducation des adultes. Pourtant, la seule présence des formateurs d'adultes dans les programmes de 2e cycle et, en nombre croissant, dans les programmes de 3e cycle, pourrait servir de raison d'être à l'engagement des universitaires dans ces programmes.

Les structures organisationnelles ou administratives ont une fonction sociale et une rationalité qui varient selon les contextes et les conjonctures. Il y a donc un caractère de contingence à ces structures et, pour les champs d'étude ou les disciplines de l'université, elles se justifient dans la mesure où elles en assurent la consolidation. L'expansion qu'a connue l'université dans les années soixante et la décentralisation qui l'a accompagnée ont permis au nouveau champ d'étude de l'éducation des adultes, ou de l'andragogie, de se développer. Aujourd'hui, il faut présumer que les unités administratives appelées à vivre dans des ensembles plus larges apporteront avec leur maturité leur quote-part à la coopération et à l'interdépendance. Il est vrai que le mouvement vers l'intégration reflète la réalité sociale; il rencontre aussi des objectifs de rationalisation qui s'imposent actuellement à l'université, non seulement dans son organisation mais dans ses rapports avec les autres universités et avec le milieu. En principe, le modèle d'intégration qui a été proposé à l'University of British Columbia n'est pas sans vertus; il n'exclut aucunement l'autonomie des programmes et on pourrait même compter que, protégés contre la duplication et délestés de l'administration, ceux-ci puissent se renforcer académiquement. Dans le contexte de la Faculté des sciences de l'éducation de l'Université de Montréal, ce modèle correspondrait à une facultarisation des programmes d'études supérieures en andragogie. Cette option n'est toutefois pas retenue dans le projet actuel de départementalisation de la Faculté. Dans une telle option, si elle venait à être considérée, un atout non négligeable serait que des personnes appartenant aux champs disciplinaires des départements contribuent, en oeuvrant dans les programmes d'andragogie, à redynamiser le champ d'étude.

L'éducation des adultes n'échappe pas au ressac que provoque, sur le système éducatif, l'évolution qui caractérise actuellement les milieux de travail. Il est souvent affirmé que l'école ne prépare pas au travail ou même que l'université ne prépare pas adéquatement aux professions. Dans les secteurs touchés par les mutations technologiques, il arrive que l'entreprise doive compter sur ses propres ressources pour construire au fur et à mesure les contenus de formation comme les méthodes. L'éducation des adultes est devenue l'affaire de l'entreprise et, à non moindre titre, des médias, des organismes sociaux ou culturels.

L'éducation des adultes ne peut donc plus continuer á se marginaliser dans son discours.

A notre avis, un grand défi de l'éducation des adultes comme champ d'étude est de définir ses rapports avec tous les milieux de formation formelle, informelle, socio-culturelle ou professionnelle, ainsi qu'avec les champs d'étude voisins et les disciplines académiques pertinentes. En contraste avec les modèles d'intégration qui inquiètent les universitaires de la formation des adultes, un exemple étranger très éloquent est celui de la licence en politique de formation et psychopédagogie de la faculté ouverte pour enseignants, éducateurs et formateurs d'adultes de l'Université de Louvain qui se présente comme suit: trois années d'études pour permettre aux étudiants de mieux faire face aux changements engendrés par le changement éducatif, politique, économique, social, culturel et technique en devenant progressivement acteurs de leur formation.

Ce qui peut faire périr l'éducation des adultes, nous semble-t-il, est qu'elle se ferme sur elle-même, pour se nourrir de polémique et idéologiser les débats: formation des adultes ou formation permanente, pédagogie ou andragogie, formation professionelle ou formation personnelle. Pourquoi, par exemple, comme il lui arrive, privilégier l'éducation hors de l'école quand beaucoup d'adultes font le chemin inverse, choisir l'alphabétisation et ne pas s'intéresser au perfectionnement des maîtres, s'intéresser au milieu du travail et rester à l'écart des mouvements sociaux? Comment opposer contenu à processus, tout en pariant sur la qualité professionnelle de son action, insister sur la relation d'aide à l'apprentissage et garder dans l'ombre la compétence didactique? En réalité, et à défaut d'une conceptualisation plus rigoureuse du champ d'étude de l'éducation des adultes, rien n'autorise quelque expert à ignorer ce qui se fait en formation pour et avec les adultes.

Le plus grand défi de l'éducation des adultes comme champ d'étude est de consolider théoriquement son objet. Une intégration institutionnelle qui la situerait à une interface disciplinaire, tout en protégeant l'identité professionnelle des éducateurs d'adultes ou des andragogues, aurait l'avantage de favoriser cette consolidation. A. Thomas affirme que l'éducation des adultes est parvenue à maturité. Or, précisément à cause de cette maturité, elle devrait pouvoir départager ce qui la caractérise et ce qu'elle a en commun avec d'autres disciplines ou champs d'étude et, dans le lieu qu'elle occupe, l'université en l'occurrence, départager ce qui la distingue et ce qu'elle a en commun avec les autres lieux de formation des adultes. Ce qui a été réalisé en éducation des adultes depuis cinquante ans, à la fois dans les programmes d'études supérieures de nos universités et dans des contextes divers partout dans le monde, ne peut pas ne pas forcer l'éducation à se repenser dans son ensemble. Si l'institution passait outre à l'intégration, sa cohérence avec l'évolution du champ de l'éducation des adultes serait sans doute à réviser.

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ACADEMIC ADULT EDUCATION: A COMMENT

Larry Orton

All of adult education is going through significant changes. These changes may amount to a crisis. The symptoms are all around us and the situation Thomas' article presents can be seen as a symptom. The crisis may be a natural function of the maturity of the field of adult education, as Thomas suggests.

Thomas says that "the academic arms of adult education are in trouble" and points to several reasons why. Experienced adult educators–especially if they have undertaken study in one of the departments which concern Thomas–will understand the reasons he documents. But a major problem is one that most academic adult educators admit to only very reluctantly: too many of the faculty in our departments of adult education have not played by the rule of academic life: publish or perish. While some might disagree with universities' use of this single measure of ability, the reality is that it *is* the measure and that few of those holding academic appointments in adult education actually publish. It is no wonder that the journals are thin and little read. Thomas doesn't suggest many solutions, and so when I finished re-reading his article I had the impression that one of the country's leading adult educators felt defeated. If that is the case, God help us. Not that the solutions are readily apparent.

But it does seem to me that any solution is going to grow out of some understanding of what we expect from academia. My own expectations of any academic department in a university are identical to my expectations of universities as a whole. Research: I passionately want our academics to describe and comment upon the world seen through the eyes of the adult educator. Perhaps with more publication, those still in positions to make decisions relating to the academic arms of our field would have a greater understanding of the extent of the adult educator's concerns. Teaching: I want our academics to lead in the teaching of those who are interested in adult learning. Public Service: I want our academics to be available to help–selectively, since so few can't possibly serve such an enormous field–those parts of the field most in need of assistance.

It also seems to me that any solution will grow out of a firm commitment to the need for some centre(s) for the advanced study of adult education to continue to exist in Canada. The form the centre(s) might take could be debated forever, and it probably is not a productive debate. Going the route of a professional school has its advantages and I can't see what objections might be sustained so long as Ph.D. level study remains. Moreover, whether adult education is best served by separate academic departments or centres is a point that could be debated *ad infinitum*. (More than twenty years ago, Roby Kidd raised a similar point in his study of adult education in Canadian universities.) I expect that few who have undertaken university-level study in adult education would argue seriously in favor of integration. The field is just too broad and the focus of our teacher training institutions is just too narrow. Adult education is much more than what goes on in classrooms. Those whose orientation is towards our traditional educational institutions are unable to transmit the attitudes and skills needed to deal with the multitude of situations faced by adult educators who work in voluntary organizations, governments and quasi-government bodies as well as in our established educational institutions. I, for one, would not want to pursue a graduate degree in adult education in a department in which even a sizable minority of the faculty obtained most of their experience in the traditional educational system.

What we need is a good debate on the questions Thomas has raised. While it obviously affects the academic adult educator the most, and while we should expect them to take the lead in such a debate, it must involve others in the field. Without a strong argument from adult educators our universities may come to expect, by default if not by conscious decision, Canadians to undertake their graduate study in adult education in another country.

Adult education is coming of age and being recognized by more and more people. When I began my career in adult education in 1968, the people occupying many positions of responsibility knew little adult education and were not in the least interested. The sexy parts of education were elsewhere and some of the best educators were attracted there. Hall-Dennis and their counterparts excited interest in elementary and secondary education. The expansion of Canada's community college and university systems and a host of reports on post-secondary education made that field attractive. Now, that is behind us. Now, the people occupying senior positions throughout our educational system sound knowledgeable about adult education, are proud of their involvement in the field, and vie with one another to establish their credentials.

Thomas doesn't suggest that we cry over the ironies of the situation, but that we welcome the added resources and the new challenge. His article is a good and healthy opening for a debate that I hope will engage practitioners as well as academics in the development of an agenda for the academic arms of our field.

Larry Orton spent more than ten years in the development and management of adult education programs before moving to other work in government in 1980. He is now the Executive Secretary to a new agency, the Private Colleges Accreditation Board in Alberta. He completed his M.A. in adult education at O.I.S.E. in 1969 and returned ten years later to the Ph.D. program, which he completed in 1981.

The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education/
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May/mai, 1987, Vol. 1, No. 1, Pp. 64-66

Book Reviews/Recensions

WORKERS' EDUCATION: AN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Philip G.H. Hopkins
Milton Keynes and Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1985.

Philip Hopkins offers us one of the few bona fide textbooks on that sector of adult education called "workers' education". He demarcates a field that caters to adults in their capacities as workers and especially as members of workers' organizations. It is the second part of this definition, "especially as members of workers' organizations," which places workers' education within adult education's radical tradition.

Hopkins does a commendable job in providing an historical and contemporary overview of "provided" workers' education, of non-formal learning activities organized for and by workers. The book's organizational scheme will be familiar to most adult educators: first it considers the educational objectives of workers' educational practice and then turns to what is provided, for whom, by whom and how it all comes about, financially, administratively and educationally.

What is provided under the banner of workers' education is, according to Hopkins, as broad as education itself: basic skills, organizational skills, technical and vocational training, economic, social and political studies and cultural, scientific and general education. While these categories are awkward, the scope of programs covered under these headings will probably surprise some. The book leaves us wondering, though, about the magnitude and impact of all this activity.

Hopkins' characterization of worker learners is almost identical to the now familiar characterization of adult learners: the worker-student is a volunteer, has life experience, is interested in solving real problems, etc. This is important, but it is old news to most adult educators. Far more interesting are the groups of learners Hopkins identifies; he includes not just "primary groups" within workers' organizations (elected representatives, staff and rank and file members) but categories such as women workers, rural workers, unemployed and migrant workers, shift workers and academic workers. Just thinking about the needs of these groups of learners challenges us to take account of their situation in the modern economy and the dominant culture.

Workers' education, says Hopkins, is provided by workers' movements, by voluntary associations, by public educational institutions and by governments. While the matter of "control" is a long standing and contentious issue in workers' education, Hopkins does not delve into this debate. He skips over the historical determinants of workers' educational activity in Britain, Germany, Canada, the U.S.A. and several African countries, tells us a bit about Workers' Educational Associations in Britain, Sweden and Sri Lanka, reviews university and college involvement in workers' education in the United States, and outlines government attitudes and support for workers' education with particular attention to the cases of India, Canada and Singapore.

Hopkins tells us that workers' education is typically administered through complex arrangements involving hidden or indirect subsidies, government grants, special levies on workers, course fees and even employer contributions. Workers' education programmes vary as well from systemized progressive training programs to ad hoc courses designed to respond to particular problems at different times.

If the thirty seven pages of endnotes and references are any indication, *Workers' Education* is a well researched book. The author has relied mostly on secondary sources, which is not a problem when covering the British scene. There, workers' education has been a legitimate, albeit controversial, part of educational discourse since 1900. It is a problem when trying to cover what is going on in a country such as Canada where, aside from curriculum materials, virtually all there is to our "body of literature" on the subject is a single government report, a published conference proceeding, and one or two other documents.

Hopkins could be criticized for focusing on trade union education to the virtual exclusion of education in the co-operative movement, and on his attention to the role of central organizations in the shaping of workers' education to the exclusion of the role, or lack of one, of student and community interests. No doubt he was handicapped by the dearth of material exploring such concerns, itself indicative of the state of educational thought within progressive social movements.

Hopkins' work does not really succeed in making the case that workers' education is a special area of practice within adult education. Certainly this genre of book is not the best vehicle for making an argument. Another problem is that the author falls into the trap of pointing to some characteristics of good workers' education practice which he feels are unique but are not. The most obvious example is his suggestion that workers' education is student-centred, participatory and experience-based. Few adult educators will see this as buttressing a claim for distinctiveness.

The heart and soul of workers' education, like any other educational sector, lies in the philosophy and ideals of those who provide and undertake it. In Chapter Three, Hopkins reports on the motives and objectives behind workers' education with surprisingly little apparent feel for his subject. One gets the impression that Hopkins, the experienced activist, has tried too hard to be Hopkins, the objective academic, in his effort to give us a glimpse into the debate engendered by the likes of Mansbridge, Lovett, and Gramsci. Hopkins makes mention of key issues: the link between individual development and social action, the role of education in stabilizing society versus education as instrument of social change, of "counter-cultural" development, reform and emancipation. The "vital point" the author leaves us with in respect to these issues is that "many factors are at work determining the thrust of workers' education in different countries at different times." This is no way to handle the most important debate in education! These issues should impart considerable colour, if not some organization, to the entire book. The fact that they do not is surely the most disappointing aspect of Hopkins' work.

Hopkins' book is the quintessential workers' education tour guide. We get an overview of the countryside, lots of pieces of information and a few personal comments along the way. However, we do not come away with a feel for the essence of the place. It provides us with a good introduction to the world of workers' education, one that will be of particular interest to adult education administrators, and policy makers, but it suffers, like any taxonomy, from categories that not everyone will find helpful. Like any "world overview," it is frustratingly short of the kind of description and analysis that stimulates both the heart and the mind.

Grant MacDonald
Dalhousie University

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ADULT EDUCATION AND SOCIALIST PEDAGOGY

Frank Youngman
London: Croom Helm, 1986.

Adult education in most countries and at most times has been dominated by 'left of centre' approaches. But critical analyses of the ideological orientations of adult education in the contemporary international context have been rare. If adult education with any 'social purpose' ethic is to survive, a re-examination of the *purposes* of adult education is essential.

Frank Youngman's book attempts to cover a major aspect of these concerns—the Marxist approach to adult education. (As the book is exclusively concerned with Marxism—rather than socialism—as the reference point, should this not have been reflected in the title?) There are many good things in this book and it will be of immense value to those engaged in both the theory and practice of adult education. It is a scholarly and rigorous study, making use of a wide range of sources; and it is written clearly and without 'mystification'. The sustained analysis of Freire is valuable for its clarity and conciseness, but above all for highlighting the fundamental differences between Freirean and Marxist views of adult education. The chapter on socialist pedagogy is, again, clearly argued and follows logically from the preceding analyses—though its recommendations are hardly startling. There is, finally, a useful summary of orthodox approaches to adult learning—behaviourist, humanistic, cognitive, and eclectic—and the Marxist critiques of them.

These are significant achievements, and fill a much needed gap in the literature. There are, though, substantial problems with Youngman's approach. On a fairly prosaic level, I question the large amount of space given to a delineation of general Marxist theory—and the very brief attention paid to adult education in practice via three case studies. (The general discussion of Marxism occupies well over one-third of the text, but the case studies just over twenty of the 272 pages.) The account of Marxist theory is generally competent, but adds little if anything to our existing understanding, and is focussed only intermittently on *adult education* concerns. More fundamentally, given the subject matter of this book, Youngman is ambivalent in his analysis of the 'base/superstructure' aspect of Marxism. In the end, he seems to come down in favour of Williams' humanistic, neo-Marxist view: but this in itself can be argued to be ambivalent, and Youngman presents no *critical* discussion of the issue. And his 'libertarian' position here co-exists somewhat uneasily with his general orientation, which tends towards support for the more 'deterministic' view of Marxism.

The ambivalence, of course, is not exclusive to Youngman: it has pervaded Marxism itself throughout its existence. But Youngman's failure to draw attention to this and other problems in Marxist analysis is indicative of the most serious criticism I have of his study: it is descriptive, and uncritical of its focal points of attention—Marxism, and Marxist approaches to adult education. Thus, to take two examples, Youngman is wholly uncritical of Marxian socialism's demonstrable failures to produce, anywhere as yet, free and democratic political and social structures. And, secondly, he does not raise any of the obvious problems of an exclusively Marxist model of adult education in terms of the in-built tendencies towards authoritarian, unilinear, and intellectually static and unchallenging approaches which are implied. Other equally central illustrations of this uncritical approach abound. But the main point here is clear: whilst Marxism may have the 'answers' to such criticisms (though I am sceptical, personally), these issues need to be debated and analysed. Throughout, a Marxist model is *asserted*, and justified neither intellectually nor politically. And, despite its rigour, the model presented in essentially simplistic. No differentiation is made, for example, between the effects of capitalism's operation in Western as opposed to Third World countries, in terms of educational structures and priorities. No real consideration is given to the markedly differing schools of Marxism in the twentieth century (there is no mention of Trotskyism at all) and the implications for differing attitudes towards adult education theory and practice that these might entail. And surprisingly scant attention is paid to those who have espoused non-Marxist, in Youngman's terms, but socialist approaches to adult education. (There is, for example, no discussion of the links and dissonances between 'radical liberal' and 'socialist' approaches to adult education, save in one extended footnote.)

Nevertheless, and despite these substantial criticisms, this is an invaluable book. It is provocative, informative and stimulating. And it is, in these gloomy times, refreshingly positive and optimistic: a good antidote to the philistine and 'market-oriented' ethos of much contemporary debate in the post-school sector.

Richard Taylor
University of Leeds

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ENHANCING ADULT MOTIVATION TO LEARN

Raymond Wlodkowski
San Francisco: Jossey Bass, 1985.

Raymond Wlodkowski illustrates and describes expertise, empathy, enthusiasm and clarity as the four cornerstones of motivating instruction. He includes examples and checklists that we may use or modify to provide for clear feedback from our students or from a colleague. He clearly addresses the two central concerns of 1) how to help adults learn effectively, and 2) what is the best way to help them really *want* to learn what I have to offer.

This author explains why he feels it is critical for expertise and empathy to be developed *before* enthusiasm, following the age old dictum of the dean of rhetoric, Aristotle, who reminded us that: our students will demand *ethos* (establish credibility) and *pathos* (arouse emotional response) before they will respond to *logos* (the rational message we wish to convey).

Wlodkowski's analyses of the factors affecting classroom motivation cover six major areas: Attitudes and Needs, Stimulation and Emotions, Competence and Reinforcement, and he shows instructors how these factors can be dealt with in a logical chronological sequence that corresponds to the instructional pattern. For example, at the beginning of any instructional event we must consider the attitudes of our prospective students and respond to their learning needs in order to have the *opportunity* for a continued relationship. His treatment of motivation as a timed sequence of events not only helps instructors to consider this additional parameter, but to provide for it specifically in a motivational plan which aims to systematically apply motivating strategies (68 of them!) throughout an entire learning sequence.

This volume describes good instruction as "technical excellence under the command of artistic expression"–and provides the teacher of adults with an impressive array of suggestions which will allow them to develop dynamic, exciting and positively reinforcing instructional settings for their students. For those of us who work *with* instructors of adults, it provides a framework within which we can plan staff development activities that promise to model the practices we want to encourage in our classrooms. I plan to use the framework to develop a workshop for adjunct instructors, most of whom are subject-matter specialists with no formal pedagogical training. The test of Wlodkowski's theories will be whether instructors find the framework useful, and further, whether adult students find their classes more satisfying.

Patricia M. Clapp
University of Calgary

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Submissions address: Dr. Hayden Roberts, Editor, Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education, c/o Faculty of Extension, Corbett Hall, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, T6G 2G4.

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Table of Contents/Table des matières

Articles

"A Most Insistent Demand": The Pas Experiment in Community Education, 1938-1940
Michael R. Welton 1

Feminist Discourse and the Research Enterprise: Implications for Adult Education Research
Catherine E. Warren 23

Perspectives

Instruire, Enseigner, Eduquer, Former
Daniel Chevrolet 43

Paradigm Apartments
Jane Munro 53

Book Reviews/Recensions

Learning and Development: A Global Perspective
Alan Thomas and Edward W. Plowman (eds.)
Reviewed by Hayden Roberts 61

J.R. Kidd: An International Legacy of Learning
Nancy Joan Cochrane and Associates
Reviewed by Ian Hunt 64

Illiterate America
Jonathan Kozol
Illiteracy: A National Dilemma
David Harman
Reviewed by Richard Darville 66

Graduate Degrees in Canada--Adult Education and Cognate Subjects/Diplôme d'Etudes supérieures au Canada--Education des adultes et sujets cognitifs 73

The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education/
la Revue canadienne pour l'étude de l'éducation des adultes
November/novembre, 1987, Vol. I, No. 2, Pp. 1-22

Articles

"A MOST INSISTENT DEMAND": THE PAS EXPERIMENT IN COMMUNITY EDUCATION, 1938-1940

Michael R. Welton
Dalhousie University

Abstract

Initiated in January 1938 by the CAAE under Harry and Mary Avison's leadership, The Pas experiment was created to demonstrate the power of adult education to solve community problems. This did not occur, and the collapse of The Pas experiment in community education in 1940 ended a controversial chapter in Manitoban adult education history. The narration and analysis of the experiment enables us to understand more clearly the intellectual formation of the CAAE at an axial moment in its history. We are also confronted with some uncomfortable truths. The Pas experiment shatters the easy optimism of mainstream adult education and invites us to think more radically about the structural constraints on the achievement of a communal life based on undistorted communication, dialogue, communal judgment and rational persuasion.

Résumé

Le projet expérimental Pas a commencé avec l'ACEEA, en janvier 1938, sous la direction de Mary et Harry Avison, afin de démontrer comment l'éducation pour adultes pouvait aider à trouver des solutions aux crises de la communauté. Sans succès l'expérience s'est écroulée pendant l'année 1940 et á mis fin à un chapitre discutable de l'histoire de l'éducation pour adultes au Manitoba. L'histoire de cette expérience et son analyse nous permettent de mieux comprendre la formation intellectuelle de l'ACEEA. Nous devons aussi faire face à des vérités inquiétantes. L'expérience Pas a détruit l'optimisme facile des méthodes conventionnelles de l'éducation pour adultes et nous invite á remettre radicalement en question les contraintes structurales empêchant la réalisation de la vie communautaire fondée sur le dialogue, les décisions prises en communauté, et la persuasion raisonnable.

> To remember is to seek not the most accurate or the 'best' interpretation but the one most 'powerful' for the purpose of illuminating our projects for the future.
> - Walter Adamson

81

Introduction

The residents of The Pas, a rough and tumble lumbering and railway town in northern Manitoba, could not have imagined the depth and intensity of the debates that precipitated the arrival of Harry and Mary Avison in their town in January 1938 to "inaugurate an experiment in community education along the lines of the Scandinavian folk school."[1] Nor could the Avisons have imagined how difficult it would be "to serve the interests of the whole community."[2] In February 1940 Harry Avison would confess to his friend and mentor E.A. ("Ned") Corbett that he and his wife had been "singularly unsuccessful in bridging the sad gaps between the radical groups . . ."[3]

The collapse of The Pas experiment in June 1940 ended a controversial chapter in the history of adult education in Manitoba. The story of The Pas experiment is worth narrating and analyzing for several reasons. First, The Pas experiment occurred at a pivotal moment in the history of the Canadian Association for Adult Education (CAAE), enabling us to understand more clearly the intellectual formation of Canadian adult education. Second, retrieving The Pas experiment from "the dustbins of history" allows adult educators to test their present concepts and values in a free and open dialogue with tradition.[4] Finally, the historian in guise of deep-sea diver plunges into the murk of the past hoping to surface with a pearl in hand.[5]

"Rooted in the Life of the People": Social and Intellectual Origins

The Pas experiment, though never completely fulfilling the hopes of its friends and supporters, was essentially the culmination of a desperate search and fervent conversation between friends located in different institutional settings about the need to provide Manitoba's stricken rural communities with a coherent adult education program: Esther Thompson, Director of women's work with the Extension Branch of the Department of Agriculture, Dr. Sidney Smith, President of The University of Manitoba, E.A. Corbett, Director of the CAAE, and Harry Avison, a United Church minister.

The need for a formal adult education program had been acknowledged as early as 1933 when three Manitobans, H. Trevor Lloyd, J.E. Robbins and Andrew Moore, returned from their American Association of Adult Education sponsored tour of the Scandinavian countries. Andrew Moore, an inspector of schools, had been instrumental in organizing a preliminary conference in September 1934 for those who believed that education, particularly adult education, provided one of the surest means of solving social problems. The 1934 conference set up a committee charged with the responsibility of cataloguing adult education activities in Manitoba (for the Sandiford Report on Adult Education in Canada), and of preparing the way for the formation of the Manitoba Association of Adult Education (MAAE), which was formally established in May 1935. The MAAE leaders believed that the average Manitoban citizen was not adequately informed about local, national and global affairs. By providing some leadership in the inchoate field of adult education, the MAAE leaders hoped to develop a politically literate citizenry. It appears, however, that the MAAE had little contact with rural community organizations. After this initial organizing activity (which included a visit in November 1934 from Oscar Olsson, the founder of a the Swedish Study Circle movement), the MAAE was unable to develop much momentum.[6]

This latter fact was very disturbing to Harry Avison, who was frustrated with the limitations of his pastorate in Deloraine and anxious that the MAAE do some real work in alleviating community problems. By the end of October 1936 Avison had talked with Dr. John MacKay, Director of Vocational Training, and with Esther Thompson and Dr. Sidney Smith about the "prospects for adult education in Manitoba." On November 1, 1936 Avison wrote to Thompson, telling her that he had been discussing his situation with MacKay, who felt that the MAAE's meetings were barren and urged that a "man" be placed in the field. Characteristically, Avison insisted that the Association think out its policy carefully and thoroughly. He also wanted the University and the government to legitimize adult education in order to free the name of Adult Education from the vague associations it has in the public mind. Avison informed Thompson that he was willing to volunteer his services. But, he queried, who would support a definite program of rural adult education? The University? The Department of Labour? The Department of Education? Avison firmly believed that Ms. Thompson was strategically situated to influence the right persons.[7]

On the following day Avison wrote to Ned Corbett. The tone was importunate. "Unless something different and definite is done fairly soon," he told Corbett, "the cause will suffer a serious loss of interest." No financial support for rural adult education had been forthcoming, Sidney Smith's proposed "Rural Institute" to discover and train leaders in rural communities had fallen through and the MAAE seemed paralyzed. Did he, the director of an organization trying to establish its own *raison d'être*, have any "plan for the stimulating of work in the provinces . . ."? Now was the time to act. "There is a desperate need that people be helped to a renewed interest in life for its own sake in rural Manitoba and I do not like to leave if there is to be a decent chance offered of doing just that . . ."[8] This was, indeed, a message that increasingly would be voiced by adult education radicals in the late 1930s.

Corbett certainly shared Avison's concern with the plight of rural communities. He had long been convinced of the potential role of adult education in community betterment and citizenship responsibility.[9] He was also aware of the greatly increased interest in adult education within the Dominion.[10] As Corbett noted in his "Report to Carnegie Corporation" in the summer of 1941, "It was decided early in the history of the Association that our major emphasis should be on rural adult education . . ."[11] But the reform potential of adult education--with the exception of the evocative developments in eastern Nova Scotia--had scarcely been demonstrated in late 1936. Not enough was known about adult education to be complacent about its methods. Continual experimentation was needed to discover the best techniques.[12] Thus, it was imperative from Corbett's point of view to encourage "specific experiments . . . in the hope that, if successful, they would serve as working models for similar efforts in other provinces and districts."[13] One takes note, in the light of current debates on the power of theory to influence practice, that the educational radicals of the 1930s sought to ground their practice pragmatically in lived experiments.

Corbett was anxious that Manitoba develop a policy and commit itself to action. At the CAAE annual meeting held on November 23-24, Corbett told Thompson that he wanted The University of Manitoba to develop a plan acceptable to the Carnegie Corporation, one that might well include an experiment the Avisons could conduct. "Both he and I feel," Thompson informed Avison, "that you and Mary are the two people who could create a cultural centre in the community where young men and women come for a time and experience the life that you want people to realize for themselves." The bond between Thompson and Avison was evidently quite strong, because Thompson adamantly rejected Robert England's choice of Andrew Moore for the leadership of Manitoba adult education. Her candid comments to her friend reveal something of her humanistic sensibility. "The person who is to undertake this work," she told Avison, "should be a person in whom the whole of life is united by a spiritual quality. This work is to concern people and the development of the whole personality and the individual. Who can do this but one who has achieved it in his own life? I am not so sure that many share Mr. England's opinion about Inspector Moore." She concluded her letter to Avison by summing up the outcome of the 1936 annual meeting: the little study club was gaining acceptance as the chief channel through which adults may inform and cultivate themselves; action requires leadership; and the "most insistent demand for adult education is coming from rural communities."[14]

The need for a systematic program of adult education for rural Manitobans had been long recognized by The University of Manitoba. With the installation in October 1934 of Sidney Earle Smith as President of The University of Manitoba, the adult education movement gained a formidable, capable and genial ally. The socially conscious Smith moved quickly to increase the services rendered to the community. He multiplied the specialized and technical training offered to the community and initiated serious discussion about the University's role in revitalizing rural communities. But he was having tremendous difficulty finding the money to finance his dream of an indigenous program of adult education for rural Manitoba.

Smith had met with his fellow Nova Scotian-born Ned Corbett in early January 1937 to discuss the practicability of conducting an experiment that would launch his program. Smith, who no doubt had been consulting with Corbett prior to their January meeting, agreed with the CAAE director that the university should be the springboard for a systematic program of adult education. The publication of a seminal report--"University Extension Programmes and Budgets"--in late January quickly followed Smith's discussions with Corbett, and with Thompson and Avison. A memorandum written in early January preceding the more elaborate document had been circulated to Avison and Thompson, whose detailed responses influenced the final report. This document provides important insights into the nature of adult education discourse at the formative moment in the CAAE's history.

The opening words of the Report trumpeted the theme so preoccupying the educational radicals. "There is an urgent demand in the rural communities of Manitoba for a programme of adult education. There is an equally urgent need to discover and to learn the type of programme that would be best suited to rural people in western Canada."[15] Scanning other adult education experiments (Scandinavia, St. Francis Xavier), Smith was not certain that programs developed elsewhere would regenerate the western farmer and his family. Nor was he convinced that a state university could embark on a program deliberately designed to curtail the activities of certain economic groups within its constituency. The solution, he believed, lay not with programs formulated in university offices. Rather, the people themselves should determine the type of adult education they really needed. "To do this, we propose that some rural district or districts in the province should be used as a laboratory for investigation and experimentation."[16]

Smith recognized that some organizations--the United Farmers of Manitoba and Co-operative Conference--had organized a network of study clubs.[17] But these programs appealed, he thought, to sectional interests, exacerbating rifts based on economic or social factors. He was no less scathing in his critique of old-line university extension unilateral pedagogy. Learners should be stimulated to think for themselves. One could not "catch an education as one would a cold. No educational process can be a substitute for learning; it may be a stimulus for learning."[18]

To be sure, the university ought to provide leadership. But, this leadership must be "founded in an understanding of, and a sympathy for, the people in the rural communities. . . . All the activities of an extension programme should arise out of, or at least be related to the life of the people." This pedagogical populism represented a decisive break from the classic extension model of tutorial study of subjects. With the emphasis no longer on disciplinary study for the few, Smith suggested that studies in English could issue in "story writing or the production of plays, and groups studying history could investigate the history of their own communities, the province and western Canada." Moreover, rural extension work in Manitoba should provide the tools to help people develop their individual and community resources. This educational process, Smith hoped, would help people realize that they can develop a "way of life of their own, embodying the spirit of the community and the many favourable conditions that are denied to city dwellers."[19]

Study groups were to be the spearhead of the extension program. But folk dances, song festivals, music festivals, drama, spoken verse and choral readings, handicraft and art exhibitions and conferences on rural problems should also be sponsored--to foster an enriched life for the rural communities and to discover through experimentation the interests of the people to ensure that the whole program would be articulated to their conditions. Smith envisaged that the program would require a director, who would travel throughout the rural areas to correlate existing activity, encourage local initiative in all forms of adult education, make available community resources and instruct local leaders. A survey of community needs would have to be conducted by the summer of 1937, and an advisory committee would have to be struck by the Board of Governors of the University. If funds were available, a supervisor could also be hired to assist the director. The project supervisor would try to create an educational mobilizing centre in the community, "leading its members to realize the meaning of their environment, the individual resources of various racial groups within the district, to know their possibilities for living together, studying together and playing and working together."[20] The spirit of Grundtvig, the quirky inspirator of the Danish folk school movement, hovered in the shadows of this report.

Although the Report was largely the crystallization of an extended conversation among friends, Avison and Thompson had several misgivings about Smith's "University Extension Programmes and Budget." Avison insisted that great care be taken that the "activities should arise out of, or at least be related to the life of the people." He was also concerned about the dangers associated with the much heralded group method. Successful group work required trained leaders. As well, he insisted that the initiators of a community education program should enter into careful consultation with the local community before the supervisor went in, with the supervisor being paid well enough to do whole-hearted work.[21]

For her part, while affirming the program, Thompson was concerned that the experiment be undertaken as a "primary and major activity." Nor did she think that five years was long enough time to obtain results "*rooted in the life of the people*" (italics Thompson's). She concluded her letter to Sidney Smith: "In this kind of experiment I have unbounded faith. Anything less than this I cannot accept or support with some confidence."[22]

Stops and Starts and Reverses

By the end of February 1937 it looked as if The University of Manitoba would sponsor the program and the Avisons would be the supervisors of the experiment. This strategy was favoured by the key players on the scene. The outcome hinged on the Carnegie Foundation's willingness to provide The University of Manitoba with funding. On March 12 Corbett wrote Avison telling him that he was not able to be "quite definite with regard to our Manitoba job." He would not know until a May meeting with Dr. Keppel whether Carnegie would accept the plan. "I know this makes it tough for you and your wife but the destiny that shapes our ends sometimes moves with incredible stops and starts and reverses."[23] Carnegie funds would not materialize until 1939, and The University of Manitoba's program would not be launched until January 1941 when Watson Thomson arrived from Alberta to assume the leadership.

Instead, the experiment took an ironic turn. During the course of a conversation with David Winton, President and General Manager of The Pas Lumber Company, Esther Thompson discussed the idea of "trying out an adult education experiment somewhere in Manitoba."[24] Winton, who wanted to do a project for the community, was looking for a suitable community worker. Against the wishes of Sidney Smith, prominent University of Manitoba Board member Mary Speechley, the Minister of Education, and perhaps her own deepest desires, Thompson sold David Winton on the Avisons. In November 1937 Winton invited the Avisons and Corbett to spend a weekend in Minneapolis to talk over the plan. The Winton family agreed to put up $10,000 to cover the costs of a three-year experiment, sponsored by the CAAE with Harry Avison in charge. But Winton did not want his "family name to be connected with the undertaking." Apparently he feared that the "more radical elements" among the workers might regard the experiment as a "sedative to keep them quiet."[25] As it would turn out, this latter perception would in fact be held by some The Pas residents, one of many undercurrents of suspicion about the real motives of the Avisons.

In the late 1930s The Pas seemed to be ideally suited for the CAAE experiment.[26] Situated on the south bank of the Saskatchewan River and inaccessible by road, The Pas had developed from the early 1900s into an important minor economic and administrative centre. Lumbering was the largest single industry with approximately 500 employed in the mill in the summer and an equal number in logging camps during the winter. The area also attracted prospectors, commercial fishermen and railway workers. During the depression years, numerous men lived on the outskirts in makeshift cabins, surviving on odd jobs and paltry municipal relief handouts.[27] There were few opportunities for education, culture, recreation or entertainment for the largely male work force. There was nothing much, as Corbett so colourfully put it, to "brighten the drab routine of ordinary life"[28]

For adult educators who view community development and community education as "processes which could involve the whole community in a concerted effort to resolve local problems,"[29] The Pas presented monumental challenges. The town of roughly 3,000 was comprised of a dominant British group of 1200, 700 French, 500 Ukrainians, 200 Polish, 200 Scandinavians, 150 Germans and a large Cree Indian reserve[30] across the river from the town. The three major ethnic groups were suspicious of each other, and The Pas' isolation, frontier individualistic political economy and myopic voluntary associations perpetuated mutual fear. Class tensions were evident, too, as the British petit bourgeoisie ran the town. To make matters even more complex, ideological divisions within ethnic groups like the Ukrainians further divided an already splintered geographical community. This "disjointed and amorphous" community lacked a tradition of pulling together.[31] It was, in Mary Avison's words, a "town of enclaves."[32]

Leaving his family in Winnipeg until after Christmas, Harry Avison arrived in The Pas on December 11, 1937, so *The Northern Mail* announced, "to conduct a survey of population types in The Pas and occupations of the residents, preparatory to inaugurating the first three-year adult education programme in Canada."[33] Avison had finally achieved his goal, but not under completely satisfying circumstances. The experiment had not emerged out of consultation with the townspeople; the "people," or even a segment, had not invited him to come. The CAAE, sponsor in name only, was not widely known in Canada, let alone in the remote town of The Pas; the financial sponsorship of the project was hidden from the residents. This arrangement, at best, was a compromise solution to a problem defined by sensitive educators who felt they knew what the people needed.

The Avisons had the right credentials for the utopian task confronting them. Now in their late thirties, they had come of age in the inquiring intellectual atmosphere at McGill University following World War I. Both had been active in the Student Christian Movement (SCM)--a controversial student-initiated movement probing many social questions--while studying liberal arts. There, influenced by Dr. H.B. Sharman's teachings on the life of Jesus, they acquired deep personalist and communitarian convictions coming to believe profoundly in the creative potential of group process. They also moved beyond the "business Methodism" so favoured by the Montreal YMCA into critical engagement with the great issues of the 1920s; constructing a just and peaceful world. In 1925, after completing a M.A. thesis on John Ruskin and his theological training, Harry Avison married Mary Fry, who had been teaching for two years in a private school, in Montreal. After a brief stint running the church school of a wealthy Montreal Presbyterian church, Avison worked for the SCM for five years. By the early 1930, with a growing family to support and without an income from the SCM, Avison went to work for the United Church, ministering to embittered and hopeless men in relief camps across Canada. In 1933 the Avisons accepted a United church pastorate in Deloraine, a respectable one church town swept by dust and devoured by grasshoppers. Frustrated to some extent with an aging congregation and the humdrum duties associated with the rural parish, Avison centred his work on the needs of youth. When the Avisons finally arrived in The Pas after many stops and starts, they brought with them the rich experience of over a decade of community service.

The Avisons settled in to their new community, and the arduous work of developing a "broad program of self-help and mutual understanding"[34] began in earnest. During his first year, Avison was a whirlwind of activity, initiating programs designed to meet practical needs, opening

89

up associative space for critical thinking and bridging the enclaves through working with and through community-based organizations. Avison began his work--quite innovative for its time--with a survey of the community. The survey showed that "a large proportion of the people have a very low annual income. Seasonal labour coupled with bad household management and the lack of skill in homecrafts bring many families near or actually on to the relief rolls in the early months of the year."[35]

Responding to this need, Avison launched a Youth Training Program homemaking school in January. During its first year thirty young women received training and five or six found jobs as a direct result of the course. The curriculum of the Youth Training Program, though framed within an "ideology of domesticity," broke through these constraints to some extent as the Avisons wove a folk school component into the general activities and helped the young adults acquire a "set of competencies" to deal actively with an environment of restricted possibility.[36] Enthusiasm among the youth evidently ran high, and Avison thought it had met a very real need.[37] The Avisons also worked with several other groups of young people--producing plays, spending evenings singing and folk-dancing, and through the recently formed Youth Council and Board of Trade, equipped playgrounds and organized a softball league.

To bridge the enclaves, Avison initiated actions with a multiplicity of community groups. "Education Leader is Speaker at Men's Club" was a common newspaper headline as Avison addressed the "middle class" through the Rotary Club, Winton Community Club, Board of Trade, Ministerial Association, Women's Institute and other voluntary associations. Newspaper accounts of the time state: "The program of the Adult Education Association is to endeavour to wake the adult mind to the fact that it is still capable of learning . . ."[38] and, "In an age of rapidly growing knowledge and swiftly changing standards, adult education is necessary . . ."[39] He contacted the "quite enterprising" Ukrainian Labour-Farm Temple Association (ULFTA) and thought they were a "thoroughly live concern": organizing a language school for their children, a night school for men, reading and handicraft circles for women, a Sunday evening public function (concert and propagandist speech). The ULFTA was a microcosm of what he had in mind for the whole community, a "most worthy effort" that, though provoking some hostility, deserved to "rank among the better Adult Education schemes."[40]

Travelling eighty miles by snowmobile to visit the three logging camps of The Pas Lumber Company, Avison also talked to the workers about the possibilities in Adult Education and showed films to the isolated campmen, most of whom were Ukrainians. He hoped to integrate this venture into his regular program. This initiative would, however, derail over conflicting perceptions of what the campmen needed--entertainment or adult education. To solidify these contacts, Avison organized a local branch of the MAAE, insisting on the importance of creating a truly representative body.[41] The Association produced a document, "Adult Education Represents a Middle Way," contending that adult education "provides a basis for people of different racial, political and religious affiliation to work together for the enrichment of their common life." Concerned with all parts of life, Adult Education included "helping people to meet adverse economic conditions," "breaking down social barriers" and encouraging the "appreciation of music and arts and crafts."[42]

The Avisons, not surprisingly given their profound belief in achieving a "common life based on undistorted communication, dialogue, communal judgement and rational persuasion,"[43] began the delicate process of opening up space within society for critical reflection. Beginning in the first year with four clubs (public affairs, co-operation, child study and public speaking), the Avisons engaged the community in dialogue about the meaning of citizenship in a world now "infinitely complex." Any attempt to grasp the main issues, be they raising children or political problems, could only occur through systematic study. The formal school could not educate men and women who loved freedom, desired to serve the community and were equipped with the necessary knowledge and power of clear thinking to become effective citizens. Avison fingered cynicism and indifference as more serious dangers than fascism and communism, an idea anathema to the Knights of Columbus and French-Canadian clergy. Becoming an active citizen was an intentional educational practice. This "form of learning," he told a radio audience no doubt aware of portentous developments in Europe,[44] "is being more and more appreciated. In the small group people develop the ability to talk and think together . . . (P)eople progress towards tested conclusions, increase their knowledge and achieve a basis for unity and understanding of the welfare of all."[45] The Avisons also created a small library and opened up their home to informal learning and social gatherings.[46]

But Avison's strategy--"working in a variety of community projects providing information, resources, advice and, learning and training in specific skills and techniques relevant to such action"[47]--was not working any magic. Writing to Corbett after his first two months of work, Avison said that he was "meeting some little difficulty . . . in getting support for the kind of educational activities I would like to carry on. It is chiefly the difficulty of breaking the ice." He thought the people had "settled down to their own routine of interests and I haven't yet broken through with any great success."[48] He had, however, just began. His first month in The Pas also revealed the depth of the ideological tensions in the community. The Pas ULFTA was tugged pell-mell into the centre of national political controversy when Duplessis enacted his infamous Padlock Act against Quebec "communists" in 1938. In early January, the Quebec police raided the headquarters of the Canadian Labour Circle, and in late January, they padlocked the Montreal ULFTA after closing an alleged communist school on St. Lawrence Boulevard attended by fifty pupils.[49]

Annie Buller, one of Canada's pioneering communists and seasoned political educators, spoke in a jittery The Pas in early January on "The War Danger" and to the ULFTA on "The Road Ahead for the People of Manitoba." The ULFTA protested Duplessis' Padlock Act and resolved that "Canada cease shipping nickel to Japan."[50] In the midst of this controversy, radio and Associated Press reports hinted darkly that the "real purpose" of Harry Avison was to foment social revolution. Both Esther Thompson and Avison were incensed. Writing angrily to the *Northern Mail* on January 27, 1938, Avison averred:

> May I have the use of your columns to point out that the recent radio and Associated Press publicity of the Adult Education work here was as distasteful and annoying to me as it was to them. Further, that I had no knowledge of or responsibility for this publicity and can attribute it only to over-eager news hounds with no judgment and less knowledge of the Adult Education movement.

The suspicion that he was a "communist" can be linked in part to his association with the ULFTA as well as his efforts to build a more co-operative community. But it was Avison's work with youth that would touch a particularly sensitive nerve among some The Pas residents. A *Northern Mail* editorial (May 3, 1938) observed that Avison was receiving adverse commentary, even though he had stimulated youth interest in recreational movements and citizenship gatherings after years of neglect.

Avison had succeeded in organizing a local committee of the national Youth Council movement, which sent delegates to the Manitoba Youth Congress meetings and the national Canadian Youth Congress conference. The national conference encouraged pluralism and dialogue and was the most important national forum for youth discussion of pressing global, national and local issues. Numerous youth became more "socially conscious" at these gatherings. However, right-wing anti-communist elements in The Pas really did believe that Harry Avison was trying to steal their youth for an alien ideology.[51] On May 17, under the headline "Communist Tendencies are Denied," the *Northern Mail* reported that Howard James, The Pas delegate to the Manitoba Youth Congress, denied the Council's "tendencies toward communism" before sixty people attending a meeting at Westminster United Church. Avison told the gathered that the youth movement was "inspired with a spirit of unity," pointing out the "danger that youth, who had no direct experience with the great war, might not have learned the futility of such war."[52] Nonetheless, Avison found the communist tag a "little refreshing" and "inevitable." He thought the "propagandist" accusation due to people's inability to "conceive that one could be impartial." "The educational process," he confided to Corbett, "is not furthered among non-student adults by dispassionate reasoning (not much among students, for that matter) but by challenging statements, stimulating discussion and fellowship in work."[53]

Fanning Sparks of Hope

Throughout 1939 and into the late winter of 1940, Avison continued working along lines he had initiated, confident that time and progressive pedagogy would dampen suspicion. Vocational training for young men and women pressed on, even though municipal interest was waning.[54] Avison saw evidence of the "creation of a new spirit and attitude towards life as a whole" among the young adults.[55] Study groups expanded; women in child study groups were learning to see how problems affecting their children interwove with those arising out of school administration and local government, and the men, studying "Five Political Creeds," were learning that they could "differ from another without being hostile." The Adult Education library, now housed in a newly acquired building on 2nd Street, grew to five hundred volumes. Avison continued to nurture artistic expression, the ESL classes trebled from 1938, and his seemingly endless work through local organizations and the Adult Education council bore some fruit.[56]

But Avison was desperately "fanning sparks of hope"[57] in his work. At the end of 1939 he was still confronting "inevitable difficulties" because of "misunderstanding of our real program and aims" as well as "latent prejudice between racial and religious groups." Although he bravely believed that "time and careful planning" would solve these problems, Avison was having a more difficult time than his official reportage or CAAE publicity revealed.[58] David Winton was not overly pleased with Avison's orientation--preferring a safer sort of non-political programming.[59] More seriously, world events beyond anyone's control reverberated through The Pas widening the ethnic rifts, transforming ideological cracks into crevices and undermining the Youth Training programs.

In the late winter of 1939 the Rev. Father A.J.B. Cossette and the Knights of Columbus moved more aggressively to advocate support for co-operatives and credit unions to counteract the communist threat[60] and, it appears, to undermine the Avisons' work. As well, a revitalized Canadian Legion adopted a militantly anti-communist line.[61] The ideological tensions erupted publicly at the annual meeting of the Adult Education Association of The Pas at the end of April. From the beginning the Avisons had insisted that they would disassociate themselves from any non-representative meeting.[62] They judged this one to be unrepresentative and walked out. Mary Avison was alarmed that the annual meeting did not adjourn until a "genuinely public and representative meeting" could be called and that no one had objected to Cossette's statement that his study clubs were the "only real adult education done in The Pas last year." Mary Avison wrote the editor of the *Northern Mail:*

> Until this organization includes various aspects of Youth Training, Parent's Study Groups in Child Psychology, and other forms of group study and activity in its concept of Adult Education, and until it is prepared to accept the WHOLE community as its field and a truly democratic method, my work must perforce be undertaken independently of the Adult Education Association of The Pas and under the auspices of the CAAE in The Pas.[63]

Cossette and his Knights of Columbus associate, E.S. Barker, counterattacked a few days later. Both accused Harry Avison of undemocratic and manipulative tactics, arguing that they were not trying to limit the work of the Adult Education Association. Father Cossette offered his resignation from the Association, contending that since his study clubs caused alarm and were only appreciated in the "attendance records of annual meetings," the "greatest service" he could render the cause of adult education in The Pas was "to get out of the way."[64] This somewhat bizarre twist of events marks a decisive break in the Avisons' spiritual commitment to The Pas.[65]

This was not the end of the Avisons' troubles in a community thought to be so ideally suited for a CAAE program "designed to serve the interests of the whole community."[66] On February 26, 1940, the Rev. J.W. Clarke, minister of Knox United Church in Winnipeg, wrote to his old friend, "Someone is trying to throw a knife into you and accusing you of anyone to "go to bat for us," including Winton. "Everybody was afraid to stand up for anything--not only of an educational character--but of any character." He had particularly acerbic words for Father Cossette, who he thought was a "narrow little bastard" whose "opposition was more selfish than ideological--even accepting his ideology." Fifteen years after he had left the wrangling and chaos of The Pas for MacDonald College, Quebec, Avison summed up: "I'm quite sure that very few people in The Pas--now know that we were even there, but there are a few around the world who won't forget us--mostly because we had damn good times together, and it was *living* of the most satisfactory kind." (italics Avison's)[71]

An Open Dialogue with Tradition

We rummage in history's dustbins to deepen our self-understanding as adult educators and shed light on future projects. By so doing, we test our present concepts and values in a free and open dialogue with tradition.[72] This bridging of past and present, while never absolutely conclusive, is one of the primary ways our present practice can become self-reflective. Historical retrieval addresses our understanding; it does not provide us with codified laws to guide practice.

The Pas experiment confronts us with some uncomfortable truths. For too long the discipline of adult education has lived in the sunlit world of the ought. Adult education has been the perennially cheerful discipline, always smiling, no matter what dangers lurk in the shadows.[73] It is no mere accident that J. Roby Kidd's pioneering *Adult Education in Canada* (1950) represses the memory of an experiment once so celebrated at the annual meetings of the CAAE. It is, I think, symptomatic of our "historical amnesia" and unwillingness to face the dark side of adult education and human experience. Surely The Pas experiment shatters the easy optimism of mainstream (and progressive for that matter) adult education thought and invites us to think more radically about the *structural constraints* on the achievement of a "communal life based on undistorted communication, dialogue, communal judgment and rational persuasion."[74] The Pas experiment clearly reveals that external *contextual* factors were more powerful determinants of adult learning than progressive methods. Mirrored in the Avisons' hard work we see the limits of educational intervention in transforming the world. This mirrored image unsettles professional certitudes and demands that we live with doubt, ambiguity and complexity. The old world cries out for redemption; the new refuses to come; our educational practices seem like peashooters against the tanks.

The failure of The Pas experiment lends some strength to recent critiques of the communitarian tradition in community work. Bryson and Mowbray accuse communitarians of harbouring romantic illusions about recreating the "prototypical community" or, of reinstating "some of its features, such as co-operation, mutual support and participative decision-making." The effect of fostering integration, neighbourliness, community consciousness or local control, they claim is:

> to direct attention away from a specific consideration of the political nature of the society, thus avoiding the risk of recognition that the so-called urban, social or community problems in question are endemic to capitalism and that the redistribution of power and resources which feature in the rhetoric of such programs, could only be achieved through the building of a socialist society.
>
> And:
>
> Our contention is that, on the basis of the record of such programs, it is virtually inevitable that they will fail. It may be that some people are helped, that some services are provided or improved, that certain skills are enhanced, or even that more people interact and perhaps have more fun--but this still does not add up to the achievement of 'community' and (in so far as this is implied) it is misleading to use the term.[75]

There can be little doubt that Canadian adult education discourse in the late 1930s was animated by a vision of community-based adult education. To be sure, utopian elements were present in the discourse and the conflict of interests (class, ethnicity, gender) embedded in a capitalist and patriarchal society, repressed. We do, indeed, need to move beyond facile notions of meeting the needs of the community towards a sophisticated theory of antagonistic interests that imposes itself onto the needs of individuals and local communities.[76] It is equally facile, however, to assume that seasoned activists like Thompson, Corbett and Avison were unaware of vested interests. They may have underestimated the depths of human resistance to consciousness-raising and entertained naive hopes about adult education's potential. Harry Avison's observation that he understood the limitations of the community as a field of work, though never fully explicated, suggests that he was convinced of the need for a more global development strategy. Communities could not be transformed without structural changes in regional and national political economies. But his vision and practice of community recognizes, where Bryson and Mowbray's does not, that the achievement of "critical consciousness" is not an "epiphenomenon, a result of social change rather than a factor in bringing about such change.[77] His practice speaks to us of the centrality of communicative competence and dialogue to the building of democratic society: creating "dialogical communities in which there can be genuine mutual participation and where reciprocal wooing and persuasion can previal.[78]

Remembering is not always a "joyful deep-sea dive." "For what is it," asks Adamson, "that we need to remember if not all the failed attempts at fully realized human emancipation, and in each case the nature of the hopes, the way they were distorted . . ." Our pleasure as adult educators lies on "the far side of the pain"[79] and in our struggle to comprehend the preconditions of learning/action "rooted in the life of the people" and practice of dialogical community-building. The Avisons' project is one whose meaning and implications invite thoughtful reexamination now and in the future.

Reference Notes

1. Undated newspaper clipping, Harry Avison Papers, Public Archives of Canada (hereafter HAP), vol. 4, file 24 (hereafter 4-24).
2. E.A. Corbett, *We Have With Us Tonight* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1957), p. 154.
3. Harry Avison to E.A. Corbett, February 13, 1940, HAP, 4-24.
4. Walter Adamson, *Marxism and the Disillusionment of Marxism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), p. 239. The phrase "dustbins of history" is Nietzsche's.
5. In her introduction of Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations* (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), Hannah Arendt says; "Like a pearl diver who descends to the bottom of the sea, not to excavate the bottom and bring it to light but to pry loose the rich and the strange, the pearls and the coral in the depths, and to carry them to the surface, this thinking delves into the depths of the past--but not in order to resuscitate the way it was and to contribute to the renewal of extinct ages" (pp. 50-51). David Armstrong, "Corbett's House: The Origins of the Canadian Association for Adult Education and its Development During the Directorship of E.A. Corbett" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Toronto, 1968) notes that: "The story of The Pas experiment is a fascinating one, which contains some valuable lessons for Canadian adult educators. . . . First, as a case-study. The Pas experiment has some enduring lessons for Canadian adult education. Second, it was the first step, in a selfless career which spanned 30 years, of one of the most influential and dedicated

Canadian adult educators" (pp. 95-96). In a letter to Corbett written on November 26, 1955, Avison commented: "Sorry to have taken so long to get my nose in the old files from The Pas. When I finally did I spent a most enjoyable evening. It was interesting to have the incidents recalled that surrounded these and absorbing--if sometimes painful--to read again of our problems. 'Twould make a good story" (CAAE Records, A-I, Box 1, Ontario Archives).

6. See MAAE documents, HAP, 4-24 and Andrew Moore to J.S. Woodsworth, J.S. Woodsworth Papers, Public Archives of Canada, vol. 7, file 17.
7. Harry Avison to Esther Thompson, November 1, 1936, HAP, 4-20.
8. Harry Avison to E.A. Corbett, November 2, 1936, HAP, 4-20. Gerald Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), describes the 1930s as a "decade of trial for residents of the prairie west. Like the boomtime at the turn of the century, the Depression was an identifiable period that affected the psychology of individual citizens, the fate of communities and the image of the region" (p. 416).
9. Corbett, *We Have With Us Tonight*, p. 152.
10. CAAE Annual Report, 1938.
11. "Report to Carnegie Corporation," CAAE Records, A-I, Box 1, Ontario Archives.
12. Director's Report to Meeting of the Advisory Council, Canadian Association for Adult Education, January 25th, 26th, 1940, Sidney Smith Papers, University of Manitoba Archives, vol. 61, file 6.
13. "Report to Carnegie Corporation" Other important community-based initiatives in the late 1930s included: the Community Life Training Institute, directed by David Smith, and Alex Sim's work in the eastern townships of Quebec.
14. Esther Thompson to Harry Avison, December 4, 1936, HAP, 4-20.
15. "University Extension Programmes and Budget," Sidney Smith Papers, University of Manitoba Archives, Box 10, file 1.
16. Ibid.
17. HAP, 4-23, has a selection of United Farmers of Manitoba study group materials. Samples: "Adult Education: A Twentieth Century Movement;" "Nova Scotia's Adult Education Enterprise;" "Learning from our Neighbours (Scandinavian Folk High Schools)." In "The Challenge of the United Farmers," the author contends: "It may be that we have been enabled to endure these long and bitter years of depression and discouragement in order that we may rise to the opportunity of this New Time and inspire the rural life of Manitoba afresh . . ."
18. University Extension Programmes and Budget."
19. Ibid. Smith incorporated some of Avison's words into his report. See Avison to Smith, January 26, 1937, HAP, 4-20.

20. "University Extension Programmes and Budget."
21. Harry Avison to Sidney Smith, January 26, 1937, HAP, 4-20.
22. Esther Thompson to Sidney Smith, February 15, 1937, HAP, 4-20.
23. E.A. Corbett to Harry Avison, March 12, 1937, HAP, 4-20.
24. Corbett, *We Have With Us Tonight*, p. 153.
25. Ibid., p. 156.
26. Ibid., p. 154.
27. "The Pas," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, Vol. III (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1984), p. 1805, and interview with Ernest Jacobsen, August 30, 1986.
28. "Danish Folk School Brought to Canada in The Pas Project," undated newspaper clipping in HAP, 4-24.
29. Tom Lovett, Chris Clarke and Avila Kilmurray, *Adult Education and Community Action* (London: Croom Helm, 1983), p. 38.
30. *Northern Mail*, March 12, 1940, reported that Indians on The Pas reservation had formed an adult education group under the direction of R.B. Horsefield, an Anglican missionary. We know very little about adult education among native people, although clearly adult educators need to think about the missionary enterprise in learning terms.
31. The phrase "disjointed and amorphous" appears in *We Have With Us Tonight*, but it first appeared in Avison's letter to Corbett, November 26, 1955.
32. Interview with Mary Avison, September 13, 1986. Richard Avison confirmed this view in interview, August 30, 1986.
33. *The Northern Mail*, December 11, 1937.
34. "Report to Carnegie Corporation."
35. Harry Avison to E.A. Corbett, October 10, 1938, HAP, 4-24. The problem of relief plagued The Pas throughout the Avison's stay.
36. For a critical analysis of Youth Training Programs, see Ruth Pierson and Marjorie Cohen, "Educating Women for Work: Government Training Programs for Women before, during and after World War II," in Michael Cross and Gregory Kealey (Eds.), *Modern Canada 1930-1980* (Toronto: McClelland and Steward, 1984).
37. Harry Avison to E.A. Corbett, October 10, 1938, HAP, 4-24. Mary Vatzel, a student at one of the home-making classes, stated: "This course has meant much to me. I have learned many interesting things, previously unknown to me, about cooking, sewing, homemaking, child training . . ." (*Northern Mail*, March 18, 1938).
38. *Northern Mail*, February 9, 1938.
39. *Northern Mail*, February 5, 1938.
40. Harry Avison to E.A. Corbett, February 18, 1938, HAP, 4-24.
41. Harry Avison to E.A. Corbett, October 10, 1938, HAP, 4-24.
42. "Adult Education Represents a Middle Way," HAP, 4-21.

43. Richard Bernstein, *Beyond Objectivism and Relativism: Science, Hermeneutics, and Praxis* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983), p. 228.
44. *Northern Mail*, February 5, 1938: "Nazis Menace World Peace:" March 19, 1938: Hitler Wants Czech Isolation:" March 23, 1938: Pope Pius' urging Franco to use moderation in air bombing of civilian population."
45. "Education for Citizenship," HAP, 4-21.
46. Harry Avison to E.A. Corbett, October 10, 1938, HAP, 4-24. See also correspondence with E.M. Howse, minister of Westminster Church, Winnipeg, regarding selecting books for The Pas library (April 4, 1938; April 7, 1938.
47. Lovett, p. 37.
48. Harry Avison to E.A. Corbett, March 9, 1938, HAP, 4-24.
49. *Northern Mail*, January 27, 1938.
50. Ibid.
51. Interview with Mary Avison, September 13, 1986.
52. *Northern Mail*, May 17, 1938.
53. Harry Avison to E.A. Corbett, October 28, 1938, HAP, 4-24.
54. *Northern Mail*, March 15, 1939.
55. Harry Avison to E.A. Corbett, January 16, 1939, HAP, 4-24. See, also, "Report of 'The Pas Experiment'--1939," HAP, 4-21: "To a considerable degree have we noted among those with whom we have worked, indications of new attitudes developing. Young men and women in mechanics or homemaking courses, incidental to their training, discover new interest in life through absorbing activity, through fellowship with other young people of different races and grow to appreciate the civic and governmental provision for these activities."
56. "Report of The Pas Experiment--1939."
57. The phrase is Walter Benjamin's.
58. In his report to the CAAE Advisory Council, January 25th, 26th, 1940, Corbett simply says that: "The experimental projects in which the Association has had a hand have all made definite progress." Corbett then drew the Council's attention to Avison's "ideas about the real values in Adult Education." One contrasts this with Esther Thompson's letter to Corbett, written on January 18, 1940: "There were times while at The Pas when I was conscious of acute pain. The Avisons are giving themselves. They are meeting with success but also with bitter difficulties. As we talked of the difficulties, I saw in their faces something of the struggle they are engaged in. In spots it is 'heavy going'. I commend them to you, and hope with all my heart that they may have a long and quiet talk with you" (CAAE Records, A-I, Box 1, Ontario Archives).

59. Harry Avison to E.A. Corbett, October 28, 1938, HAP, 4-24. Winton wanted tangible results for *his* employees.

60. *Northern Mail*, March 20, 1939, headline: "Co-operatives seen as Democratic Protection." Cossette's credit unions and marketing co-operatives were seen as "antidote to communism." The article also stated that the Knights of Columbus were launching an anti-communist crusade.

61. Harry Avison to E.A. Corbett, November 17, 1939, HAP, 4-24.

62. Harry Avison to Editor, *Northern Mail*, May 4, 1939.

63. Mary Avison to Editor, *Northern Mail*, May 1, 1939.

64. Father A.J.B. Cossette to Editor, *Northern Mail*, May 2, 1939. Another member of The Pas Adult Education Association Council, Mrs. D.D. Rosenberry, was also quite obstructionist. Esther Thompson told Corbett that Mrs. Rosenberry, who was the wife of the mill manger, had been trying to get rid of Esther Thompson. "What inspired her to do this? I had been unable, because of our small staff, to give her the courses she *demanded* for The Pas. In addition to that, I was not supporting her criticism of the Avisons" (Thompson to Corbett, January 18, 1940, CAAE Records, A-I, Box 1).

65. Bizarre: Cossette claimed to be inspired by Father Jimmy Tompkins.

66. Corbett, *We Have With Us Tonight*, p. 154.

67. Harry Avison to Rev. J.W. Clarke, February 28, 1940, CAAE Records, A-I, Box 1.

68. Harry Avison to E.A. Corbett, February 13, 1940, HAP, 4-24.

69. Harry Avison to David Winton, April 5, 1940, HAP, 4-24.

70. Ibid.

71. Harry Avison to E.A. Corbett, November 26, 1955, CAAE Records, A-I, Box 1.

72. Walter Adamson, *Marxism and the Disillusionment of Marxism*, p. 239.

73. See my review of Carol Kasworm, (Ed.) *Educational Outreach to Select Adult Populations*. New Directions for Continuing Education, No. 20 (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1983), *Convergence*, vol. XIX, no. 1, 1986.

74. Richard Bernstein, *Beyond Objectivism and Relativism*, p. 228.

75. Lois Bryson and Martin Mowbray, "'Community': The Spray-on Solution," *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, vol. 16, no. 4, 1981, p. 257, 259.

76. See Agnes Heller, *The Theory of Need in Marx* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1974).

77. Erica Sherover-Marcuse, *Emancipation and Consciousness: Dogmatic and Dialectical Perspectives in the Early Marx* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), p. 7.

78. Bernstein, p. 228.

79. Adamson, p. 237.

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FEMINIST DISCOURSE AND THE RESEARCH ENTERPRISE: IMPLICATIONS FOR ADULT EDUCATION RESEARCH

Catharine E. Warren
The University of Calgary

Abstract

This articles explores the implications for research and practice in adult education of the increasing interest in gender issues and of feminist approaches to research and research methodology. It centers on the discussion of these issues in two events in Canada in 1986-87: a national conference on "The Effects of Feminist Approaches on Research Methodology", and the publication of *The Science Question in Feminism*, written by Sandra Harding.

Résumé

L'auteur présente quelques questions, pertinentes à la pratique et à la recherche dans le domaine de l'éducation des adultes, qui proviennent de l'intérêt croissant dans le phénomène de genre et des recherches d'un point de vue féministe. La discussion se concentre sur deux événements au Canada en 1986-87: un congrès au sujet des conséquences des approches féministes pour la méthodologie de recherche, et la publication du livre, *The Science Question in Feminism*, par Sandra Harding.

> We do not think of the ordinary person as preoccupied with such difficult and profound questions as: What is truth? What is authority? To whom do I listen? What counts for me as evidence? How do I know what I know? Yet to ask these questions and to reflect on our answers is more than an intellectual exercise, for our basic assumptions about the nature of truth and reality and the origins of knowledge shape the way we see the world and ourselves as participants in it. They affect our definitions of ourselves, the way we interact with others, our public and private personae, our sense of control over life events, *our views of teaching and learning*, and our conception of morality.[1] (emphasis added)

> A maximally objective science, natural or social, will be one that includes a self-conscious and critical examination of the relationship between the social experiences of its creators and the kinds of cognitive structures favored in its inquiry.[2]

> . . . I doubt that in our wildest dreams we ever imagined we would have to reinvent both science and theorizing itself in order to make sense of women's social experience.[3]

I. The Problem

The Canadian Congress for Learning Opportunities of Women (CCLOW) circulated a letter in December of 1986 which contained the following statements:

> One out of every five Canadian women has less than a grade nine education.
>
> One in every five female Canadian adults cannot read or write.
>
> One in every ten Canadian families is headed by a sole support mother, half of these families live at the lowest levels of poverty.
>
> All too often social reform and policy changes--even those that have equity as an underlying principle--result in a deterioration of women's status in Canadian society in part because *so little is known and understood about the education and learning needs of women in our society.* (emphasis added)

What are we in adult education to make of these facts? In particular, what are we to understand about why social reform and policy changes, and educational programs, ostensibly designed to redress gender inequity seem unable to do? Why cannot our current theories, research tools and methodologies uncover the educational and learning needs of women? Why, too, despite the emphasis and apparent encouragement toward women going into science and technology fields as a way of alleviating future poverty, do so few women still enter these fields?

These are the type of questions which in 1970 at the time of the recommendations of the *Royal Commission Report on the Status of Women*[4] educators thought would by this time not need to be asked. Research into the problems had been done in the 1970's and it was thought to be just a matter of removing barriers and changing social policy. However, issues of gender (and related issues of class, race, and ethnicity) have been found to be much more complex and intransigent in all countries than originally believed. For example, Sweden, a socialist country whose political agenda and government policies are designed to encourage and promote women into the sciences and technology areas in order to improve their status has acknowledged its failure to be able to do so.[5] The fact that gender disparity still exists suggests that inequity cannot be erased by merely removing some obvious barriers but is imbedded in thought itself and knowledge gathering processes. The very premises of science, technology, and research as we have come to know them need to be examined critically.

A comprehensive critical examination of such premises is beyond the scope of this article. However, this problem of inequity because of its poverty implications for women (and children), is serious enough to open up an exploration of why educational research including that of adult education has to date been inadequate in uncovering the educational and learning needs of many women in our society. Any analysis questioning the very premises of research is bound to raise new questions and contradictions but the importance of the problem with implications for the practice of adult education warrants such discourse.

Other than the work of Paulo Freire[6] pertaining to class which has comparable implications to the theoretical aspects of gender inequity, little theoretical work has been done in adult education on gender inequity. Thus, other social science sources need to be explored. It is the aim of this paper to review current feminist thought in several disciplines in order to support the contention that we as adult educators also need to re-examine in a more thorough fashion the premises underlying our own research programs.

II. The Location of the Discourse

Canadian sociologist Margrit Eichler[7] in 1985 spoke of four historical stages of feminist studies in Canada. Stage one, a focus on women, was begun in 1970 with the Royal Commission on the Status of Women. Stage two identified a focus on sex (gender) roles. Stage three saw the development of a feminist approach, while stage four, started in the

1980's and which continues in the present, is a search towards a new epistemology.

Eichler notes that with this last approach, the issue of feminine contribution to knowledge is now a debate involving several disciplines (and with a variety of theoretical perspectives within each discipline). Feminist scholars in Canada may be seen as concentrating upon the very nature of knowledge itself, examining its premises, and *how* we know what we claim to know. The debate not only involves several disciplines but necessarily cross-cuts disciplines as well as national boundaries.

Of special interest recently is the epistemology of science and its affiliate, technology. Until quite recently, science has received less scrutiny than other disciplines by feminist scholars, perhaps because of its avowed stance of objectivity and value neutrality (and the societal acceptance of that stance). With the work of scientists such as Thomas Kuhn[8] who first published in 1962, this protective veneer has been penetrated for scrutiny by a variety of scholars. As philosopher of science Sandra Harding[9] has noted, physics, chemistry, mathematics and logic, have been found to bear the cultural fingerprints of their distinctive cultural creators no less than do anthropology and history. Furthermore, the use of phenomenological models of inquiry in many disciplines has encouraged the re-assessment of positivist and empirical scientific models. Phenomenological models tend to favor more subjective and intuitive approaches, ones which generally acknowledge that knowledge is socially constructed. Thus the whole field of what constitutes research endeavors and what constitutes knowledge obtained by research inquiries is undergoing re-examination not only by feminist scholars but by others as well.

This epistemological interest concerning feminist research may be viewed as but one intellectual discourse pertaining to the epistemological questioning of all knowledge in a variety of disciplines. For example, interest in critical theory demonstrated at the 1987 Canadian Association of Studies in Adult Education meetings may be viewed as an example of interest in a discourse pertaining to the premises of knowledge in adult education. Critical theorists collectively have in common strands of concern regarding epistemological "critique of science and technology, analysis of the social psychology of domination and emancipation, and interpretation of the paralysis of class conflict".[10]

Thus, feminist discourse (or discourses) at the stage four level may be viewed as paralleling and often intersecting with other intellectual discourse streams including critical theory and post-modernism as they grapple with epistemological questions and the contradictions inherent in any work in progress. Furthermore, it is apparent that there is not one but a number of feminist views depending upon the location of the discourse within a theoretical perspective. Nevertheless, the invidious nature of gender inequity and the relatively low priority often assigned to feminist discourse within any one theoretical perspective or discipline has encouraged interdisciplinary discourse amongst feminist scholars.

This article will review aspects of feminist discourse as expressed primarily in two events in Canada in 1986-87. The first was a national conference, "The Effects of Feminist Approaches on Research Methodology",[11] in which invitational papers on the topic were presented from sixteen disciplines including: philosophy, law, sociology, psychology, social welfare, literature (French an English), drama, economics, chemistry, and computing science. Implicit in the conference design was the recognition of the intractability of gender inequity in society which becomes reflected in all disciplines.

The second event reviews the work of philosopher of science Sandra Harding who visited several Canadian universities in 1987 and whose recent book *The Science Question in Feminism*[12] has stimulated much discussion. Are there insights from the discourse related to these events which can shed light on the problem of research pertaining to understanding the learning and educational needs of all women?

III. The National Conference on Feminist Approaches to Research Methodology

The kinds of questions raised at the conference which have epistemological implications include: Are feminist criticisms of the premises of science justified? What difference has feminism made to the methodology of research or to the way research is conducted? Is there a new crisis between feminism and methodology, centering around objectivity and subjectivity? Have feminists created a dichotomy between the rational as masculine and the subjective as feminine? To what extent is the feminist criticism of the knowledge of science related to the knower? While an underlying current of some feminist thought has been toward relativism (the assumption that no value-directed inquiries can be objective and therefore all are equally justifiable) are not some modes of voice better even from a relativist position than others? Surely not every position (e.g. a racist one) is able to give rise to truth?

To what extent is methodology not a static entity, but one reflective of current social structure? Is there more methodological tolerance in some disciplines than in others? Are some of the questions addressed in methodology by feminists not really methodological questions but more rightly questions about management styles in organizations? How do the values of individualism and the role of the expert in our society go against the value of the inclusion of women in the *design* of technology and its systems? How can feminists in Canada engage in cross-cultural studies of *all* women (by race, class, ethnic origin) to prevent new knowledge from becoming egocentric and ethnocentric?

Are there ways of constructing new language which say what we want to say without the limits of conventional language? Is there a post modern language that can validate the intuitive knowledge claimed by women? To what extent is contextual thinking important, sometimes resulting in the difficulty of coming up with neat and tidy theories immediately but nevertheless of paramount concern? Is there value in dichotomous thinking in epistemology? These and many similar questions were addressed from a number of feminist perspectives but cannot all be addressed here. One major theme concerned subjectivity, objectivity, and relativism which seems of particular importance in the quest for insights into educational and learning needs.

subjectivity, objectivity, and the question of relativism

Sociologist Thelma McCormack[13] in her keynote address at the national conference raised a central question of the extent to which feminist discourse has created a crisis for feminists pertaining to appropriate methodology. She stated, "This crisis is related to the two versions of the truth, the insiders and the outsiders, subjectivity and objectivity".[14] Her assessment is that feminists themselves are divided on the issue with the debates being so intense that methodology has become an end in itself, not a means of inquiry. However, one can respond that if the methodology used does indeed distort the truth, or prevents the experience of some kinds of knowledge being expressed or valued, then indeed it does need to be at the center of the debate.

Feminists who argue for knowledge obtained by subjective means (i.e. the autobiographical knowledge of the insider) do not always believe such means are more important forms of knowledge for uncovering the experiences and insights of women than are objective means (but may doubt that objectivity is possible). The feminist critiques of the three epistemological positions as presented by Harding later in this article lead one to acknowledge that subjectivity probably is inherent in all research regardless of one's epistemological position. To acknowledge its presence allows one to engage in research with a rationality and an awareness of the conscious implications pertaining to all aspects of the research enterprise: topic choice; effects of researchers on the researched; interpretations of the findings; and the consequences of the findings. This is as true for the natural sciences as it is for the social sciences.

McCormack, however, cautions us not to reject objectivity and rationality:

> . . . subjective feminism versus objective feminism . . . is a no-win situation. It paralyzes us and distracts what we are trying to do. Neither of the options can do what needs to be done: to prove the unprovable, to demonstrate that gender equality is a viable option in modern social life and that the oppression of women through symbolic systems destroys the richness and decency of a culture.[15]

Many researchers would agree with McCormack on the value of an approach toward research in which researchers value equally objectivity with subjectivity. Such an approach would lead to a more wholistic and balanced view of reality just as self-actualization theory in personality development demands a balance between the two kinds of knowing for the individual. What is at issue here, though, is that one kind of knowing, the rational and the more objective, is valued more highly in our research environment than is a knowing rationality based upon the subjective and the intuitive. Because the rationality of the subjective and the intuitive is not always understood, it is often assumed to be irrational or non-rational, and since it is more likely to be associated with women than with men, as a way of knowing it is not as highly valued in research circles or in public life. For example, Monique Begin, a cabinet minister in ex-prime minister Trudeau's cabinet for seven years noted at the conference that when she left the cabinet, Trudeau told her that her political acumen astounded him.[16] Never, he said, had he met a politician whose political sense of knowing seemed right on two fronts: the rational and the intuitive. Nevertheless, Trudeau often felt uncomfortable with Begin's intuitive judgement because he could not follow its logic and hence felt uneasy with the knowledge she gained about her political constituency in this way.

Harding also makes clear that although subjective understandings may be favoured by many feminists, this does not mean a leap to relativism.

108

Similarly, philosopher Marsha Hanen[17] in her conference paper notes that from the perspective of feminist discourse, not all positions are viewed as acceptable and not every point of view is expected to yield truth. However, this position seems not to have been well understood. Hanen points to the difficulty which the construction of a feminist epistemology poses for many people.

She says:

> . . . to date there has been little constructive feminist epistemology, partly, I think, because of the difficulty that people trained to accept traditional notions of scientific rationality and objectivity have in introducing "subjective" or "personal" elements without feeling they have fallen into an unacceptable relativism. The problem of adducing grounds for rejecting certain views as incorrect while at the same time allowing that we cannot tell which from among the remaining intellectual positions is correct, even when these are incompatible with one another, is one for which we have no clear methodology. Perhaps different ones of these positions are acceptable in different contexts and for different purposes, and we do not have to choose. Women are sometimes said to be better able to deal with ambiguity and inconsistency than are men, and this is often attributed to women's greater involvement in the complexities of day to day living and personal relationships.[18]

Finally, Harding cautions us to note that agnosticism and recognition of the hypothetical character of all scientific claims are quite different epistemological stances from one of relativism. Thus, while persons may wish to reject feminist discourse on the ground which it shares with other intellectual streams in post modernism and critical theory (e.g. criticism of science and technology), care should be taken before rejecting it on the basis of its assumed relativism.

IV. The Work of Sandra Harding

In the remainder of this article, I propose to review critically the premises underlying the kind of studies which have been done pertaining to gender. Using a framework which is that of Harding,[19] research studies involving gender can be classified into five kinds of programs. At least three kinds of epistemological positions are represented by these programs. Each position and program can be subjected to rigorous critical examination. The criticisms of many scholars as well as those of the presenters at the 1987 conference will be incorporated in the discussion. Many of the conference presenters often unknowingly used classification systems of research studies in their fields which were similar to those of Harding.

types of research programs addressing gender inequity

Harding presents five different but related research programs which are currently in use in the research of gender. Each program exemplifies a feminist critique of science while at the same time raising epistemological questions which can best be addressed by another program. It seems to be Harding's contention that the five programs demonstrate an evolutionary development from a more simplistic critique in vogue in the past to a program entailing a more complex critique, one which she hopes can evolve eventually into a feminist theory of science.

1. equity studies

> The law, in its majestic equality, forbids the rich as well as the poor to sleep under bridges, to beg in the streets, and to steal bread.[20]

The first program concerns itself with equity studies. These studies which were especially prevalent after the Royal Commission report, documented the "massive historical resistance to women's getting the education, credentials, and jobs available to similarly talented men", and, "the psychological and social mechanisms through which discrimination is maintained even when formal barriers have been eliminated".[21] Included, too, are motivation studies which show why boys and men more often want to excel at science, engineering and math than do girls and women.

A feminist critique of such studies includes such questions as: Should women want to become just like men in science (or like male lawyers, like male physicians, etc.)? Is not equality or sameness with men a "low" goal for women? Furthermore, as law professor Lynn Smith[22] has noted, the getting of more women into law says nothing about the general participation of women in the larger society. Furthermore, in the case of law, studies from this program perspective do not question whether the law is as equitable for *women* as it is for men. The assumed neutrality of the law (which other feminists would argue has a male bias) has been left untouched. The important aspect in law from this orientation is to ensure that all individual women are treated the *same* way as men. Similarly, with this program the norms of science (and the canons of literature, too) have been left untouched. Later in this discourse it will be questioned whether the treating of women in the same way as men is equitable for women. As Smith indicated, finding comparable male situations in order to compare females in the case of law has led to ridiculous situations. For example, in one case in Canada it was argued that the touching of a man's beard on a bus by a woman would be similar to the touching of a woman's breast on a bus by a male (breasts and beards being viewed as secondary sex characteristics). Thus, if the male did not view this act on his person as sexual harassment, neither should the female view the comparable act on her person as sexual harassment. The male norm therefore becomes the standard for judging equity.

2. studies of the uses and abuses of biology, the social sciences and their technologies

Studies within this perspective aim to indicate "the way science (or research) has been used in the service of sexist, racist, homophobic, classist social projects".[23] Examples of these kinds of studies would include studies which show that despite work force legislation, domestic workers and particularly immigrant women, are treated differently from other workers. While images of motherhood and the value of the nuclear family are upheld and venerated, at the same time social support and daycare facilities for single mothers and non-nuclear families is shaky. Such studies demonstrate that we have different reproductive policies, forms of domestic labor, and forms of work place discrimination for women by class and race.

Like the first research program, studies in this program area do not question the norms of science itself. Researchers and practitioners "assume there is a value-free, pure scientific research which can be distinguished from the social uses of science, and that there are proper uses of science with which we can contrast its improper use".[24] Like the first research program, the problem here is "bad" science. It is bad science because these studies reveal the way that "research" can be harnessed into the service of sexist, racist, homophobic and classist social projects.

In both kinds of research programs, equity studies and uses and abuses studies, the epistemological stance from which such programs arise is one which Harding calls *feminist empiricism*, empiricism referring to the search for knowledge by observation and experiment.

The discourse behind a feminist empiricism indicates that sexism and androcentric attitudes seen in science are evident especially amongst male researchers but these are conditions which can easily be corrected as soon as social movements "make it possible for people to see the world in an enlarged perspective because they remove the covers and blinders that obscure knowledge and observation."[25]

In law, the legal approach to problems would be to accept the objectivity of the law but to note that there may be exceptions which need to be found to make sure they are made consistent. This approach does not question the underlying legal principles on which the law is practiced but rather the way it is practiced.

From the perspective of feminist empiricism the questioning of feminists is at the level of questioning "bad" science practice (or "bad" legal practice). The solution as presented to society and to researchers in various disciplines is relatively attractive for a number of reasons. The most important attractive aspect is that it does not pinpoint the existing norms of methodology as the problem (nor existing laws) and thus does not attack "science-as usual" as the problem. Rather, it points to the "bad science" done by some of its practitioners, a practice which can be alleviated once the practitioners are aware of their bias and once more women become practitioners.

However, the difficulty with this solution is that it is not really viable for it contradicts the scientific method. The feminist solution proposed by feminist empiricism is that feminists (male or female) as a group are more likely to produce unbiased and objective results than are men or non-feminists. However, this solution goes against the norms of the scientific method, those norms which indicate its capability of eliminating any bias due to the color, race, or gender of the individual researcher. Furthermore, the concept of empiricism does not address a key origin of androcentrism which pertains to the *selection* of problems of study. The norms of empiricism were meant to apply only to the testing of hypothesis and interpretation of evidence (i.e. to the context of justification) and not the *context* where the problems for research are identified and defined. Harding concludes that ". . . feminist attempts to reform what is perceived as bad science bring to our attention deep logical incoherences and what, paradoxically, we call empirical inadequacies in empiricist epistemologies".[26]

3. studies questioning the value-ladenness of all inquiry

The first two programs have in common two underlying assumptions. ". . . in the first case the assumption that equality with men . . . should be our goal, and in the second case that pure science is value free and distinguishable from its social uses, and that there is somehow a clear distinction between the proper and improper uses of science".[27] Later programs begin questioning these assumptions.

With the third program, questions are raised about the fundamental value-ladenness of *all* knowledge seeking, and especially questions the selection and determination of what should be studied, what requires explanation, and what is of interest. From this research perspective, it is maintained that there are "cultural fingerprints" in what is designated as worthy of study. Because the experiences of men differ from the experiences of women, one can expect that research problems arising out of the experiences of male researchers as males will be the ones selected for study. While on the one hand one could say it is "bad" science for male researchers to only select problems which are of importance to them based on their experience, on the other hand, will not the selection and definition of problem always bear the "cultural fingerprints" of the dominant group in a culture? The work of Carol Gilligan[28] would be an important example of a study coming from this kind of research program. Her work does not use male standards for the women but alternatively demonstrates the meaning which the experiences of women have pertaining to moral development, a meaning which is not inferior to but different from the meaning of moral development as derived from male subjects.

It is from such a critique that one can see a burgeoning number of studies which seek to capture the "perspective of women". One popular way has been through biographical studies. As oral historians have sought to capture the voices of working class people usually unrecorded in history, so studies attempt to give voice to women of various age, class, race and ethnic origin. A number of studies relying on biographical or life history approaches can be cited here, such as the work of oral historians Susan Trofimenkoff, Eliane Silverman, and qualitative sociologists such as myself.[29, 30, 31]

A recent American study relying on life history materials obtained from the interviews of women from a variety of classes, ages and races, and ethnic origins bears consideration. In particular, this study may shed light on the illusive motivation questions faced by adult educators and alluded to in the introduction of this article. Inspired by the work of

Carol Gilligan and William Perry, the four psychologist authors operated from the premise that some women collectively are as rational as some men but that the rationalism is itself different because it arises out of the experience of gender. Experience of gender in the home and school thus leads to different epistemological assumptions of how one knows what one knows. In their work, *Woman's Way of Knowing*,[32] the authors outlined five epistemological positions, each with its own rationale based on experience, used by the women in the study.

The five ways of women's knowing identified in the study were: *silence*, in which women experience themselves as mindless and voiceless; *received knowledge*, in which women experience themselves as capable of receiving knowledge from an external authority but not creating it themselves; *subjective knowledge*, in which truth is thought to be personal and private; *procedural knowledge*, in which women use traditional "objective" procedures; and lastly, *constructed knowledge*, which is contextual and in which both objective and subjective strategies are employed.[33]

What are we as adult educators to make of the implications of these five ways of knowing for understanding the learning and educational needs of women? One view would be to see these five ways of knowing in a hierarchical fashion in which the last, constructed knowledge, is the highest order of knowledge and valued the most, with silence as the lowest order and valued little. But from a phenomenological perspective, one could ask in what situations and under what circumstances is each way of knowing valuable and perhaps unique in obtaining knowledge? To what extent do program designs take into account the various ways of knowing and place value on each and on the participants who use them?

A second aspect of this work could also have important implications for adult educators. Regardless of the "level" of knowing, the metaphor of "voice" (and hearing) was more important for the women than were the metaphors associated with "seeing" (e.g. blind justice, veil of ignorance, double blind tests). The study raises interesting speculation about the extent to which many adult educator practitioners as well as clients may feel more comfortable with "voice" modes of knowing than with "visual" modes.

This third research program clearly raises the epistemological question of relativism and its relationship (or non-relationship) to subjectivity. Must objectivity always be satisfied only by value-neutrality? And if so, does the feminist critique then force us to subjectivism, and to relativism, an assumption that *no* value-directed inquiries can be

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objective and therefore all are equally justifiable? Such questions are addressed by the next research programs.

4. literary criticism, historical interpretation, and psychoanalytic studies

With such studies, research using these related techniques "have been used to 'read science as a text' in order to reveal the social meanings--the hidden symbolic and structural agendas--of purportedly value-neutral claims and practices".[34] Such studies suggest to Harding that the concern about maintaining dichotomies in science and epistemology (such as objectivity vs. subjectivity, mind vs. body, reasons vs. emotions) are not reflections of necessity for science to progress, but rather are related to a specifically masculine and probably uniquely Western bourgeois needs and desires.

Examples of studies probably inspired by this tradition include that of Nancy Chodorow in her *Reproduction of Mothering: Psychoanalysis and the Sociology of Gender.*[35] In this pioneering work, one can see the possibility of re-examining the psychoanalytic tradition and re-formulating the extent to which the importance of the symbolic world suggested by a misogynist Freud still has validity as a symbolic system. The importance is one based on gender socialization within cultural norms rather than upon those derived from fixed biological norms. Is biology really destiny as Freud thought or are we socialized to believe that biology is destiny? Chodorow demonstrates in this work the profound mental consequences on both males and females which result from having women designated as the prime caretakers of babies and young children.

From studies such as these Harding raises a number of questions such as: What relevance do the writings of the fathers of modern science have to contemporary scientific practice? What theory would justify regarding these metaphors as fundamental components of scientific explanations? And finally, her searching question which leads her to the fifth and last research program: Can we imagine what a scientific mode of knowledge-seeking would look like that was not to distinguish between objectivity and subjectivity, reason and the emotions?

5. epistemological inquiries

The last research program concentrates upon epistemological inquiries related to science and research. Harding describes three kinds of alternative epistemologies which are themselves challenges or alternatives both to each other and to the dominant epistemologies of science. Not only do these epistemologies pose problems in relation to the present dominant epistemologies of science, but they have paradoxical implications for each other, as has been already anticipated by the questions raised earlier in the discussion of the five kinds of research programs.

The tree kinds of epistemological inquiry which Harding has named are: feminist empiricism; feminist standpoint; and feminist post-modernism.

Earlier, *feminist empiricism* was discussed particularly as its premises applied to the first two research programs. It is with the research program which begins to question not only *how* research is done but the *content* selected for research study that a second epistemological position emerges: that of the feminist standpoint.

the feminist standpoint

The feminist standpoint epistemological position can be said to have its roots in the work of Engels and Marx. Their work saw that due to ownership of property, one class (the ruling class) dominated another class (the proletariat), and that the domination of knowledge. However, the dominant class, because of its position, developed only partial and perverse understandings, whereas the proletariat had the potential for a true understanding of the real nature of the world. In a similar way, the feminist standpoint argues that men's dominance in economic and social life has created a male culture which not only prevents an equitable distribution of power and resources but results in a male perspective which allows for only a partial and distorted view of the way of the world. By way of contrast, women's subjugated position provides them with the possibility of a more complete and less distorted view of reality.

This perspective does not argue for multiple realities (i.e. a masculine perspective and a feminine perspective) as far as truth is concerned. Rather it argues that the view of the "underdogs" (or under-women) because of their experiences is closer to the truth than that of most males. Thus, this perspective does not reject the possibility of "one truth" but encourages the search for it. The feminist standpoint as viewed from this perspective is "a morally and scientifically preferable grounding for our interpretations of nature and social life".[36] The works of Canadian sociologist Dorothy Smith[37] and of British sociologist Hilary Rose[38] would be good examples of feminist research inspired by this epistemological position.

Such a perspective will clearly have problems from a scientific empiricist view which denies that the gender (or class, or race) of the researcher affects the view of truth. But the perspective also raises tensions for many feminists as well because this perspective, like feminist empiricism, assumes that a value-free science is possible.

A major problem arising from such a perspective surely is: Can there be *a single* feminist standpoint if women's social experience is divided by class, by race, and by culture? Surely there are black, white, working-class, professional class, Canadian, Mongolian, and Indian standpoints? While this epistemology is the basis for most of the research studies in the third program of studies, nevertheless, studies such as Belenky, *et. al.*,[39] although inspired by a collective of women's views of knowing, nevertheless is not arguing from a standpoint perspective that women's way of knowing is "better" and "the truth", but rather that there are multiple ways of knowing based on reason and experience.

The standpoint position leads one to the question of whether there are multiple realities which can lead to multiple truths. While Smith acknowledges there will be more than one feminist version of reality, all versions she feels nevertheless will be more complete and less distorting than is possible with a science whose knowledge production is limited by a ruling class culture.[40]

Harding notes that perhaps the idea that there is only one reality which dominates this epistemological position comes from the falsely universalizing perspective of the dominant master. "Only to the extent that one person or group can indeed dominate the whole does 'reality' appear to be governed by one set of rules".[41] It is with queries such as these that one enters the realm of the last feminist epistemological inquiry, that of *feminist post-modernism*.

feminist post-modernism

Feminist empiricism and feminist standpoint epistemologies basically see good science and research as essentially objective and capable of value neutrality. Although strands of feminist post-modernist thinking appear also in these two epistemologies, in contrast, feminist post-modernism sees science and research as necessarily bearing "the cultural fingerprints" of the dominant groups of a society, not only in the selection and definition of the problems but of the knowledge claimed. Feminists from this epistemological position are questioning the very premises of science and research as they exist today as being essentially androcentric and see the need to evolve a truly universal science, one which presumably could bear the cultural fingerprints of all people. It is this epistemology which essentially informs the fourth research program and of course is the culmination to date of epistemological thought for the fifth research program. It shares along with other intellectual movements a "profound skepticism regarding universal (or universalizing) claims about the existence, nature and powers of reason, progress, science, language, and the 'subject/self'".[42] In view of space, this article can not do justice to all of the tensions implicit in this epistemological position.

It is perhaps in the area of affecting the canons of literature, both in English and French, that post-modernism has most affected the products of a discipline. Pam McCallum[43] noted at the conference that writing by feminist writers has taken the task of not so much a construction of a genre unique to itself but rather a re-thinking of the whole idea of genre itself. She commented upon the influence which the new French writers have had upon writers in English, particularly with respect to language. As Dale Spender[44] has pointed out, words often are just not there in English for women. For example, there are words such as "nymphomaniac" and "frigid" to describe some sexual states of women, but no words for in-between states. The question arises then, are there ways of constructing a new language? What might a new language look like, a language in which the conventions of writings are changed? New writing by feminists often seem difficult at first because we are used to certain canons or rules, such as knowing the sex of the writer or characters which are not apparent in this writing. "The main way of writing (in post-modernism) is that the writing disrupts the conventions in order to speak in a new way".[45]

V. Conclusions

This article started out with the observation that gender inequities in Canadian society which would seem to be remediable through educational programs to date remain relatively intractable. It would be of value for all of us as researchers in adult education to re-examine and re-assess the research models which are in current use. It may well be that the epistemological assumptions of these models undermine our abilities to obtain real advances in our understanding of the invidious effects of gender (and class and race) upon our educational programming. Attention to feminist critique in other disciplines may provide insights into inequity problems and into the relative sterility into which we as adult educators have fallen in trying to address inequity and motivational concerns.

While some may view epistemological concerns on any topic as remote or unrelated to the practice of adult education, for many female clients such attention is urgent. As an adult education practitioner responsible for designing programs for women for over eighteen years, I am convinced today that the best way to be "client-centred" in practice is to revise our premises of research. Until we can make systemic changes for women, based on new knowledge pertaining to the real educational and learning needs of women, as practitioners and educators we are but perpetuating inequity for successive cadres of female clients and ministering to the symptoms of that inequity with our programs.

It is to be hoped that the search for a disciplinary autonomy in adult education does not prevent us from participating in interdisciplinary feminist discourse and the search for real equity for women.

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Perspectives

One of the hazards, and the excitements, of the interchange of ideas across language boundaries is to ensure that we take terms at the value they have, or are coming to have, in the language in which they are used, and not to identify them by using some term familiar to us, which we see as being similar. To do the latter is often to distort the interchange and fail to learn from it. Touchette has pointed out that the French word, *andragogie* has a broader and more philosophically oriented meaning than is generally given to the English word, 'andragogy'.[1] The English term 'formation', insofar as we use it at all, tends to be restricted to some form of task-related training, following an earlier usage of the French *formation*. Fletcher and Ruddock, discussing the relationship between 'formation', 'deformation', 'reformation', and 'transformation', give 'formation' such a meaning.[2]

In the following article, which first appeared in *Formation et Prospective*, n^{o} 1, avril, 1987, and is reproduced here with permission, *formation* is contrasted with instructing, teaching, and educating, and is given a broad and powerful role in helping the learner to be an autonomous actor and agent in a changing environment. It conveys a meaning comparable to that given by Fletcher and Ruddock to the term 'transformation'.

Une partie des risques et de l'enivrement d'échanger des idées par-dessus les frontières linguistiques est d'assurer que nous donnons aux termes la valeur qu'ils ont, ou sont en train d'acquérir, dans la langue dans laquelle ils sont utilisés, et de ne pas les identifier en utilisant un terme qui nous est familier et qui nous semble analogue. Faire cela conduit souvent a fausser l'échange et à ne rien en tirer. Touchette a fait remarquer que le mot français, 'andragogie', a un sens plus large et plus philosophique que celui généralement accordé au mot anglais ***andragogy***. Le terme anglais, *formation*, tend à se limiter à une sorte de formation (training) en vue d'une tâche, découlant d'un usage antérieur du français, 'formation'. Discutant le rapport entre *formation*, *deformation*, *reformation*, et *transformation*, Fletcher et Ruddock donnent ce sens à *formation* en anglais.

Dans l'article suivant, qui a d'abord paru dans *Formation et Prospective*, n^{o} 1, avril, 1987, et est reproduit ici avec permission, le terme français 'formation' est mis en contraste avec 'instruire', 'enseigner', et 'éduquer', et se voit donner le rôle large et fort d'aider l'apprenant à avoir une autonomie d'action et à être un agent dans un environnement changeant.

Il communique un sens comparable à celui que Fletcher et Ruddock donnent au terme *transformation*.

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H.W.R.

INSTRUIRE, ENSEIGNER, EDUQUER, FORMER

Daniel Chevrolet
Université de Rennes

Résumé

On compare diverses modalités de l'action pédagogique. Il semble que cette dernière culmine en complexité et en qualité avec le processus de 'formation'. Ce concept qui apparait tardivement (1949) à propos de l'apprentissage professionnel, doit attendre longtemps (1960-1965) avant de se généraliser. Cantonné à la pédagogie des adultes, on peut espérer qu'il ne tardera pas à renouveler le système scolaire en général. Tel quel, il est déjà à la source de méthodes, techniques et procédures tout à fait originales et fécondes. On examine ici brièvement l'"autobiographie" comme méthode de formation, ainsi que la "reconnaissance des acquis" non académiques en préalable à un projet de formation.

Abstract

This article compares modes of conveying learning, which seem to culminate, in complexity and quality, with the process of "formation". This concept, which appeared relatively recently (1949), in relation to professional training, had to wait a long time (1960-1965) before taking on a broader meaning. It is possible to hope that it can, as an element in the field of adult teaching, soon begin to bring something new to the whole education system. As it is, the concept is already the source of methods, techniques, and procedures that are quite original and productive. Within this context, the article looks briefly at autobiography as a method of learing, and at the recognition of learning acquired outside the formal system.

MOTS CLES LEXIQUE	autobiographie, autoformation, autonomie, cursus, éducation, enseignement, formation, instruction, reconnaissance des acquis.
climat	situation socio-affective directement induite, dans un groupe d'apprentissage ou de tâche, par le style et les méthodes mis en oeuvre par celui qui en est responsable. Ainsi, selon le degré de directivité, obtient-on des résultats différents non seulement en ce qui concerne l'atteinte des résultats, mais encore dans les relations inter-individuelles et le moral du groupe.
cursus	ensemble d'enseignements conduisant à un diplôme, un grade ou une qualification professionnelle. Il se déroule par étapes évaluées selon des modalités diverses et destinées à concrétiser la progression de l'apprenant.
existentiel	qui concerne le vécu, par opposition à l'analyse intellectuelle-rationnelle.
représentation	ce mot offre des sens nombreux et variés. Il peut cependant être défini comme l'ensemble des images, symboles ou signes évoquant immédiatement, pour un sujet ou un groupe social, un objet, un phénomène, une situation ou une action. La représentation construite sans distance réflexive vis-à-vis de l'expérience l'ayant engendrée, déclenche un comportement immédiat plus ou moins adéquat à la situation actuelle qui la réactualise.
sub-adulte	stade intermédiaire entre l'adolescent et le jeune adulte. Alors que l'adolescent se caractérise par une oscillation entre le réel et l'imaginaire et surtout par l'impossibilité à effectuer les choix susceptibles d'engager le reste de son existence, le sub-adulte a opté pour une direction donnée. Toutefois, à la différence du jeune adulte, il ne s'est pas encore préoccupé d'un "territoire", et surtout il n'assume pas de responsabilité réelle. Ce stade se spécifie par une fascination pour la démarche hypothéticodéductive, culminant dans le "raisonnement-jeu".

La pédagogie est dépréciée

Dans nos sociétés, en tant que technique spécifique, la pédagogie, lorsqu'elle n'est pas tout simplement récusée ou niée, semble faire l'objet d'une dévalorisation générale et constante.

De façon paradoxale, ce jugement se voit souvent partagé par ceux-là mêmes qui en font profession.

Plus s'élève l'âge et le niveau de connaissance des enseignés et plus il devient la règle de la proscrire de l'enseignement. On sait, par exemple, que cette attitude culmine dans les filières initiales de l'enseignement supérieur.

Tout se passe comme si le recours à la méthodologie pédagogique (sous l'une quelconque de ses formes) oscillait entre deux pôles opposés, en fonction du cursus* académique, et du même coup, malheureusement, du statut qui en découle pour les maîtres.

La pédagogie est un mode fondamental de relation

Or--et l'on n'y insistera jamais assez--la pédagogie se trouve au coeur des relations interhumaines, dès lors que celles-ci visent un changement, puisqu'aussi bien, apprendre c'est modifier son comportement. Comme l'a montré naguère la comparaison de divers "climats"* éducatifs, caractérisés par le degré d'autorité du responsable, le style pédagogique intervient puissamment, non seulement dans l'atteinte des objectifs, mais encore, le cas échéant, dans leur maintien. Plus profondément, l'anthropologie de son côté, a pu décrire la relation déterminante entre le mode d'éducation infantile et les productions de la culture collective, tout particulièrement du point de vue de ses valeurs existentielles*.

Une clarification des notions utilisées dans le champ de l'éducation et de la formation semble donc s'imposer.

C'est ce que nous nous proposerons, sans toutefois prétendre à la rigueur d'une analyse linguistique stricto sensu.

L'instruction est au service d'objets étrangers au sujet

Comme l'indique l'origine latine du mot, *instruere:* entasser, empiler, l'instruction se situe au plus bas niveau de l'acte de former. Il arrive que l'on veuille apprécier au moyen d'un *"quotient d'instruction"* ou rapport entre l'âge chronologique d'un individu et son "âge pédagogique" lui-même calculé en fonction d'une somme prédéterminée d'informations.

En tant que transmission de connaisances, l'instruction cependant, se spécifie par le fait qu'elle prend pour finalité, une réalité autre que le destinataire: le maniement d'un objet, la conduite au sein d'une institution, l'attitude vis à vis d'un pouvoir, etc.

Ainsi, à propos de deux domaines sollicitant les aptitudes psychomotrices, dira-t-on pour l'un ***instruction*** militaire, et pour l'autre ***éducation*** physique (ce qui laissse d'ailleurs à penser sur l'"instruction civique" remise à l'honneur dans nos collèges!).

L'instruction s'apparente donc à l'exercice d'un pouvoir sur celui qui en est la cible. Si elle est nécessaire, il convient aussi qu'elle soit éclairée par la culture ambiante. "L'instruction qui ne se convertit pas en morale, avait déjà remarqué Comenius au XVII^{e} siècle, n'est que ruine" (1).

L'enseignement déroule des programmes imposés

L'enseignement peut être brièvement défini par l'action d'apprendre quelque chose à quelqu'un. Il consiste à répondre à un questionnement (réel ou virtuel) en exposant, en expliquant, en montrant (2).

Plusieurs caractères en font un processus, supérieur en complexité et en visée, à l'instruction:

1. La prise en considération et la mise en correspondance des caractéristiques du savoir et de la mentalité des sujets, et par conséquent la structuration des informations;
2. La mise de l'élève en situation d'apprentissage;
3. La création à cet effet d'un environnement et d'outils particuliers (E.A.O. par exemple), en vue de construire les réponses adéquates aux sollicitations de l'environnement, etc. Il n'en demeure pas moins que la tendance à privilégier les possibilités intellectuelles, l'imposition d'un programme a priori à un ensemble non analysé de sujets (la classe étant considérée comme un milieu homogène constitué d'individus superposables) en font un processus de distribution aveugle et indifférenciée du savoir (3).

Comme l'a remarqué Ardoino, l'enseignement représente, dans ces conditions, une sorte de démission-régression par rapport à l'éducation (4).

L'éducation se coule sur des valeurs a priori

L'éducation est guidée par un système de valeurs. Elle oriente les options morales de l'individu et modèle en conséquence ses attitudes face au monde (5).

L'éducation est donc au service d'idéaux variables selon les sociétés et les époques, les modèles religieux, militaire, social, personnologique (conférant le primat à la personne en tant que telle) etc., se succèdant l'un l'autre.

Se centrant sur la personnalité dans sa totalité, l'éducateur se dote de tous les moyens propres à assurer l'épanouissement des qualités recherchées. Il s'agit pour lui, de façon contradictoire, de susciter l'"autonomie" de l'individu par des moyens hétéronomes, parfois rigides comme dans le cas de l'éducation "formelle" (ou systématisée). "Éduquer, c'est apprendre à se passer de l'éducation" (6).

Selon cette conception, l'enseignant se voit investi d'une triple fonction intermédiaire. Il est le "médiateur":

--du savoir, entre l'apprenant et le corpus des connaissances;
--de la collectivité, ouvrant les sujets à la "coopération des consciences", à l'intérieur du microcosme, ou monde en réduction que constitue le groupe-classe;
--des normes idéales, indispensables à la création continue d'une communauté (7).

Comme on l'aura remarqué, si instruction et enseignement s'appliquent à tous les âges de la vie, l'éducation ne peut concerner que l'enfant ou l'adolescent, voire le sub-adulte*.

Elle présente le risque de se fonder sur des a priori ou des représentations* non nécessairement adéquats à l'état de l'environnement.

La formation est un concept récent

Appliqué au champ pédagogique, le mot formation est récent. Il apparaît à propos de l'enseignement professionnel (décret du 24 mai 1938 sur *"l'orientation et la formation professionnelle"*.

Il faut attendre 1949, et leur groupement au sein de l'"Institut français pour la formation et le perfectionnement des chefs d'entreprise" (I.F.P.C.), pour voir se constituer le premier groupe de "formateurs", toujours en quête d'ailleurs, depuis cette époque, de leur identité professionnelle. Finalement ce n'est qu'à partir des années 1960-1965 que le vocable émerge dans le langage courant.

P. Goguelin en dégage le sens à travers une étude sémantique originale et intéressante. Ainsi, à l'aide d'un système de graphes, oppose-t-il la formation:

--à l'acte d'instruire axé sur les pôles de l'information et du "dressage";
--à l'acte d'enseigner, centré sur l'opératoire (expliquer, faire comprendre);
--à l'action d'éduquer, enfin, incluant l'idée d'un niveau à atteindre (8).

La formation concerne le sujet et son vécu

Former c'est modeler le comportement pour que le sujet "se situe" dans son environnement, avec sa façon propre d'aborder et donc de résoudre les problèmes qui sont les siens. La formation, à l'inverse des modèles précédents, se fonde donc sur les motivations, désirs, attentes, mais aussi sur l'expérience passée de l'apprenant, prenant en compte, d'une certaine façon, les normes et représentations de son milieu (9).

Enfin, au plan technique, elle se bâtit, autant que faire se peut, à partir de "modèles de simulation".

On retrouve ici les objectifs que fixe B. Schwartz en préalable à toute intention de formation:

--permettre à la personne de devenir agent du changement social, par une compréhension accrue de son univers de vie;
--la mettre à même d'augmenter son pouvoir sur la réalité;
--lui fournir les moyens de "riposter" aux mutations sociales, dans le cadre de son autonomie propre (10).

Un certain nombre de remarques découlent de ce qui précède.

1. La formation semblerait ne s'appliquer qu'aux adultes.
2. Elle vise, selon les cas, à restaurer ou amplifier leur plasticité.

Sans doute, travaillant au niveau de la personnalité, n'échappe-t-elle pas à un certain questionnement d'ordre déontologique. Il reste cependant qu'elle confie la responsabilité, voire l'appréciation des apprentissages aux apprenants eux-mêmes. Respect de l'expérience et de l'autonomie sont donc les normes du formateur. D'ailleurs, comme l'avait déjà remarqué Gusdorf (*op. cit.* p. 70) n'est-ce pas à l'individu lui-même de recomposer et donc d'unifier à sa mesure les diverses connaissances?

Si donc la formation présente une visée adaptative, compte tenu de la rapidité des changements sociotechniques, et si "formation devient (...) synonyme de transformation" (Ardoino, *op. cit.* p. 40), son sens cependant demeure en relation étroite avec la notion d'"achèvement". C'est le sujet qui réfléchit et en désigne les finalités, devenant l'agent et l'acteur du processus dans lequel il s'engage.

De nouvelles méthodes pédagogiques découlent du concept de formation

Des conceptions, méthodes et/ou procédures à la fois révolutionnaires et fécondes découlent de cette vision renouvelée de l'apprentissage.

Il faut espérer que pour certaines, elles interviendront, par récurrence, sur la pédagogie de l'enfant et de l'adolescent.

Nous en fournirons deux exemples.

Comme l'écrit H. Desroches, il existe une "universalité débusquable au coeur de toute destinée particulière" (11).

D'où l'idée, extrêmement récente, de considérer l'autobiographie comme un puissant outil de l'auto-formation. Auto-analyse et production écrite de l'histoire de vie prennent donc un statut de processus éducatif. Un numéro spécial de la revue "*Éducation permanente*" (n^{os} 72-73, mars 1984) est consacré à ce processus. V. de Gaulejac y montre comment ce travail rejoint à la fois l'investigation sociologique et l'étude clinique (12).

Mais il y a plus. Comme l'indiquent plusieurs auteurs (M. Finger, P. Dominicé, *ibid.*), la méthode peut être considérée comme une véritable "formation-recherche", à l'origine et en appui à la construction d'un authentique projet de formation (13).

Nous reviendrons dans un prochain numéro sur ces possibilités immenses non encore explorées dans le système de formation (14).

La prise en compte d'apprentissages non académiques

Ce qui précède nous conduit logiquement à une autre procédure, celle de la "reconnaissance des acquis". Elle s'est vue récemment institutionnalisée, au plan administratif, dans les universités (15).

Comme l'ont montré N. Meyer et G. Berger, l'idée émerge avec la crise marquée par la mobilité professionnelle et l'accélération du processus de transformation des entreprises.

Au plan institutionnel, elle résulte de la reconnaissance de la multiplicité des lieux de formation possibles en dehors de l'école; au plan psychosocial, de l'intérêt d'une valorisation des acquis, y compris de ceux qui relèvent de formations inachevées (16).

La revue "Education Permanente" consacre également un numéro spécial ("Reconnaître et valider les acquis") n^{os} 83-84, 1986) à cette procédure, et en dégage les principes directeurs. Ils sont basés sur une certaine conception de l'apprentissage considéré comme un mouvement en quatre phases:

--expérience concrète,
--observation réfléchie,
--conceptualisation abstraite,
--expérimentation active (17).

Les moyens et méthodologies de cette reconnaissance commencent à émerger. Ils sont nombreux et complexes, comme le montre la revue précitée (18).

Il est cependant du plus haut intérêt de constater que déjà s'y attachent les entreprises soucieuses de recenser et de promouvoir les potentialités et ressources humaines en leur sein (19).

On le voit, émergeant tardivement, mais à son heure, le concept de "formation" trouve un champ d'application immédiate dans une société marquée par de multiples ruptures.

On peut en espérer non seulement qu'il renouvelle la pédagogie des filières initiales et continues, mais encore qu'il fasse entrevoir de nouveaux horizons à la collectivité.

(1) Comenius: *"La grande didactique"*, XI, 17, Paris, P.U.F., 1952.
(2) Berger (G.): *Revue de l'enseignement supérieur, n^{o}* 3, 1960.
(3) Chevrolet (D.): "L'université et son environnement. Les conditions d'une collaboration". Rev. *"Pratiques de formation"* (à paraître), 1987.
(4) Ardoino (J.): *"Propos actuels sur l'éducation"*. Paris, Gauthiers-Villars, 1965, p. 235.
(5) Gusdorf (G.): *"Pourquoi des professeurs?"* Paris, P.B.P., 1963, p. 71.

(6) Mauco (G.): *"Education de la sensibilité chez l'enfant"*, Paris, Éd. Fam. de Fr., 1948.

(7) Mucchielli (R.): *"Psychologie pratique des enfants de 7 à 12 ans"*, Paris, Bordas, 1958, p. 69.

(8) Goguelin (P.): *"La formation continue des adultes"*, Paris, P.U.F., 1970.

(9) Chevrolet (D.): *"Nouvelles technologies et formation des formateurs à l'analyse des besoins"*. IIe Partie: "Formation et représentations", p. 125-223. Etude réalisée en collaboration avec G. Figari, M. Frossard et M. Vigezzi pour la Délégation à la Formation Professionnelle, Ministère du Travail, de l'Emploi et de la Formation Professionnelle, 1986.

(10) Schwartz (B): "Pour l'éducation permanente", *Rev. Educ. Perm.* n° 1, 1969, p. 66.

(11) Desroches (H.): "De l'autobiographie raisonnée à l'accouchement des projets", Rev. *"Communautés"*, n° 73, 1985.

(12) Gaulejac (V. de): "Approche sociopsychologique des histoires de vie" *(op. cit.)*, p. 33-46.

(13) Bonvalot (G.), Courtois (B.): "L'autobiographie-projet" *(op. cit.)*, p. 151-164.

(14) Pineau (G.): *"Produire sa vie. Autoformation et autobiographie"*, Paris, Edilig, 1983.

(15) Décret n° 85-906 du 23 août 1985, "fixant les conditions de validation des études, expériences professionnelles ou acquis personnels, en vue de l'accès aux différents niveaux de l'enseignement supérieur".

(16) Meyer (N.), Berger (G.): *"Edude à caractère documentaire sur la reconnaissance des acquis"*. Réalisée pour la Délégation à la Formation Professionnelle, Ministère du Travail de l'Emploi et de la Formation Professionnelle (convention n° 49-84), 1985.

(17) Kolb (D.A.): *"The learning style inventory: technical manual"*, Boston, McBer and Co., 1976, cité par Leclerc (voir ci-dessous).

(18) Leclerc (G.): "Principes et concepts clés de la reconnaissance des acquis extrascolaires" *(op. cit.)*.

(19) Sebillet (A.): "Reconnaître et développer les ressources humaines de l'entreprise" *(op. cit.)*, p. 79-87.

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PARADIGM APARTMENTS

Jane Munro
University of British Columbia

TOWARDS A RESEARCHABLE QUESTION....

1. It Must Contribute to Theory

> *The more abstract the truth you wish to teach, the more*
> *thoroughly you must seduce the senses to accept it.*
> Friedrich Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil*

Baptism is a drop of water
against the black hair of a baby.
Confirmation classes are nascent girls in organdy,
a red bishop in a red aisle,
and, in the hand, a psalter.
The metronome of ritual counts arabesques.

A virus raps upon the chromosomal door.
To reform theory, must one visit its cells?

Power coils in each fiction of approach.
Which narrative DNA shall code the itinerary
of a question? Knowledge arcs between motion and rest.
In the intensity and meaning of knowledge,
who then shall declare what's best?

Induction, that rapacious concubine,
waits and wades, sorts her wash and watches.

Sociable deduction observes a selection of contracts.
Ethical, he parts what hair remains.

Critical theory, the Pharisee,
wears her conviction on her sleeve.

Gossips in black, grannies from round the Mediterranean,
save as grounded theory that which fits and works.

A hermeneutic flickers hermaphroditically
in the forest of many meanings.

Positivistic bees have hived the walls,
waxed vast hexagonal nests
and eaten joists. They hum the hymn
we hear where leaking honey slows our feet.

Does research reduce to mere
conversation among conventions?
A motley parade prowls our inner and outer concourse.
Should we raze or reconsecrate
our temples of theory?

Paradigms strike calculated bargains
and set up shop as agents, whores, money-lenders.
Minds of researchers are made-up
in magazine styles. I fear typecasts
as I fear religion.

> *Genius, like a rabbit , while alive, can only be shot at.*
> *It cannot be eaten until dead.*
> Schopenheimer

Genius. In science--the general rules an army;
each atypical conforms or falls away;
the denominator is common;
every force invests in fields.
In art--a little metaphor can poison a lot of wells;
outriders, life outriggers, are glorified:
not lopped-off, they bear freight.

I mistrust much dedicated syntax.
We attempt a language of science,
but we speak as artists. The angels
at our elbow are of metal or of stone.
Is it blessed to wrestle a name from texts
within this stronghold? Where might we shout
a healthy prophesy?

The few gods I've met seem bored by understanding,
prediction, control. Evenhandedly,
they pass out knowledge as emblem, experience, joke.
Their distant cosmic laughter rumbles
like the purr of a cat, warm belly by my ear.

We snooze.

Pattern holds until it overflows.

When is a model a house in which to shelter?
I enter the workshop on tip-toe,
reach for a monkey-wrench, force one nut,
then hook the tool back upon the wall.
I don't want to drive through Alabama
and see Nataraja dance in his circle of fire
within each twinkling eye.
Not that the universal dance is out of place
in Alabama. Nor that I am uncharmed
by the beauty or the concept of Nataraja--it's this:
when a carpenter carries a box of tools on a journey,
she fixes broken chairs while listening
to stories, and the stories told
are inspired by the fact she arrived, kit in hand.

2. It Must be Manageable

I dream I am naked and seated
on a wooden floor, surrounded
by babies and toddlers.
I dream I attempt to dress myself
and, simultaneously, prepare a meal.
I dream a man with a chain saw who jumps
from the bleachers to the gym floor.
I dream he taps my chest, then rests
his chain of steel thorns across my breast.
Dreaming he means to pull the cord,
start the roar, slice me.
I twist. The bar of his saw strikes my spine,
its line nicks my hip as I fluster away
to hurry preparation
of this crazy meal that refuses to realize.
People arrive and collect unfed babies.
I give up hope of clothing.
The teeth of his deadline avulse
thighs, waist and trunk as I work faster.

3. It Must be Parsimonious

> *Westron wind, when wilt thou blow?*
> *The small rain down can rain.*
> *Christ, that my love were in my arms,*
> *And I in my bed again.*
> Anon

From the middle ages: a seafarer
becalmed in a downpour,
swore
simply
beseeching cause or force for an effect.
Not mentioning any facts on board,
he repeated:
rain
and said what he wanted.

I can see him
as if on t.v.,
shoulders soaked,
hands chapped,
wet cloth struck to his ankles.

> *Law of parsimony: the logical principle that no more causes or forces should be assumed than are necessary to account for the facts.*
> O.E.D.

Economy permits reiteration.
The charm of parsimony:
a nugget lingers,
despite
the slop
of memory. I hear
from 1963, a young professor's voice:
This is the most beautiful poem in the English language.

Every theory deserves
sparing expression.

My poem
is not enough
silent.

4. It Must be Significant: Fanny Bay Bill

Audrey wrote a fiction about living on the islands. Bill, who used to have a ponytail and prefers books about fungus or bathhouses, read Audrey's novel. "It's the best description of island hippy life ever written. I know six of her characters," he allowed. I think there is a difference between relevance and significance, but it's sometimes hard to tell.

When you share a conceptual framework, detail fascinates and vehicles need only go. Odd trucks run along local roads.

There are several stories about how Fanny Bay got its name. Carol, who lives with Bill, claims the reference is to one of Thomas Hardy's characters, but when I looked the book up, the woman was called Fanny Day. Others say a sailor admired a girl squatting on the sand shucking clams and, laughing, signed the place in his log for her memorable ass. Others outline the peninsula on a map and suggest it resembles a gluteal grin. How significance is found tells first about the mind doing the finding. Second, it suggests context or precedent. Third, but only obliquely, it reflects upon the object named.

Fanny Bay Bill has a rule: leave things better than you found them. He left two fridges full of labelled microcondia; his dissertation is on molds. So, who is to say, what is funny or important, quirky, relevant or significant?

5. It Must be Testable

A fence rotted at its foot:
severed boards flop in a sleeve of vines.

A man is held up by veins.

My death is held up by veins.

Weeping over the onion
in which nest perceptions within concepts
within beliefs within attitudes within values.
Slicing intellectual history across its root.

Do you not believe
a man is held up by veins?
Can you see
a shuddering fence
coated with Virginia Creeper?

WANTING

Talking to the ghost of desire
whose left hand conducted a symphony
far from my neck this winter, I ask him
why he moved his rehearsal hall,
his stirring of the air before his orchestra,

his exuberant timing, his encouragements,
his whole precinct far, far away--
why he vacated his former premises near my throat.
Talking to him as I walk is like praying,
like attending to interference behind an announcer's voice.
I complain in this silent way, and listen
in case he might reply with a phrase,
a throw-away cadence I must be quick to catch.

Partly, I'm behind my ear, finger across my lips,
and partly I'm yelling at myself: numbskull!
Trudging across campus through snow,
angry at myself for wanting romance,
angry at the ghost for not coming to woo me,
spitting damn angry at this fucking trap of wanting,
kicking my loneliness so it remembers
what hurt feels like--I don't need that again--
marking the past in a neat diagonal
of feet pointing in the direction of maturity,
listening to such a clamour, such fierce warnings,
the dominant signal on this radio: woman, smarten up.
Pounding in silence through the sparkling afternoon.

I dream of my aunt, who died five years ago,
upstairs holding court after breakfast in an English hotel.
Her body--respirited--recognizes me.
She crumples, saying my name.

Which part of me is this five-year old corpse
who recognizes me, even though I look different,
and she wasn't expecting me to turn up?

Can't I just stay in your arms where it's cozy
and I know the smell?

I don't want to want this much.
I don't need to want like this.
Can't I be satisfied
with a cranky, busy, sick and tired man
whom I've known for five years?

THINKING #1

Like two deer
our minds graze.

Knowing is a grazing.
It is mealy salal berries.

It is the blue stain on her two cheeks.

She sat on the sod over the septic tank,
age two, to look out
across the street curved
like the scar where an eyelid used to close.

Knowing is a crescent of uncurtained houses
with vinyl siding, each centred
in a cleared lot below her.

Deer startle when the child stands
to touch our hides. Mind steps out of view

Two does wade uphill.
Our toes skid on granite, sink
one after the other, in moss
where eyelashes of forest
were not cut away.
We graze as an onshore breeze grazes.

Thinking is the eight feet
of the two of us parting,
wading a waterfall of salal
above the duroid roofs of western suburb.

Did it occur that the thought
of us grazing is only one's dreaming?
Does knowing thought move,
sift through dozing.
Thinking is the blue-eyed gaze
in a new daughter, mid -morning,
her fists full. She picks
a rhythm for grazing uphill.

THINKING #2

This concept of dog:
at arm's length, the sun
tunes in one station of rainbow
from the invisible tree of prism.
The sun-dog warns of snow
and worries a farmer.

This concept of farm:
domed turrets of a castle,
all aluminum, cement, limestone.
Its causal trickle of Holsteins
frozen in a contour of the hill.
Wheels of cheddar roll from its cellar.
The farm a fortress in a country criss-crossed
with the inroads of concessions.
The cows monitored by computers.

This concept of a cemetery:
congregation of chalky monuments
bleached more pale than corn husks
in mid-November fields. Patrons,
leaving the stadium, game over.
A new headstone of pink granite is smaller,
as if its body were gone, sunk into the soil.
The old slabs stand, tilted, the height
of puberty. If they walked to town they'd look
fire-eyed and thin.

The dog, for Diogenes, was swift
empirical thought, carrying all things with him.
Dogs of the spirit world grin
at the gate of Tibetan temples.
Fire dogs guard a burning log.
The dog star is fixed and bright.
Dogs of war hunt without knowing mercy.
Dogma has lost the mobility in Diogenes symbol.

Where I come from, a dog is a grey shark,
the fish without scales who measures lines
and snaps them. Time is the hunger
that folds things neatly in its chest of fog.
Death rides on the branches of cedar in boxes of cedar
crested with frogs or bears. The land
streams through a farm like thoughts through
one mind. I am fascinated by the strata of concepts,
each layer distinct, for all purposes of speaking.
A prismatic arrangement of earth-dogs
pads through the landscape, warning
of ice-age, warning of those nearly unimaginable
flows of lave, rock, glacier, ocean
into whose contours we crowd now, this winter morning.

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Book Reviews/Recensions

LEARNING AND DEVELOPMENT: A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

Alan Thomas and Edward W. Plowman (eds.)
Toronto: OISE Press, 1985.

This book contains 14 papers presented at the Global Learning Symposium held at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Toronto, in April-May, 1985, with an introductory chapter by each of the two editors. It is a good thing they have been published because only 42 people were there to hear them, by design.

This prompts consideration of the ways that the kinds of ideas that were exposed at the Symposium come into the awareness of--and are therefore able to be learned by--the far-flung-peopled world. In his introduction, Thomas refers to the famous 1913 Armouries Exhibition of impressionist painting in New York, which permanently transformed the world-vision of those who attended it. In those days you had to be *there*, in person; so the impact--and the learning--were limited to that elite and lucky group. Thomas concludes that for the learning process that took place at the Symposium to be kept alive and extended globally, there needs to be an increase in the range and background of the participants. And the last contributor to the book, Montagnon, an English film and T.V. producer who was in at the beginning of the Open University, brings us round to the point again. He questions the very nature of the communication that goes on in such a symposium, through the "safe . . . academic paper", and asks what the media--T.V., radio, audio-visual and video technologies, etc.--have to offer to complement the "two ancient stand-bys: the written word, or pictogram, and face-to-face dialogue".

Between these two contributions this book contains a galaxy of good stuff, from a pretty stellar cast. In fact, a great virtue of the book is that it introduces us to thinkers and doers from many cultures: North American, African, Sri Lankan, Latin American, West Indian, Chinese, English. Because of this, it would be impossible to do justice to any one of them in devoting a few lines to each.

What I have found challenging in the book is what the papers, taken together, state or imply about the relationship between education and learning. While insisting, as many of us do, on a distinction between the two, in his introduction Thomas refers to the practical subtleties of making such a distinction. And what I end up with is a question as to whether the subtleties may not, in fact, be such as to obliterate the distinction itself. The question is generated by the range of meanings of both learning and education as they are treated in the book, and the way that the two concepts merge into each other when you look at them in different cultural contexts.

Hewage and Ariyaratne, from a Buddhist perspective, show that learning consists of processes embedded in the culture--meditation, reflection, the "psychosphere" as distinct from the Western-perspective "sociosphere". And these processes constitute a learning system, i.e., "education", itself. Writing of the Sudanese Dinka people, Deng suggests that learning and education are one, a process of informing ("in-forming") by which skills and language are passed down. "In pre-literate societies knowledge and learning are embodied in the human being, his experiences, his recollections, and the collective memory of his community. In literate societies, knowledge is found in the libraries, archives, and various forms of cultural expression"--and, we might add, schooling of various kinds. So, is the distinction between learning and education a Western/literate function, coming out of what Schön calls the positivist epistemology?

Not if we heed the contributions in this book from such others as Boulding, Schön himself, and Holland. No-ogenitics, Boulding reminds us, is the transmission of learned structures from one generation to the other. Schön sketches out his idea of reflection-in-action (which he has elaborated elsewhere), which brings together learning and the structures we develop to encourage learning. Holland reminds us that conditioning learning theory, on which much of our educational structure is premised, is only a part of the story; the ethological theories of learning are about the natural behaviours of organisms in their process of adaptation. Hall draws our attention to cultures characterized by what he calls "high-content communication", where much of the meaning in communication is already stored, i.e., has, so to speak, already been learned from the culture, as if by osmosis. And Hall so identifies not only Hopi, Pueblo, some African, and Japanese cultures, but also the French "in their daily life" (but not in their intellectual life). Glusberg suggests that the very structures and signs of the city are themselves the context and stuff of learning. Plomer, co-editor of the book, suggests that we are changing simultaneously our knowledge of the world and our ways of knowing and learning (i.e., our concept of education?) through the new information and communications technologies. These are voices of the west, not well enough listened to.

We distinguish between learning and education by saying that learning is a (still mysterious) process that takes place within the *individual*, and our point of reference is the individual, while education is the way society structures that process in terms of time, place, and methods. One important reason for making the distinction, particularly insofar as adult education is concerned, is to keep us alert to the limitations, indeed the inadequacies, of education as it is conceived and structured in our society, and to break out of that structure. In the Buddhist and other non-European cultures, learning is seen as a *communal*, collective phenomenon; in those cultures (and in our own, if we follow some of the writers I have mentioned), education is a pervasive and embracing process that should be seen as enmeshed in learning. So in clinging to the distinction, are we failing to explore the practical implications of seeing learning and education as one, in the Dinka way? Are we failing to see Glusberg's signs of the city? Are we in effect reinforcing what we say we are against?

These are some of the questions the book leaves me with. It is a good book for stirring up the mind.

Hayden Roberts
University of Alberta

Cochrane describes her work as an "oral history." There are two parts. First is the thirteen chapter collection. Second is her summary and analysis of data from questionnaires and personal interviews of 82 friends and former associates. Her objective was "to obtain a historical, biographical, and analytical review of Roby's work that pertained to the following themes: organization development, scope of contribution, adult learning theory, adult education practice, major aims and goals, cross-cultural approach, personal qualities/character, personal influence/impact, and overall contribution."

Unfortunately, she falls far short of her objectives. She inappropriately and dubiously mixes historical and social scientific research methods and writing styles. For one thing, she claims to have based her research methodology and analysis on Glaser and Strauss' (1967) grounded theory approach. There is no grounded theory building here. She admittedly pre-determined her major themes--in direct contravention of grounded theory's major purpose. Further, she neither analyzes nor synthesizes her evidence in any comprehensive fashion. She focuses solely on opinion, without corroborating evidence or without reference to relevant social, economic, or political contexts in Canada and India. Readers are left to make their own inferences about the hows and whys of Roby's work, drawing together what facts and opinion they can from the thirteen independent accounts. Cochrane's collection of opinions adds little. At best, she offers comparisons of opinions (that border on gushing praise) by his Canadian and Indian associates. Such opinions serve to support her contention of Roby's impact on the field and his esteemed status. Finally a quibble about citation style. It is quite irritating to read quote after quote, each followed in APA style by last name, "personal communication," and year--especially when there is no reference list, and thus no first names that could be traced in future research.

Surely, Roby and his life's work deserve better. This significant piece of Canadian and educational history is surely more worthy than the golly-gee-wiz--he was so great! (and so maybe are we)--approach as commissioned by Cochrane. Let's more dispassionately discover and explain Roby, his life, his approach, and his accomplishments. And let's tie it in closely to the rest of his and our world.

Finally, should you buy this book? Perhaps, but remember, caveat emptor. It is not all that it promises, but, as they say, it's all there is.

Ian Hunt
University of British Columbia

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ILLITERATE AMERICA
Jonathan Kozol
New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1985.

ILLITERACY: A NATIONAL DILEMMA
David Harman
New York: Cambridge, The Adult Education Company, 1987.

These two recent US books begin with grand ideological and policy questions: Why don't we get on with it and create a more literate and just society? Can illiteracy be eradicated? Why does it seem intractable? These ideological questions point to the social practices of literacy--its uses in context, its development as related to other kinds of development. Neither author takes these questions far enough.

Jonathan Kozol's book, the earlier and the more challenging of the two, first urges the "plight" and the cost of illiteracy--the alarming statistics and heartrending tales that are designed to win wide support for the literacy cause. He claims sixty million illiterates in the US. Although he doesn't explain how, he attributes $20 billion in costs (industrial accidents and errors, welfare and unemployment insurance, prisons) to their inability to read and write.

He piles on descriptions of the plight of illiterates, in a plea for sympathy and constructive rage. They are, he says, excluded, enslaved, unaware, intimidated, immobilized, half-citizens living in misery, humiliation, subjugation and fear. He recitates the usual "cannots" and more--from bafflement at menus and hospital admission forms, to the inability "to see historic precedent" for economic exclusion, and to make "suffering believable, by the use of written words" (170).

Kozol says that existing programs mostly serve "those already on the edge of functional effectiveness," not "the truly oppressed" (44). He advocates a campaign (in prose that some find inspiring, but I find bombastic and often imprecise). It will be a "passionate endeavour," beyond functional literacy, a "struggle rooted in politicized and grass-roots mobilization" (49). Subjugated people, he says, will not make "substantial gains in literacy skills if those skills are not directly linked to other areas of need and if those links do not consist of energizing words that can legitimize an often unacknowledged sense of rage" (48).

His attractive vision includes thousands of community programs, with "foot-workers," to recruiting people to plan and participate in programs;

literacy on the agenda of grass-roots groups; circles of six or seven learners with a literacy worker (a student, retired person, or community member). In one of the strongest chapters in the book, he urges the use of learners' stories, "oral history," as primers. These, he says, will be "at once a chronicle of longings and a history of secret grief."

In all this, the key words are morality, passion, rage, denunciation. Kozol does not ask how the *moral* effort of a literacy campaign could be embedded *organizationally* in changing society. "Action" seldom appears in Kozol's text, and "organization" never. He writes, for example, that we should seek in literacy work for "instruments of moral leverage . . . to examine the political determinants of subjugation; . . . and, by virtue of reflection and examination, first to denounce and finally to transform" (92). The nexus between denouncing and transforming does not attract Kozol's interest.

He says that oral history will, and should, contain "dangerous" words--words that "take on emotional intensity" or have "passionate potential" (136). He thinks of the danger in emotion and passion, good humanistic stuff--not of the danger that the oppressed might organize to become masters of their own destiny. This peculiar silence must be part of the wide political attractiveness of Kozol's book.

Kozol intends a wide appeal. He lodges his cause in the American longing for both unmatched prosperity and world moral leadership: "I do not believe that an illiterate society--one third illiterate in verbal and numerate respects, the other two thirds literate too often in the least compassionate and most destructive ways--can hope to prosper or compete in economic terms, prevail in moral terms, or hold a promising beacon to the wretched of the earth in any terms at all, until we are prepared to launch an all-out battle with the enervating adversary that resides in our own atrophied imagination" (78-9).

The last page of his book declares, "Illiteracy, when widely recognized and fully understood, may represent the one important social, class and pedagogic issue of our times on which the liberal, the radical, and the informed conservative can stand on common ground . . . " (199). But what kind of "common ground" is it? How can he have us imagine a cause both angry and political, and yet unifying nearly everyone? Various silences allow this, and numerous unasked and unanswered questions. For example: Kozol says that Americans are "surrounded and conditioned by the print reality . . . whose skilled practitioners control the chief determinants of their existence." How will those who benefit from this control react to a vastly enlarged literacy?

He complains that, "A nation that is drowning in the presence of false language cannot differentiate between decision and mechanical response" (181). He even explains that, "Skills divorced from earnest applications, efficacy divorced from ethics, competence divided from compassion, no longer define a literate adult in an endangered decade. They represent instead the definition of a garrulous efficiency in service of a self-destructive goal of global domination" (190). How will the agents and beneficiaries of global domination be won to the passionate crusade?

He coolly observes, "Both the number and the visibility of functional and marginal illiterates are now significantly greater than a decade back and will be still greater in another ten or fifteen years," as stiffened tracking patterns increase schooling inequalities and dropout rates (58). How will the forces behind this increasing illiteracy be undone?

On all these questions, Kozol is silent.

He is likewise silent about the societal process that continues to create a surplus population, with no place in the labour market and "no need" for literacy. He embeds his argument clearly in the racial politics of the US; but not in its class politics.

Our present literacy is deeply embedded in the ways that our society is managed, both in the development and propagation of its dominant ideas, and in the routines of its administration. Kozol does not give any sustained account of literacy as a tool of domination, although he does intersperse remarks. But his idealism lets him avoid asking how our present literacy (and illiteracy) are embedded in our present social organization, or how a new literacy might emerge with a new social organization.

Kozol can avoid these difficult questions about literacy as a social practice, because his ultimate conception of literacy leaves them behind. He offers this "quintessential definition of a literate human being: one soul, reaching out of the loneliness of the human condition, to find--through love--another" (162). In his peroration, Kozol confesses, "I do not believe that we have any choice but to be loyal to our own most stirring moment of transcendence." His vision of literacy *is*, ultimately, transcendent. Putting it into this world is work he leaves to the rest of us.

His jeremiad reads best if approached not for an analysis that can inform action, but for the engaging man that has written it, and for a reminder of the moral urgency that should *underlie* a serious examination of literacy and literacy work.

In David Harman's eyes, transcendent vision is just overblown rhetoric.

Harman opposes the idea of a campaign. His central theme is that literacy is historically an unbeatable enemy, and "as people everywhere strive to achieve fully literate societies, their efforts seem to be perpetually obstructed" (2).

His argument shows the common sense and humanitarianism that one would expect from his earlier work with Carman St. John Hunter. He reminds us that the common claims that literacy work produces economic and political participation, "attribute to literacy powers that it unfortunately does not have. Neither labor market participation nor 'good citizenship' are necessarily contingent upon reading and writing abilities" (33-4). Certification counts more than literacy in the labour market, and unemployment "is caused by economic conditions, not by educational gaps" (34).

He points out that literacy is not just a matter of improving the schools, or getting dedicated volunteers out there working. He says, "Attempts to teach literacy without due regard for the values and motives of the learners are doomed to failure" (2). "Literacy itself cannot be forced upon people" (72). Programs that work well are shaped by learners' own needs to meet the literacy demands of their environments.

There is a darker side to Harman's common sense and humanitarianism. His concept of literacy is idealist and psychological--about "values" and "consciousness." He warns that, "More than a set of skills, literacy is a value" (11). He juxtaposes a "set of skills" not to a "set of social practices," but to "a value."

This idealism shows up dramatically in his decidedly up-beat history of literacy. In a kind of *nice* anthropology, he notes that literacy develops when people want to "record law and lore for transmission to their progeny . . . preserve their cultures and heritages" (14). As an afterthought, he adds that "of course" literacy extends over space as well as time, and "made it possible for people to govern large tracts of land (sic--not people)--to create and administer large empires" (15).

In the middle (for Harman, dark) ages, Church and secular elites saw literacy as a danger to their hegemony. Then came Protestantism and the printing press, and "Throughout the past four centuries emphasis on liberation and human rights had been coupled with a strong conviction that education and literacy ought to be universal and avidly pursued" (18). "The position that literacy in the hands of the masses posed a potential danger and that, therefore, it should be restricted to certain ruling groups was firmly replaced with an ideal of a fully literate populace. The acquisition of schooling and literacy were henceforth deemed human rights to be avidly pursued. Governments were charged with--and generally accepted--that mandate" (21).

Harman's view neatly skips over the regulative side of literacy, in favour of its liberating side. And in a subjectless history of liberating convictions and ideals, the question arises why literacy remains an unbeatable enemy. Answer: the "values" of communities, who somehow do not buy into the ideal that governments have for them.

Here Harman's Whig history meets his good common sense and his opposition to a literacy campaign. Individuals will acquire literacy when they "recognize that their abilities are below those that are normative" in their communities. When individuals are in "communities in which literacy is not expected and its existence not rewarded . . . it is the community that must become literacy conscious and establish a definition of expectation for its members" (10). He even offers a concept of "cultural illiteracy"--not being ignorant of culture, but being part of a culture that does not "value" literacy. So the task becomes "instilling reading consciousness" (53).

With a psychological conception of literacy, Harman cannot criticize the social production of texts. So he is left with blaming "community" when literacy does not take. This has its most painful twist in his account of public schools. There are, he says, "supportive" communities (involved, both assisting and censuring the schools); and "nonsupportive" communities (that regard education as important, but do not intervene) (49). Kozol, and current sociology of education, see these as class relations, involving the limited resources and skill of some parents, and the resistance of schools to them. For Harman, it is good and bad "values." Of course, Harman's concept of "community" predictably slides into that of "family" (50-1), but enough said. Deprivation theories have found a new formulation in adult education.

At the very best his approach is quiescent: ". . . people will actively seek and attain those literacy levels that are dictated by their environments" (9). So people actively seek to meet demands that they passively accept. Definitionally, he says, we should "locate problems where they exist" (44). This does not mean where people are excluded from the relations organized through literacy, or where they want to create new forms of literacy to change their communities, but only where there is some "dissonance" between individual skill and given social demand.

Eventually Harman "happily" contradicts his whole argument, and says, "A strategy based on the needs of people--as they themselves perceive them--can transform the vision of universal literacy into reality" (73).

Harman also has a grand vision. "Literacy is freedom. Literacy makes it possible for people to determine for themselves what they wish to know, and in what depth . . . " (93). (It is a fine sentiment; never mind that his whole argument about when people are "accessible" to literacy teaching assumes that illiterates already determine what they wish to know.)

"Far from being an anachronism, literacy remains one of humanity's finest and most important inventions, irreplaceable despite all the technological advances of our time. Without it we would remain in a state of subjugation, subject to the whims of the few who are literate. With it we are liberated, free, independent" (94). (Never mind, again, that none of his accounts of community "values" or "consciousness" are about breaking free from subjugation.)

In their different ways both Kozol and Harman are liberal and humanitarian. They both respect and focus on "community" (Kozol wants to enliven the poor and illiterate to moral protest, Harman to instil literacy consciousness in them). Both have visions of literacy as conveying higher "values."

In criticizing both, I do not urge adding conservative and/or radical ideologies of literacy to their liberal ideologies--though all these will certainly appear. It would be more fruitful to hold off on the ideologizing, and look at how literacy actually works, to develop a conception of literacy not as a set of ideals (morals, passions, consciousness and values) but as a set of practices (uses and relations).

A Canadian account of literacy might just help to do this. In the tradition of Innis and McLuhan, it could be more cognizant of the embeddedness of communications--thus of literacy and textuality--in the exercise of power. And a Canadian account would be marginal to the difficulties of political clarity at the centre of empire. It would not assume, with Kozol, that the moral awakening of the powers that be will liberate the subjugated, or, with Harman, that literacy is pure and simple the modern liberating ideal. A modest and descriptive Canadian account might begin not with grand ideological issues, but with the experiences of illiterates and of learners and workers in literacy programs.

Richard Darville
Working Alternatives
Organizational Research Associates

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Graduate Degrees in Canada–Adult Education and Cognate Subjects

In this second issue of the Journal we publish the list of theses and major papers completed at the Masters and Doctoral level in 1986. To go farther back than that would take up too much space. It is our intention to publish such a list once a year, covering the last preceding calendar year.

We acknowledge, in this connection, the work of collection and compilation, of:

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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

Master of Education (Education Administration)

Theses

Cecile June Bushko	Attitude change of student nurses toward death and dying (Supervisor, T.C. Montgomerie)
Regina A. Leonard	A follow-up study of the graduates from the fundamentals in operating room nursing program University of Alberta Hospitals May 1981 to July 1985. (Supervisor, J.E. Seger)
Barbara Ann B. Pillay	Motivation and impact: The voice of illiterate women (Supervisor, D.A. Mackay)

Projects

David Arthur Mappin	A case study of the process for considering reorganization possibilities and alternatives for instructional support

	services in the faculty of education (Supervisor, E.J. Ingram)
Wesley K. McLaughlin	Evaluating chemical hazard information programs: A methodology (Supervisor, T.C. Montgomerie)
Sylvia P. Myrglod	The nurse as a change agent in patient education (Supervisor, A. Konrad)
H. Yeu	A critical look at the systems approach to instructional design (Supervisor, T. Carson)

Master of Education (Educational Foundation)

Judith Anne Cameron	Interaction styles and success at problem solving by non-native speakers of English (Supervisor, J. Patrie)
Elizabeth I. Hagell	Nursing knowledge: A sociology of knowledge analysis (Supervisor, M. Assheton-Smith)
David Weldon Watts	Creativity and catharsis: The psychoanalytic perspectives of Melanie Klein (Supervisor, P.J. Miller)

Doctor of Philosophy

Wing-Chung Cheng	The development of teacher education in an urban Chinese community (Supervisor, M.K. Bacchus)
Ki Su Kim	The educational theory of John Stuart Mill (Supervisor, P.J. Miller)

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

Master of Arts (Adult Education)

M.M. Carlisle	Early agricultural education in British Columbia: The pioneering role of the Farmers' Institute (Supervisor, G.R. Selman)
K.P. Gill	Retention of basic cardiac life support

	skills by nurses following retraining (Supervisor, D.D. Pratt)
D.J. Robinson	Continuing education in a professional nursing association (Supervisor, G.R. Selman)
S. Tobert	Concerns of mothers in the first month postpartum (Supervisor, D.D. Pratt)

Master of Education

L. Bailey	Study-learning and the adult basic education learner (Supervisor, T.J. Sork)
R.S. Borland	Continuing education of the entrepreneur: a survey of the software development industry in British Columbia (Supervisor, T.J. Sork)
V.L. Brooks Smarz	Volunteer training programs: the case of the Canadian Red Cross British Columbia/Yukon Division (Supervisor, G.R. Selman)
I.A. Cole	English as a second language in business (Supervisor, W.S. Griffith)
R.E. Dixon	Physical and emotional abuse and neglect of elders in the family and implications for adult education (Supervisor, G.R. Selman)
E.J. Galatiuk	The design of a counselling service for adult learners (Supervisor, G.R. Selman)
H.A. Linton	Productivity improvement in organizations: A human resource development perspective (Supervisor, T.J. Sork)
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C.A. Streeton	The long term care assessment: health promotion and education strategies (Supervisor, J.E. Thornton)
B.E. Thompson	An analysis of Mezirow's work on perspective transformation and adult learning (Supervisor, D.D. Pratt)

Doctor of Education

P.A. Brook	Occupational socialization of women in post secondary career education programs (Supervisor, W.S. Griffiths)

UNIVERSITY OF GUELPH

Master of Science (Extension)

Theses

Neil Gibson	Support services for distance education students at the University of Guelph (Supervisor, M.W. Waldron)
G. Holm	Participating and literacy in problem-posing extension for integrated rural development: A Sierra Leone study (Supervisor, J.C.M. Shute)
C. Jacobs	An evaluation of the rural seminars for vital people: A leadership training program (Supervisor, D.H. Pletsch)

Major Papers

D. Eisenbarth	The relationship between self-esteem and career related male mid-life transitions (Supervisor, M.W. Waldron)
M. Hunt	Reasons for attending and areas of interest among visitors to an agricultural technology exhibition (Supervisor, D.J. Blackburn)

Kess Poppe	The advanced agricultural leadership program (Supervisor, D.H. Pletsch)

THE ONTARIO INSTITUTE FOR STUDIES IN EDUCATION

Master of Arts

G.E. Gitterman	Mentors in nursing (Supervisor, A.M. Tough)
J.M. Summers	Participating in development: A case study of the co-operative savings and credit movement in Kenya (Supervisor, A.M. Thomas)

Doctor of Education

W.J. Baker	Self-transformation in early adult males: The Katimavik experience (Supervisor, D. Brundage)
A.M. D'Andrea	Teachers and reflection: A description and analysis of the reflective process which teachers use in their experiential learning (Supervisor, M.D. Ellis)
P. Long	Towards a model of institutional support for part- time learners in post-secondary evaluation: Case studies from Ontario, Canada and Queensland, Australia (Supervisor, A.M. Thomas)
E.S. Mesbur	Learning as an interactive process: Perceptions of experiential learning (Supervisor, V. Griffin)
R. Roberts	Staff members' perceptions of stress in a juvenile correctional centre (Supervisor, M.D. Ellis)
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Doctor of Philosophy

G.J. Donner	Work setting and the professional socialization of nurses in Ontario (Supervisor, D.S. Abbey)
R. Marchand	Living on the threshold: The body and language of coming out (Supervisor, D.H. Brundage)

ST. FRANCIS XAVIER UNIVERSITY

Master of Education

E.M. Desbiens	Development of a handbook as a learning resource to assist small merchants to understand leasing problems in shopping centers (Supervisor, W. Sinnett)
D. Elamthuruthil	Community development through awareness raising education: A descriptive study of the socio-educational centre at Gunadala, India (Supervisor, J. Dobson)
S.B. Ewing	Critical care nursing program: An approach to a model (Supervisor, M. Gillen)
L.I. Hein	Computer assisted learning in management training: The design and development of a time management

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J. Magnan	Applying principles and conditions of adult learning to teaching a university course (Supervisor, M. Gillen)
D.B. MacDonald, Jr.	Producing "Narrowcast" video: An analysis of an approach to video production (Supervisor, M. Gillen)
J. McGonigle	Toward improving adult vocational education: A learning interface system (Supervisor, M. Gillen)
D.M. Morris	Women as adult learners: Needs assessment (Supervisor, W. Sinnett)

UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN

Master of Continuing Education

Lois E. Berry	Adult students in nursing education: An analysis of their characteristics and problems experienced in comparison with younger students (Supervisor, M. Collins)
Leif E. Hommen	The "organic intellectualism" of Antonio Gramsci: A study of the concept as a contribution to the politics of adult education (Supervisor, M. Collins)
Elsie J. McKenzie	Multivariate prediction of academic performance in a diploma nursing program (Supervisor, E.R. Misanchuk)
M.M. Thompson	Factors influencing Saskatchewan occupational therapists' involvement in fieldwork (Supervisor, L. Proctor)

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Table of Contents/Table des Matières

Editorial Notes/Note de la Rédaction i

Articles

Les Quinquagénaires au Travail selon les Classes Sociales
Danielle Riverin-Simard 1

The Effectiveness of Education Interventions in the Development of Nontraditional Occupational Role Identification
Paula Ann Brook 25

Perspectives

Adult Education within the Network of Scientific Disciplines: A Roundabout Way Toward a Paradigm of Adult Education
Wilhelm Mader 43

Foreign Language Instruction for Adults: A Progressive Teaching Method
Pavel Hartl and Helena Cisarova 53

Foreign Language Instruction for Adults—A Canadian Perspective
Mary E. Murray 60

Book Reviews/Recensions

Adult Education and the Working Class: Education for the Missing Millions by K. Ward and R. Taylor (eds.)
Reviewed by Derek Legge 63

Philosophy of Lifelong Education by Kenneth Wain
Reviewed by John P. Portelli 68

Graduate Degrees in Canada—Adult Education and Cognate Subjects/Diplôme d'Etudes supérieures au Canada—Education des adultes et sujets cognitifs . . . 73

Editorial Notes/Note de la Rédaction

On behalf of the executive, the Board of Directors, the officers and the entire membership of CASAE/ACEEA, I express our sincere thanks to **Hayden Roberts** for the dedication, the expertise, the generosity of time and energy which he brought to the founding of the Journal. His contribution as Editor will go down in the annals of this association. We wish him the best in a well deserved retirement.

Au nom du comité exécutif, du Conseil d'administration, des officiers et des membres de ACEEA/CASAE, je remercie Hayden Roberts pour le dévouement, l'expertise et l'énergie qu'il a apportés à mettre sur pied cette Revue scientifique. Sa contribution personnelle à titre d'éditeur restera marquée dans l'histoire de l'association. Nous lui souhaitons une heureuse retraite, bien méritée.

Jeannine Roy
President/Présidente

Madeleine Blais, détentrice d'une M.Sc. "in adult psychiatric nursing" de l'Université de Boston et d'une M.Ed. et d'un Ph.D. en andragogie de l'Université de Montréal, est professeure d'andragogie à l'Université de Montréal.

Ayant oeuvré à la direction de services de perfectionnement du personnel des milieux hospitaliers, elle a consacré plusieurs années à la recherche pour l'Ordre des infirmières et des infirmiers du Québec et a, en outre, obtenu des subventions comme chercheuse sans affiliation institutionnelle. Elle a aussi participé à diverses recherches sur l'éducation continue des femmes, soit à la Fédération des femmes du Québec, soit à l'Institut canadien d'éducation des adultes. Les résultats de ses recherches ont fait l'objet de plusieurs communications et publications.

Elle a participé à plusieurs colloques ou rencontres scientifiques au Canada et à l'étranger et a acquis une solide expérience de recherche et d'intervention en développement international en Afrique et en Amérique Latine.

Ses intérêts actuels de recherches portent sur les impacts des études sur la vie adulte, sur la motivation à apprendre, sur la formation en milieu de travail et sur les savoirs professionnels.

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Madeleine Blais holds a M.Sc. in adult psychiatric nursing from Boston University as well as a M.Ed. and a Ph.D. in adragogy from the University of Montreal. She is a professor of andragogy at the University of Montreal.

As a Director of Professional Development for hospital personnel, she devoted several years to research for the Quebec Order of Nurses and, in addition, obtained grants as a non-institutional researcher. She has also taken part in various studies on women in continuing education at the Quebec Women's Federation and the Canadian Institute for Adult Education. The results of these studies have been the subject of several presentations and publications.

She took part in several colloquia and scientific conferences in Canada and abroad, and has gained substantial international research and field development experience in Africa and in Latin America.

Her current research interests focus on the impact of learning on adult life, motivation for learning, training in the workplace and professional expertise.

Catharine E. Warren is currently as associate professor in the Faculty of Continuing Education at The University of Calgary where she has been employed since 1968. In addition to this appointment, she has an adjunct professorship with the Faculty of education and has been involved for the past four years as a teacher and as a director of the masters' program jointly offered by the two faculties in adult and community education. She has published in adult education journals in the United States, Britain and Canada as well as in women's studies journals. She has recently had published a book on the immigrant experiences of women in western Canada titled *Vignettes of Life: Experiences of New Canadian Women*. She holds a Ph.D. in sociology from the University of London.

À l'emploi de l'Université de Calgary depuis 1968, Catharine E. Warren est actuellement professeure adjointe à la faculté d'Education des adultes. Outre ce poste, elle est titulaire auxiliaire d'une chaire à la faculté des Sciences de l'éducation. Depuis quatre ans, elle participe, en tant que professeure et directrice, au programme de maitrise en éducation permanente et communautaire offert conjointement par les deux facultés. Ses écrits ont été publiés dans des revues d'éducation des adultes ainsi que des revues d'études sur la femme aux Etats-Unis, en Grande-Bretagne et au Canada. Son livre intitulé *Vignettes of Life: Experiences of New Canadian Women* a été publié récemment. Ce livre traite d'expériences de femmes immigrées dans l'ouest canadien. Elle détient un doctorat en sociologie de l'Université de Londres.

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Articles

LES QUINQUAGENAIRES AU TRAVAIL SELON LES CLASSES SOCIALES

Danielle Riverin-Simard
Université Laval

Résumé

Cet article décrit la vie professionnelle de l'adulte quinquagénaire, selon son appartenance sociale. Pour ce faire, on a interviewé 101 sujets de 53-57 ans de la région administrative 03 du Québec. Les sujets ont été choisis au hasard et répartis a priori selon les variables suivantes: classe socio-économique, sexe et secteur de travail. Les résultats globaux révèlent que l'adulte de 53-57 ans est à la recherche d'une sortie prometteuse du marché du travail au sein de laquelle il tend à démontrer qu'il a rempli d'une façon exemplaire les rôles respectifs de supporter (classe moyenne), de serviteur (classe défavorisée) ou de leader (classe aisée). Les propos reliés à l'éducation des adultes ne sont présents que chez les sujets-exceptions.

Abstract

This article describes the working life of adults in their fifties, according to the social class to which they belong. Data were obtained from individual interviews with 101 research subjects whose ages ranged from 53 to 57 years. They were selected randomly from the 03 Administrative Region of Quebec in such a way that the sexes were equally represented, as were the three socio-economic classes (upper, middle and lower), and the three sectors of the economy (private, public and quasi-public). The overall findings reveal that adults in this age range are looking for a promising departure from the labour market. In describing how they were fulfilling their roles in exemplary fashion, the upper class person spoke of his or her leadership role, the middle class person of a supporting role, and the lower class person of the servant role. Very few of the research subjects mentioned adult education.

Introduction

Malgré l'urgence de procéder à des recherches sur le phénomène du vieillissement,[1] trop peu d'études s'intéressent d'une façon précise à la catégorie des travailleurs ayant atteint la cinquantaine. Pourtant on note chez ces derniers, une difficulté généralisée concernant la mobilité occupationnelle et le phénomène de l'obsolescence. Ces deux problèmes qui sont généralement liés à l'âge peuvent tout autant relever d'un encadrement déficient ou d'une mauvaise gestion de ces ressources humaines.[2,3,4] Par ailleurs, les indices relatifs à la différenciation du vécu occupationnel des quinquagénaires selon l'appartenance à l'une ou l'autre des classes sociales sont encore plus rares. L'importance de cette dernière variable a pourtant été maintes fois mise en évidence dans divers phénomènes.[5] Par exemple, selon Halbwacks,[6] "la classe sociale . . . imprime sa marque avec une force telle que les personnes faisant partie de différentes classes sociales donnent quelquefois l'impression qu'ils appartiennent à des espèces distinctes." Afin de jeter un peu d'éclairage sur la spécificité du travailleur quinquagénaire, le présent article veut donc apporter des éléments de réponse à la question suivante: quel est le vécu occupationnel de l'adulte de 53-57 ans, selon son appartenance à l'une ou l'autre des trois classes sociales: moyenne, défavorisée ou aisée?

Éléments Theoriques

Pour mieux saisir la spécificité du travailleur quinquagénaire, la présente recherche se situe dans une perspective longitudinale et fait donc appel aux conceptions du développement de l'adulte, ces dernières peuvent se subdiviser en deux courants majeurs: **les théories statiques** et **les théories évolutives.** Le premier est largement dominé par les théories psychanalytiques, néo-analytiques ainsi que plusieurs théories de l'apprentissage. Il donne une explication du développement de la période adulte comme étant un processus de stabilisation des traits définis durant l'enfance et l'adolescence.[7] La vie adulte serait la période où s'expriment, dans des situations variées, les stricts acquis des années antérieures. La façon originale de traverser une période conflictuelle ne constitue définitivement pas un changement en soi mais s'avère plutôt une concrétisation de l'un ou l'autre des types de personnalité ou de socialisation précédemment formés. Quant aux changements observés, d'ardents défenseurs de ce courant, tels Costa et McCrae[8] vont même jusqu'à les interpréter comme des comportements névrotiques ou extravertis. Pour sa part, le courant des **théories évolutives**, dont les noms les plus connus sont ceux d'Erikson,[9] de Levinson[10] et de Gould,[11] postule que les humains ont la capacité de changer durant toute leur vie et que le développement de la période adulte dépend beaucoup moins des expériences antérieures comme on l'avait d'abord déjà cru. Ses adhérents affirment que les approches statiques, expliquant le comportement de l'adulte comme une suite de l'enfance et de l'adolescence, sont très diminutives et accordent un rôle beaucoup trop déterminant aux premières phases de la vie.[12] Le changement est alors expliqué comme une constante et non comme une perturbation dans un système stable.

Ces théories évolutives se subdivisent en trois: **le modèle médical, le modèle compensatoire et le modèle séquentiel**. **La conception médicale**, ou modèle de décroissance irréversible, est basée directement sur la détermination biologique de la performance humaine. Sur le plan vocationnel, les théoriciens les plus connus sont Super,[13,14] Miller et Form[15] et Havighurst.[16,17] Cette conception soutient que le développement de l'individu emprunte une pente ascendante jusque vers 35 ans, suivie d'une période de maintien jusque vers 55 ans et d'un déclin irréversible jusqu'à la fin de sa vie biologique. Un postulat implicite de ce modèle veut que les changements, reliés à l'âge, apparaissent surtout en fonction des événements ontogénétiques et soient moins affectés par le milieu. Ce modèle médical semble le reflet d'une conception très répandue et domine depuis longtemps les activités de recherche pertinentes au développement de l'adulte. Il semble encore aujoud'hui garder toute son emprise et laisse dans l'ombre d'autres conceptions qui auraient pu davantage accélérer l'avancement des connaissances concernant le développement de l'adulte. **Le modèle compensatoire** est fondamentalement basé sur le concept de décroissance irréversible. Il ajoute cependant un élément fort distinctif: il postule que l'intervention du milieu peut corriger ou contre-balancer les déficits programmés par la maturation biologique.[18] Cette conception a surtout été popularisée par les études reliées à la gérontologie. **Le modèle du développement séquentiel** stipule, quant à lui, que le changement se réalise à l'intérieur d'un ensemble ordonné et formalisé de stades. Leur passation serait nécessaire et suffisante à la poursuite de la réalisation optimale de l'adulte.[19,20]

Quant au modèle de développement vocationnel, élaboré à partir des travaux antérieurs,[21] il se situe dans les théories évolutives. Il y rejette toutefois la perspective médicale. Pour bien se dissocier de cette dernière, il émet, entre autres postulats, la permanence du développement, la poussée intrinsèque continue et l'intensité potentiellement équivalente de l'évolution de l'adulte au fil des âges: ceci signifie que chaque moment de vie au travail a une importance sensiblement égale dans la poursuite du développement. Il n'y a pas de

168

périodes plus propices (telle celle précédent les 40 ans) ou moins (telle celle subséquente à 55 ans) à l'évolution personnelle. Par ailleurs, ce même modèle s'apparente quelque peu à la conception séquentielle du développement. En effet, il postule que l'adulte franchit une série d'étapes, essentiellement caractérisées par une similarité de remises en question, tout au long de sa vie au travail. Il se dissocie cependant de cette conception sur plusieurs points. L'ordre de parution de ces étapes, ainsi que la nécessité de passer par chacune d'elles, ne sont, en aucun cas, absolus. Il n'y a aucun indicatif normatif concernant la direction, le rythme, l'intensité ou les modalités du changement. Il postule, au contraire, l'aspect multi-directionnel et multi-rythmique de l'évolution continue. Quant à la nature du processus du développement vocationnel, ce modèle explique qu'il se réalise par une double alternance: 1. entre des périodes successives de questionnement et de réorganisation (cycle intra-étape), 2. entre des périodes de questionnement portant tantôt sur les méta-finalités, tantôt sur les méta-modalités (cycle inter-étapes). Durant les périodes de réorganisation, où l'individu est engagé dans son cheminement vocationnel, des événements extérieurs intéragissent avec l'évolution de son propre monde intérieur (valeurs, intérêts). Cette intéraction "évoluante" entre un milieu occupationnel lui-même en changement constant et un moi vocationnel également en transformation, amène un début d'inconfort qui devient graduellement de plus en plus grand. Ceci provoque une dissonance qui conduit vers une période de questionnement où l'individu est alors placé devant des choix à reformuler et devant des besoins, intérêts et compétences à redéfinir ou à réévaluer en tenant compte des facteurs de réalité. Les résultats de cette réflexion conduisent peu à peu à une série de nouveaux choix successifs qui rendent l'individu prêt à s'engager, cette fois, dans une période de réorganisation. De plus, ce modèle postule une série d'étapes de vie spécifiques tout au long de la vie de l'adulte au travail. Ces dernières sont des passages prévisibles qui donnent un sens, une direction à son développement. Ce postulat signifie que les diverses étapes, ainsi que les tâches inhérentes, comportent leurs propres défis et ressources. Par exemple, les travaux antérieurs [22,23] ont identifié, à l'aide d'une métaphore rappelant un voyage interplanétaire, neuf étapes spécifiques de 23 à 67 ans: atterrissage sur la planète travail (23-27 ans), à la recherche d'un chemin prometteur (28-32 ans), aux prises avec une course occupationelle (33-37 ans), essai de nouvelles lignes directrices (38-42 ans), en quête du fil conducteur de son histoire (43-47 ans), modification de sa trajectoire (48-52 ans), à la recherche d'une sortie prometteuse (53-57 ans), transfert de champ gravitationnel (58-62 ans), aux prises avec l'attraction de la planète retraite (63-67 ans).

Démarche de L'étude

L'échantillon précis des 53-57 ans compte 101 sujets et a été l'objet d'une stratification a priori: 52 sujets masculins et 49 sujets féminins; 34 appartiennent à la classe moyenne, 34 à la classe défavorisée, 33 à la classe aisée; 34 oeuvrent dans le secteur privé, 34 dans le secteur public et 33 dans le secteur para-public. Les adultes exercent des métiers ou professions très diversifiés. Le statut socio-économique a été déterminé par la catégorie d'emploi, indiqué par le sujet, auquel était associé le salaire déclaré par l'employeur pour s'assurer l'équivalence monétaire selon les secteurs de travail; avec cette double information, la classification de Blishen[24] a été utilisée. Il faut toutefois souligner que ce type de catégorisation a ses limites. A propos des classes sociales, Dumont[25] signalait ceci: "L'occupation et le revenu sont des critères dits objectifs et communément invoqués . . . même s'il est certain que ces critères contribuent à définir des situations d'ensemble qui sont facteurs d'identité collective, il ne dessinent pas eux seuls une géographie précise des classes . . . "

De plus, étant donné les caractéristiques de l'échantillon, il est évident que la généralisation des résultats à une population plus vaste, ne devra se faire qu'avec de nombreuses réserves. Quant au devis expérimental, rappelons que cette recherche a utilisé une approche mixte qui est très recommandée[26] et qui emprunte aux méthodes transversale (sujets faisant partie de différents groupes d'âge) et longitudinale (contenu des interviews lié à une rétrospective et à une prospective). Les données furent recueillies au cours d'entrevues semi-structurées.[27] Ces dernières ont été réalisées en 1981 juste avant l'état déclaré de la crise économique récente. Les entrevues, disponibles sur cassettes, ont été codées à l'aide de deux grilles d'analyse, dont l'une est descriptive et la seconde interprétative. Dans les deux cas, les grilles ont été élaborées à posteriori. Nous nous sommes ainsi basés sur le postulat défini par Clapier-Valladon.[28] "Si nous voulons laisser au récit sa nature et le considérer comme une méthode de recherche propre, son analyse de contenu doit nécessairement n'être qu'exploratoire, et donc, à posteriori, c'est-à-dire partir du récit et de sa production, ne partir de rien d'autre." L'élaboration des deux grilles a suivi le procédé de l'analyse comparative de Horth[29] où chaque nouvelle information de discours a été confrontée à du "dejà trouvé" par les discours des sujets précédents. Si le discours correspondait à du "dejà vu," on associait cette réponse à celle des autres: si le discours apportait un élément de nouveauté, on créait une nouvelle catégorie.[30]

La première grille qui se veut descriptive porte sur les types de recherche d'une sortie prometteuse du marché du travail que semble effectuer l'adulte à ce moment-ci de sa vie. La seconde, qui est basée sur le cadre théorique, concerne le processus du développement professionnel. On cherche ici le type d'étape caractéristique des quinquagénaires et les modalités particulières de cette conjoncture selon les diverses classes sociales. Notons enfin que notre analyse met l'accent sur l'univers individuel et non sur l'incidence que peuvent avoir les structures sociales en regard de la courbe d'existence des individus. En empruntant la terminologie de Clapier-Valladon,[31] il s'agit d'une analyse de type surtout psychobiographique (centrée sur le vécu de l'individu) plutôt qu'ethnobiographique (centrée sur l'expression des modèles culturels).

Les Recherches d'une Sortie Prometteuse

Après plusieurs lectures flottantes, il est apparu clairement que les recherches d'une sortie prometteuse que l'adulte semble se donner pour la poursuite de sa vie de travail peuvent se regrouper en quatre types: privilégiée, active, calme et désespérée.

la recherche privilégiée

Ce type de recherche signifie que l'adulte, prévoyant sa sortie prochaine du marché du travail, tente de s'entourer d'une équipe qui pourrait poursuivre son travail ou mandat social. Ce type de recherche semble complètement absent chez l'adulte des **classes moyenne et défavorisée**. Quant à l'adulte de **classe aisée**, il veut, souligne-t-il, déléguer ses pouvoirs à des gens plus jeunes mais en ayant pris soin, auparavant, de les former et de les entraîner selon ses propres perspectives. "Plus on vieillit, moins on a le goût de prendre des décisions ou de prendre des responsabilités . . . " Après avoir été amené à reconnaître qu'il n'arrive plus à faire le travail seul à cause de son état de santé et de l'ampleur de sa tâche, il a dû entraîner une équipe d'assistants et d'employés qui font maintenant le travail sous sa supervision. En d'autres occasions, il veut innover et agir, en quelque sorte, comme un pionnier vis-à-vis les générations futures. Ce phénomène peut revêtir différentes formes comme par exemple l'enseignement des méthodes et d'une philosophie agricoles, la recherche de solutions médicales particulières, la défense et la promotion des femmes sur le marché du travail ou la protection des valeurs et institutions coopératives. En d'autres occasions, il initie des équipiers afin qu'ils deviennent à leur tour des multiplicateurs, tout comme lui-même a su parfois coopérer à un idéal collectif défini ou suggéré par ses prédécesseurs ou les supérieurs hiérarchiques de son entreprise. Par cette initiation, cet adulte vise, avant tout, à ce que les jeunes équipiers en arrivent à brûler du même feu sacré permettant ainsi d'assurer la perpétuité de ce mandat social en prévision de son éventuel départ du marché du travail. "La jeune génération au Québec est de plus en plus engagée dans un processus de changement."

la recherche active

Une recherce est dite active lorsque le discours de l'adulte met en évidence ses habiletés de travailleur ou ses compétences professionnelles. L'adulte de **classe moyenne** souligne ses points forts. Il est, affirme-t-il, d'une grande utilité sociale. Il est très habile et très prompt dans les réponses qu'il fournit à la clientèle; étant surtout affecté aux téléphones de réclamation dans une grande chaîne de magasins, il se déclare même exceptionnel de pouvoir tenir le coup. Il a acquis une expérience inestimable et irremplaçable étant donné sa compréhension approfondie du fonctionnement de l'entreprise ainsi que la somme fabuleuse d'informations mémorisées depuis nombre d'années. Il est tenace ou ambitieux. "Je tiens à avoir des promotions comme les autres." Il est très travailleur et possède une grande capacité d'adaptation. Il contribue à créer un climat positif tout en étant un collaborateur efficace. Il est fier de son travail, a certaines réussites à son acquis. Il n'a pas honte de lui en plus d'être mature, épanoui et fier de son assiduité.

Selon l'adulte de **classe défavorisée**, plusieurs points positifs militent en sa faveur. Il respecte ses engagements et est très responsable. Parfois, il n'arrive même pas à imaginer qu'au moment de sa retraite, il devra se séparer des gens dont il a présentement la supervision. "J'aime mon travail, j'aime m'occuper des malades c'est un domaine qui est très intéressant; je sais que j'aurai de la peine s'il faut que je les (malades) quitte à cause de ma retraite . . . non jamais je ne les abandonnerai." Il est très fiable et loyal: par exemple, son patron lui donne entière liberté dans l'exécution de ses tâches. Il est ouvert et sensible aux idées nouvelles. Il tient au respect mutuel réciproque même si cela lui occasionne parfois certains ennuis avec la direction. Il tient à humaniser davantage le milieu de travail et rend de grands services aux gens. Il est méticuleux, assidu et très heureux au travail. Il se juge très influent, parfois même un peu trop. Dans sa petite entreprise, il est un très habile gestionnaire. Enfin ce travailleur est très respectueux de ses devoirs familiaux.

A son tour, l'adulte de **classe aisée** signale ses nombreuses qualités professionnelles caractéristiques. Il est assuré du pouvoir qu'il a sur sa vie occupationnelle et sur le milieu. "Peu importe les tâches ou le milieu de travail, il est possible de s'épanouir et de se considérer important ou très utile à la société." Il ne s'entoure que de gens très efficaces, sait miser sur des objectifs vocationnels bien clairs. Il se dit très utile car il fait profiter les autres de son expérience professionnelle ou de ses connaissances acquises. De plus, il se juge très compétent pour l'entraînement des jeunes. Il fait également valoir ses compétences de dirigeant qui sont parfois reliées à ses grandes capacités d'intégration. Il se considère un leader naturel. Il se dit efficace parce qu'il est très sévère dans la sélection ou le recrutement du personnel. Il est indépendant. "J'ai toujours été mon propre patron et mes affaires ont toujours fonctionné rondement et très efficacement . . . " En tant que gestionnaire, il respecte les syndicats et il réussit à soigner son image. Il se tient toujours à la fine pointe des développements technologiques et il vise, non seulement, à participer à l'évolution de la société, mais surtout à l'inspirer ou la diriger. Il a plein de possibilités de se réaliser; si cela ne fonctionne pas à un endroit, la mobilité occupationnelle est toujours la solution. Il se juge très dynamique, il a plein de projets et son horaire de travail est très chargé. Par ailleurs, il souligne qu'il a de nombreuses qualités personnelles: il s'impose beaucoup de travail, il sait utiliser les circonstances pour replanifier ou réorienter son évolution occupationnelle. Il refuse carrément l'oisiveté; il jouit, selon lui, d'un tempérament très déterminé, ou même batailleur, et se reconnaît doué d'une grande perspicacité.

la recherche calme

Ce thème relate les éléments du discours où l'adulte précise avoir fourni pendant les années antérieures, le maximum de lui-même sur le marché du travail et il considère, dès lors, qu'il ne lui reste, à peu près plus de devoirs occupationnels à accomplir; il explique son désengagement graduel vis-à-vis le marché du travail ou élabore ses projets de retraite. Parfois l'adulte de **classe moyenne** prépare sa sortie du marché du travail en incluant l'éventualité d'une obsolescence programmée lente mais régulière. Ce désengagement n'est pas l'objet de révolte même si parfois il semble directement commandé par le milieu. Il tient à savourer ses dernières années de vie au travail en s'appuyant sur les acquis des années antérieures. Il n'est pas question de songer à des réaménagements anxiogènes ou stressants. Il songe à sa retraite, ce sera pour lui un temps de repos bien mérité. Il planifie des activités ou projets de retraite; cette préoccupation domine de loin celle de l'élaboration de projets occupationnels.

L'adulte de **classe défavorisée** ne veut plus avoir à se réhabituer à de nouvelles tâches, il tient à la routine et ne cherche pas du tout la mobilité occupationnelle. Il adopte maintenant une attitude dégagée devant les mandats confiés ou refusés par la direction. Ses aspirations occupationnelles sont à un point mort alors qu'il se juge très proche de la grande libération. Avec les années, il se sent nettement plus à l'aise; il ne voudrait plus avoir à se débattre dans un climat anxiogène. Il considère qu'il a moins de luttes à mener; il se sent nettement plus sécure et plus compétent qu'auparavent pour réaliser son travail. Il récolte parfois certains avantages liés son âge. Il peut se permettre d'être confiant depuis l'avènement récent de certaines améliorations sur le plan financier. L'obtention de certaines conditions de travail, telles une plus grande souplesse d'horaire et la sécurité d'emploi, semblent lui laisser un peu de répit au travail. Il juge nécessaire d'accorder une certaine priorité aux loisirs pour l'équilibre de la personne. Il a même parfois une attitude rassurée et présomptueuse devant la vie. Enfin, il espère se libérer de l'aspect fastidieux du travail et aspire à des activités autonomes. La retraite sera un choix délibéré et planifié où il en demandera peu à la vie. Il exécutera des travaux divers. "J'ai plein de projets pour ma retraite, je saurai bien m'occuper."

Parfois l'adulte de **classe aisée** juge qu'il doit maintenant déposer les armes et se laisser glisser tranquillement vers la retraite. Il tient, par ailleurs, à préciser qu'il s'agit là d'un choix ou d'une nouvelle étape de vie, et non pas, d'une mise au rancart imposée par son milieu de travail ou par la société. Son bilan est déjà fait et il conclut que l'apport qu'il devait rendre à la société est presque entièrement réalisé. Il indique parfois que si le milieu l'invitait à une certaine mobilité occupationnelle, il considérerait que ce serait là le couronnement ou la reconnaissance du travail qu'il a accompli durant toutes ces années. Il estime avoir bien rempli son devoir envers son organisme-employeur et la société; il est temps, selon lui, de songer à des aspirations égocentriques. En d'autres occasions, il se veut efficace sur le marché du travail mais il précise que sa priorité est davantage la préparation aux modalités de sa vie personnelle et occupationnelle future. La proximité de la retraite l'amène, selon lui, à refuser de s'engager et il ne veut pas du tout effectuer des exploits de dernière heure afin de prouver qu'il est encore en pleine vigueur. Il apprécierait beaucoup ne plus avoir à subir la pression quotidienne et revenir graduellement à un certain équilibre. Il lui apparait très normal que son efficacité diminue. Il signale qu'il a nettement pondéré ses ambitions occupationnelles et sensiblement modifié la valeur qu'il accordait à l'ascenion sociale. Parfois il se voit dans l'obligation de diminuer ses ambitions car les circonstances ne le permettent plus. Il ne sert à rien, selon lui, de se lancer dans des défis car il ne pourra jamais y avoir quelque chose de vraiment nouveau. Il croit normal d'effectuer une recherche calme de sa sortie du marché du travail; d'ailleurs, affirme-t-il, il l'avait choisie ou implicitement pré-déterminée depuis le mitan de la vie. Il se déclare très conscient des divers facteurs en jeu, actuels et à venir. Parfois, il a déjà commencé à diminuer certaines activités occupationnelles pour les remplacer graduellement par des activités para-professionnelles. Il exprime la grande sérénité qu'il va éprouver lors du moment tant attendu de sa sortie du marché du travail. La retraite sera l'occasion de pouvoir réaliser des rêves jamais concrétisés à cause des contraintes du marché du travail. "J'ai mille choses à faire pour la retraite . . . mille choses que je n'ai pas eu le temps de faire parce que j'étais au travail." Les projets de retraite sont parfois reliés au bénévolat en tant que gestionnaire ou participant actif. La retraite sera également l'occasion de se refaire une nouvelle identité personnelle et professionnelle. En d'autres occasions, les projets sont peu précis mais cet adulte tient à envisager ses années futures sous un oeil positif et il est assuré qu'il ne vivra jamais l'oisiveté.

la recherche désespérée

Ce thème est surtout défini par des discours de découragement ou même de désespoir. Les dernières années passées sur le marché du travail, loin de s'avérer une occasion lui permettant de se faire valoir, ne sera que l'occasion de recul, de rétrogradation ou d'humiliation. Parfois l'adulte de **classe moyenne** n'est pas du tout supporté par le milieu et il se sent carrément rejeté ou simplement toléré. Ses acquis occupationnels sont dévalorisés et on n'accorde aucune crédibilité à ses propos. Il n'a aucune chance de pouvoir apporter des preuves lui permettant de tirer un bilan positif de son apport sur le marché du travail. Il ressent une très grande nostalgie et accepte difficilement les faits. L'âge est un obstacle majeur. "Si j'étais plus jeune, j'aurais possiblement des promotions, mais à mon âge, c'est impossible." L'usure physique et psychologique, une faible scolarité s'avèrent [illegible]es obstacles majeurs à la réussite d'une sortie prometteuse du marché du travail.

L'adulte de **classe défavorisée** est convaincu que les dernières années de vie au travail seront la continuation de sa situation d'un être socio-économiquement aliéné ou exploité. Selon lui, il a dû poursuivre un cheminement occupationnel qui s'est toujours inscrit à l'encontre de ses intérêts. Il se sent de plus en plus désabusé et juge qu'il n'a plus le goût de rien entreprendre. Il n'a pas obtenu l'avancement souhaité ou il a subi de cuisantes rétrogradations. "J'ai raté une promotion; cela m'a flanqué un gros coup; à mon âge, ça ne se reprend plus." Son travail comporte trop de difficultés. Il est complètement débordé par son travail et ne pourra jamais arriver à gérer son temps devant la trop grande demande des clients. Il a trop d'obligations professionnelles et personnelles. "J'ai beaucoup trop de responsabilités au travail . . . j'ai en plus des devoirs familiaux." Il est très inquiet et stressé; il se plaint de sa situation sur un ton très dépressif. Il regrette amèrement de ne pas avoir démarré sa petite entreprise durant les années antérieures. En tant que patron d'une petite entreprise, il a des difficultés majeures avec les subalternes. "Le problème dans le commerce, ce sont les employés; c'est très difficile." Sa vie privée l'a défavorisé sur le plan occupationnel. Il lui est impossible de réaliser de nouveaux apprentissages. Il ne peut se permettre des loisirs l'hiver parce qu'il est affecté au déneigement et cela lui prend parfois 90 heures par semaine. Cette sortie désespérée déteint sur les autres facettes de son existence; parfois, il est à ce point fataliste qu'il souhaite des conflits mondiaux afin que les travailleurs en viennent à être mieux respectés en vertu même de leur rareté.

Selon l'adulte de classe aisée il lui est désormais impossible de se faire valoir ou de compétitionner avec ses pairs. Il est accablé ou consterné par les derniers événements de sa destinée occupationnelle qui sont vécus comme une chute fatale, une faillite vocationnelle. Au terme de sa carrière, le milieu lui enlève toute possibilité d'agir; il ressent le rejet du milieu et il se plaint d'avoir été destitué de ses fonctions. Il est très pessimiste; il est assuré d'une sortie ratée du marché du travail et exprime son dédain avec un cynisme et une hargne à peine retenus. Il décrit avec dépit son manque de crédibilité en plus de se sentir dénigré et ridiculisé non seulement, en tant que professionnel praticien, mais également en tant que personne humaine. Il souligne sa lassitude en indiquant que les seules réalisations positives se sont réalisées durant les années antérieures, et non présentement. En d'autres occasions, il se retrouve devant un bilan presque nul. Il n'a jamais réalisé les projets communautaires qu'il avait planifiés et il lui est impossible de faire reconnaître son utilité sociale pour deux raisons. 1. Sa profession dégage une image négative depuis les dernières années et il est assuré que la société conteste son rôle social alors que c'est justement par ce rôle qu'il espérait teinter la collectivité de son apport original. 2. A l'inverse, il est très amer de constater que ses actes professionnels ne servent pas à l'épanouissement de la collectivité mais plutôt à son recul. Les causes de cette recherche désespérée seraient tantôt dues à ses propres erreurs ou caractéristiques personnelles. Plus il se rapproche de la retraite, plus son entreprise prend de l'expansion, mais par contre, moins il participe aux décisions. Il n'arrive pas à se refaire une place dans un milieu où la compétition prime de plus en plus sur le respect des individus. Les changements organisationnels visent, selon lui, uniquement la rentabilité, oublient totalement la personne et vont même à l'encontre des besoins humains fondamentaux. Les circonstances socio-économiques se sont avérées néfastes dans son entreprise. Il est très déçu, frustré et choqué; c'est, selon lui, une fin de carrière marquée par une faillite tant financière que sociale qu'il ne pourra surmonter. Il a des comportements négatifs qu'il a du mal à maîtriser, soit la colère ou l'angoisse. Enfin, il est assailli par des

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rôles familiaux qui deviennent de plus en plus lourds alors qu'il avait prévu que ces derniers s'estomperaient vers le milieu de la cinquantaine. "La famille m'écrase."

Le Développement Professionnel

La grille de développement professionnel comporte cinq thèmes. Le premier correspond au processus central vécu par les quinquagénaires: il s'agit de la recherche d'une sortie prometteuse. Le deuxième, troisième et quatrième thèmes correspondent à trois sous-processus: les interrogations sur la finitude de la vie, l'importance exagérée de l'évaluation et les préoccupations économiques. Enfin le cinquième thème est relatif à une brève illustration de ce processus vécu par une minorité de sujets (environ 14%) dont le développement professionnel semble exceptionnellement intense ou accéléré.

à la recherche d'une sortie prometteuse

Ce thème central se définit par un souhait profond et intense de réussir à projeter, en fin de carrière, une image positive englobant l'entièreté de sa vie occupationnelle. Il se pose différentes questions: comment souligner mon apport spécifique au marché du travail? Comment faire remarquer que mon remplacement sera très difficile, voire même impossible? Il s'inquiète de l'éventualité de rater sa sortie. Il vit un peu cette étape comme le moment des préparatifs, plus ou moins fébriles, d'un départ ou le moment de songer aux dernières activités à réaliser avant de plier bagage. Il semble vouloir laisser à son milieu de travail le message d'une carrière qui aura été remplie et utile pour l'organisme-employeur ou pour la société socio-économique. Il veut également souligner que la façon particulière de s'acquitter de ses tâches sera difficile à retrouver chez un éventuel remplaçant. La recherche d'une sortie prometteuse est de chercher à faire correspondre un départ rêvé et une sortie réaliste. Il vit donc un choc plus ou moins grand selon que les modifications de dernière heure lui laissent entrevoir des chances très minces ou réelles de pouvoir atteindre cette sortie rêvée. Selon que ces chances sont nulles, médiocres ou bonnes, il sera paralysé (recherche désespérée), désintéressé (recherche calme) ou affairé à inventorier des moyens d'y parvenir (recherche active). Les propos reliés aux deux premiers types de recherche permettent très peu de discriminer la spécificité des classes sociales relativement à ce processus de vie au travail. Les premiers, indépendamment de la classe sociale d'appartenance, font tous référence à une plainte généralisée soulignant l'impossibilité de démontrer pour ce quinquagénaire, qu'il a bel et bien rempli, durant toutes ces années au travail, le rôle social auquel on s'attendait de lui. Cette incapacité serait due à des obstacles telles les tâches assignées par le pouvoir, l'âge, une scolarité faible ou impertinente, l'usure physique ou psychologique. Les seconds propos, reliés à une recherche calme, ne discriminent pas davantage le processus de recherche d'une sortie prometteuse selon les classes sociales. Ces derniers laissent indifféremment dégager les aspects suivants: 1. cet adulte a fourni, pendant les années antérieures, le maximum de lui-même sur le marché du travail; 2. l'âge s'avère un facteur complice ou une justification sociale et personnelle à se laisser aller graduellement vers un état d'obsolescence; 3. la société lui aurait également demandé de se diriger progressivement vers ce désengagement; 4. la retraite est envisagée comme un repos bien mérité. Quant aux propos reliés à la recherche active, ils laissent dégager des différences significatives selon la classe sociale d'appartenance. Ces dernières se dégagent à partir des critères ultimes de réussite ou de bilan occupationnel heureux qui semblent surtout se définir en regard de la nature des rôles occupationnels prescrits par la société. Ces rôles varient considérablement selon les cas, laissant ainsi constater des objectifs fort distincts, poursuivis dans cette recherche d'une sortie prometteuse.

Dans les propos reliés à cette recherche active, l'adulte de **classe moyenne** identifie une série d'habiletés ou compétences lui permettant de démontrer qu'il remplit idéalement son rôle social de supporter ou de soutien efficace. Il se considère comme un des piliers de la compagnie car il a acquis une expérience inestimable et irremplaçable. De plus, il a une compréhension approfondie du fonctionnement de l'entreprise ainsi qu'une somme fabuleuse d'informations emmagasinées et mémorisées depuis nombre d'années. Il est habile et prompt dans les réponses ou services qu'il rend à la clientèle. Il est énergique et bon travailleur. Il a de grandes capacités d'adaptation qui lui permettent de s'accommoder aux différents styles de travail des patrons ou aux changements d'exigences suite aux restructurations fréquentes de l'entreprise. Il contribue à créer un climat positif et il croit au travail d'équipe. Il souligne ses capacités de collaboration, d'efficacité et de rentabilité pour son organisme-employeur.

Les propos de la recherche active semblent viser à démontrer que l'adulte de **classe défavorisée** remplit adéquatement, et d'une façon irréprochable, les rôles socio-occupationnels de serviteur. Il est docile, sociable, fiable et très loyal envers ses patrons. Il n'a pas d'accrochage avec les autres employés car il tient prioritairement à l'entente mutuelle, même si ses droits puissent être lésés. Il est très responsable de ses engagements et respectueux de ses devoirs; il continuera en ce sens si Dieu le garde en santé et si le patron lui conserve son emploi.

Les propos de l'adulte de **classe aisée**, reliés à la recherche active, révèlent des points jugés très positifs parce qu'ils représentent diverses manifestations du rôle socio-occupationnel de leader tant valorisé par ses pairs de même statut. Il est très compétent dans l'entraînement des juniors professionnels. Il est un excellent patron, peu importe l'équipe qu'on lui commande de gérer ou de diriger. Il se considère un leader naturel et est doué d'une grande perspicacité: il ne s'entoure que de gens très efficaces. Il est simultanément très autonome et il respecte les syndicats. Il se tient toujours à la fine pointe des développements technologiques. Il vise, non seulement à participer à l'évolution de la société, mais surtout à l'inspirer ou la diriger. Il sait miser sur des objectifs occupationnels clairs: il se donne comme mandat de modifier les lois sociales. Il est très dynamique, et a plein de projets. Il est batailleur; il relève les défis et est doté d'un tempérament très déterminé.

les interrogations sur la finitude de la vie

On peut définir ce thème comme un rappel de questions existentielles et téléologiques reliées à la prise de conscience d'un éventuel départ du marché du travail et aux inquiétudes de santé. L'adulte de **classe moyenne** est très peu loquace sur les finitudes de vie en général ou de sa propre vie. Lorsqu'il en parle, il s'exprime en termes très voilés ou discrets. Il avoue y songer davantage depuis quelque temps. Comme le nombre d'années sur le marché du travail s'amenuise, il se voit forcé à formuler des souhaits ou à identifier la direction ultime. Il s'inquiète beaucoup de l'état de santé dont il disposera au moment de la retraite. Le sort de personnes significatives, plus âgées que lui, intensifie cette inquiétude.

Selon l'adulte de **classe défavorisée**, la vie a un caractère intensément marqué de finitude. Il exprime ses craintes vis-à-vis un bilan professionnel jugé incomplet à cause du trop peu d'années mises à sa disposition. Il est anxieux car la retraite lui apparaît comme synonyme de fin de vie. Parallèlement aux interrogations sur la finitude de vie, l'état de fatigue généralisé est un élément qui provoque beaucoup d'inquiétude et d'angoisse relativement aux répercussions que cela entraînera sur son travail. Il doit exécuter un travail tout aussi pénible que par le passé alors que sa santé a sensiblement diminué. Il est d'avis qu'il a beaucoup trop d'obligations occupationnelles et que la somme des devoirs à accomplir lui provoque un état de fatigue alarmant. Différentes autres réactions d'appréhension se manifestent vis-à-vis l'épuisement et la maladie. Tantôt, il tente de formuler certaines réflexions d'une façon apparemment dégagée afin d'éviter la coloration trop dramitique de ces propos, tantôt il redoute certaines réactions négatives de sa part. En d'autres occasions, il fait preuve d'un certain optimisme relatif et il espère que les moments difficiles ne seront que temporaires. Parfois l'environnement au travail lui permet de supporter les tourments reliés à son état de santé précaire.

L'approche de la retraite provoque des interrogations sur la finitude de la vie occupationnelle de l'adulte de **classe aisée** et surtout celle de sa vie en général. Il semble à la fois très insécure, agressif ou drastique en regard de toute question relative au futur. Parfois, le décès d'une personne chère l'a rendu très dépressif; il ne peut admettre ni cette mort, ni l'idée de sa propre mort. Toutefois, en de plus rares occasions, les réactions sont plus sereines ou plus positives face à la finitude de vie. Les questionnements de finitude de vie sont fréquemment reliés aux réactions vis-à-vis la maladie. Sur le plan occupationnel, il ne se sent plus en confiance comme durant les années antérieures; il doute de ses capacités physiques lui permettant de défendre ses dossiers jusqu'à leur finalisation. Parfois un infarctus l'a entraîné hors du marché du travail pendant quatre mois; cela a provoqué des changements majeurs en termes de redéfinition de ses finalités ou modalités d'évolution vocationnelle. En d'autres occasions, c'est la fatigue qui affecte sa propension au risque, le rythme de son rendement ou qui le force à se retirer. Sa condition physique l'a obligé durant les dernières années à ralentir considérablement ses activités occupationnelles. Il a eu très peur de la mort; maintenant, grâce au fait qu'il a vaincu cette maladie, il se sent davantage en mesure de s'adonner à ses activités occupationnelles. Ces dernières s'avèrent même parfois un remède. Parfois, la présence de la maladie a été un phénomène constant qui lui a appris comment prolonger ses jours. Dans de plus rares occasions, c'est l'absence de ce phénomène qui est objet de fierté dans l'histoire de sa vie occupationnelle.

l'importance exagérée de l'évaluation

Cet item signifie que cet adulte a tendance à accorder beaucoup d'attention, en cette période de bilan professionnel, au verdict des autorités ou autres personnes significatives. L'importance que l'adulte de **classe moyenne** accorde à l'évaluation le déroute dans sa recherche d'une sortie prometteuse et vient teinter presque quotidiennement, et d'une façon négative, le bilan général de sa vie occupationnelle.

L'adulte de **classe défavorisée** accorde une importance marquée à l'évaluation. L'avis du patron, qui ne vaut pourtant que pour le rendement actuel, est perçu comme une sorte d'analyse de l'ensemble de sa carrière. L'évaluation de sa compétence passée, présente ou à venir est liée, affirme-t-il, à l'attitude ou la version du patron. "Cela dépend des patrons si tu es compétent ou non; il y a trois ans, ils disaient que j'étais bon, j'étais même extra, il y a deux ans aussi; l'année dernière, tout d'un coup, les patrons m'ont pris en aversion, je n'étais plus bon à rien; cette année, soudainement, ils ont repris confiance en moi et vers la fin de l'année, ils m'ont repoussé encore, je suis redevenu un incompétent à leurs yeux . . ." Il confère au patron un rôle de prépondérant et d'envahissant. C'est l'évaluateur et surtout le principal responsable de la qualité du rendement qu'il fournit. Les liens étroits qu'il établit entre l'attitude du patron et son rendement démontrent sa dépendance à l'égard du pouvoir dans sa tentative d'effectuer une sortie prometteuse. Il se permet alors de souhaiter, sans réel espoir de voir se réaliser toute une série d'améliorations nécessaires à apporter dans les attitudes et les comportements évaluatifs de son supérieur. Le patron devrait: 1. faire preuve de justice et de discrimination; 2. éviter les affrontements ou toute méthode brusque de gestion; 3. respecter son statut d'être humain et le considérer comme une personne responsable, autonome qui sait se diriger seule ("Mon rendement au travail dépend de la façon dont je suis traité ou respecté."); 4. reconnaître son expérience et sa compétence. En de très rares occasions, il prétend que l'attitude des patrons dépend d'abord de celle des employés et il prône le respect de la hiérarchie.

Chez l'adulte de **classe aisée**, cette importance marquée de l'évaluation semble liée à son étape particulière de vie au travail. Pour réaliser les derniers projets de vie occupationnelle, il tient à sa bonne réputation et il croit en la nécessité d'un climat facilitateur minimal. Il nourrit donc certaines craintes vis-à-vis l'évaluation. L'importance accordée à l'évaluation le porte à fournir des réponses hâtives et toutes faites sur la valeur de ses activités, avec une voix sévère et un débit très rapide qui témoigne d'une attitude défensive.

les préoccupations économiques

Ce thème fait référence à la priorité financière. L'adulte de **classe moyenne** semble peu signaler d'inquiétude à ce sujet, comparativement à ses pairs de classe défavorisée ou aisée. Tout au plus, souhaite-t-il une amélioration à ce niveau. L'adulte de **classe défavorisée** parle de la priorité financière; il se plaint du manque à gagner et il a besoin d'un surplus d'argent pour pouvoir disposer du minimum vital. Il doit faire de nombreuses activités en dehors de son travail qui lui rapportent des sous. Compte tenu de sa situation financière, il souligne à regret que ses activités de loisir doivent être limitées au strict minimum. Il craint de se retrouver sous le seuil de la pauvreté lors de la retraite et exprime ce sentiment sur un ton très agressif. L'adulte de **classe aisée** souligne que les événements de vie lui ont parfois démontré la préséance des préoccupations économiques sur celles d'auto-actualisation ou de succès social. Il se plaint de plusieurs inconvénients économiques majeurs reliés à un bureau privé: il craint l'inflation, il ne peut utiliser autant d'abris fiscaux qu'il ne le souhaiterait et il est à la merci de certaines lois gouvernementales susceptibles de modifier le marché.

les exceptions

Le discours de ces sujets (environ 14%) correspond globalement à celui de leurs pairs. Ils procèdent également à une recherche d'une sortie prometteuse, en empruntant divers types de sortie. Cependant certaines nuances viennent les différencier. Ils ont davantage tendance à se rapprocher de certaines caractéristiques de la personne en voie d'une évolution vocationnelle optimale. Ces particularités sont extraites d'un postulat majeur, émanant du cadre théorique de la présente étude. Pour mieux saisir les nuances entre ces sujets-exceptions et leurs pairs, nous précisons ici ce postulat de base qui s'est avéré un sous-thème permettant d'identifier les sujets-exceptions: il s'agit du principe de l'intensité équivalente du développement vocationnel au fil des âges. Il signifie que le développement se poursuit jusqu'à la mort, à des intensités différentes mais potentiellement équivalentes. L'adulte ressent une poussée intrinsèque continue qui se traduit par des efforts constants d'une prise en charge presque complète de son développement vocationnel. L'adulte est convaincu qu'il doit vivre régulièrement des changements intra-individuels, minimes ou manifestes, qui le rendent sans cesse vocationnellement différent au fil des âges. Il a accordé une place prépondérante à l'apprentissage continu. Il est conscient que son développement ne suit pas une courbe médicale (croissance jusque vers 35 ans, maintien jusque vers 55 ans et déclin par la suite) mais qu'au contraire, chaque moment de la vie au travail, a une importance sensiblement égale dans la poursuite de son évolution ou développement continus. Les modifications de trajectoire envisagées visent presque exclusivement la poursuite assidue de l'évolution optimale plutôt que la conservation des acquis ou l'adoption de comportements de régression.

Les sujets-exceptions de la classe **moyenne** (3 sur un total de 34) semblent croire en l'intensité potentiellement équivalente de leur développement vocationnel au fil des ans. Différemment de leurs pairs du même statut social, l'âge est moins perçu comme un facteur nuisible au développement occupationnel. Ils gardent l'espoir d'une évolution continue et sont soucieux de pouvoir constamment intégrer de nouvelles activités à leurs tâches habituelles. Ils se définissent comme des apprenants inlassablement actifs.—"Toutes les étapes que j'ai faites, ça m'a donné quelque chose, j'ai appris à chaque emploi; encore dans mon travail actuel, ça m'aide."—"C'est en travaillant qu'on apprend."—"J'apprends toujours quelque chose de nouveau dans mon travail." Ils ont des projets ayant un impact à la fois personnel et collectif.—"Je voudrais collaborer davantage à humaniser l'entreprise, car c'est là un très gros problème."—"Je voudrais revaloriser davantage les tâches des employés." Ces souhaits s'avérent souvent une forme de prolongement de leurs objectifs occupationnels présents tout au long de leur vie au travail.—"Je suis issu d'un milieu pauvre; j'ai vécu de nombreuses difficultés dans ma jeunesse . . . j'ai décidé d'aider ce milieu car j'avais très peu de scolarité . . . seulement une 10è année . . . j'ai suivi des cours du soir pendant 15 ans en gestion, en comptabilité, en service social, en activité sociale, en sciences sociales . . . car j'avais choisi un travail dans des mouvements coopératifs." Le perfectionnement institutionnel leur semble un moyen de s'assurer un développement continu et de croire encore en leurs possibilités d'apprentissage.—"Je veux me perfectionner jusqu' à ce que mon intelligence et ma mémoire ne fonctionnent plus."—"J'ai suivi des cours et là je me suis aperçue que j'étais capable d'apprendre et de réaliser des choses."

Les sujets-exceptions de la **classe défavorisée** (6 sur un total de 34) laissent également croire que leurs propos sont reliés à la croyance en l'intensité potentiellement équivalente au fil des ans. Tout comme les pairs de leur classe, ces sujets prennent durement conscience qu'ils ont été définitivement relégués dans les emplois les moins valorisés. Mais à la différence de ces derniers, les sujets-exceptions soulignent que leurs intérêts occupationnels, totalement insatisfaits tout au long de leur vie, se sont avérés un stimuli pour continuer un apprentissage auto-didacte. Ils parlent de la possibilité de rendre leur travail plus humain. Ils tentent des efforts constants d'amélioration ayant des répercussions possibles à la fois sur le plan personnel, sur le milieu de travail et sur la rentabilité de l'entreprise.— "J'aime continuer à me perfectionner, j'ai toujours été à l'aise et intéressé; j'aime ce que je fais."—"Je me perfectionne tous les jours." Ils cherchent constamment à apprendre à l'aide des compagnons de travail ou de personnes expérimentées.—"Le travail que je fais m'apporte quelque chose; j'en ai toujours à apprendre avec le temps et j'en apprends tout le temps; le contact avec les compagnons de travail, cela enrichit." Ils tiennent à contre-balancer le plus possible leur carence de formation professionnelle par un apprentissage auto-didacte ou assisté et par une disponibilité à la mobilité occupationnelle. Ils ne craignent pas de relever des défis qui sont pour eux, autant d'opportunités d'évolution. En outre, ils se préoccupent de leur développement personnel par la participation très active à de nombreux organismes. Ils ont amélioré des éléments de leur personnalité de travailleur. Ils réagissent parfois énergiquement aux pressions sociales qui veulent les reléguer au rang des vieux travailleurs las et obsolescents. Ils tiennent à signaler qu'étant donné leur âge, ils n'ont pas honte de leur performance; au contraire, ils en sont même fiers.—"Parfois, j'ai trop de responsabilités, mais je m'en sors toujours." De plus, ils font montre d'une grande souplesse d'accommodation aux nouveautés.

Les sujets-exceptions de la **classe aisée** (5 sur un total de 33) semblent croire en l'intensité potentiellement équivalente de leur développement vocationnel au fil des ans. Ces sujets confèrent à l'âge un rôle plutôt accélérateur que modérateur du développement vocationnel. Ils ne se définissent en aucun temps dans une période de stabilité ou de maintien. Ils sont très soucieux de leur évolution constante.—"Il est très important de changer d'emploi au moins à tous les trois ans afin de se garder alerte et de se donner des conditions pour être stimulé à apprendre sans cesse." Ils possèdent un potentiel d'apprentissage notable ou remarquable qui, loin de s'amenuiser avec les années, s'améliore sans cesse.—"Chaque anniversaire est une fête . . . plus j'avance en âge, plus j'apprends, plus je suis serein et efficace." Ils se caractérisent par un désir intense de toujours parfaire leurs connaissances et leur expérience.—"J'ai un désir fou d'apprendre . . . cela a toujours fait partie de mes besoins fondamentaux." Les projets de retraite témoignent de ce désir intense d'évolution continue. Ils sont reliés à des formations académiques poussées ou à des investigations scientifiques.—"Je songe à envisager des études en lettres afin d'écrire des volumes lors de ma retraite."—"A la retraite, je ne pense vraiment pas à un travail professionnel comme tel . . . je veux tout organiser pour être prêt à entreprendre des études dès le moment de la retraite . . . j'espère même, si j'en avais les moyens financiers, de prendre immédiatement ma retraite afin de me lancer tout de suite dans des projets d'études."

Conclusions

L'étude du vécu occupationnel du quinquagénaire, selon son appartenance sociale, met en évidence des différences plus ou moins considérables selon le type de recherche projetée d'une sortie prometteuse. Tout d'abord, le type de **recherche priviligiée** n'est présent que chez la classe aisée. Le type de **recherche calme**, que l'on retrouve chez les trois classes, laisse, par ailleurs, observer plusieurs nuances. Le désengagement, inclus dans cette recherche calme se définit par: 1) L'éventualité d'une obsolescence programmée par la société et implicitement acceptée par l'individu (classe moyenne); 2) La perception d'une diminution des luttes menées pour survivre (classe défavorisée); 3) Le choix délibéré de déposer les armes, i.e. de diminuer ses ambitions et de refuser de nouveaux défis (classe aisée). De plus, ce désengagement entraînerait progressivement l'adulte à un repos bien mérité (classe moyenne), à la grande libération (classe défavorisée) et à une vie plus équilibrée et sereine (classe aisée). Quant au type de **recherche désespérée**, il laisse dégager les nuances suivantes: 1) Chez l'adulte de classe moyenne, ses acquis ou expériences occupationnelles sont dévalorisés, le travail est strictement mécanique, il ne peut apporter aucune preuve de son apport spécifique et le milieu ne lui propose aucun défi à relever. 2) Chez l'adulte de classe défavorisée, on ne lui réserve que le lot des refus de promotions, des mutations imposées et d'amères rétrogradations. Il est débordé ou écrasé par les nombreuses obligations ou difficultés. Il lui est impossible de réaliser un quelconque apprentissage et les exigences patronales sont inhumaines. 3) Chez l'adulte de classe aisée, il souffre d'un manque flagrant de crédibilité, il lui est impossible de se faire valoir car les exigences de la compétition sont surhumaines et les circonstances politico-socio-économiques sont entièrement défavorables. Quant à la **recherche active**, elle laisse observer les différences les plus notables et flagrantes en ce qui a trait à la délimitation très démarquée entre les rôles socio-occupationnels perçus ou prescrits par la société. Selon les cas, ces rôles sont ceux de supporter ou de soutien (classe moyenne), de serviteur (classe défavorisée) et de leader (classe aisée). A la lumière de ces faits observés, il est évident, d'une part, qu'on ne peut jamais être assuré si les propos recueilllis sont véritablement authentiques ou plutôt commandés par la classe dominante; cette dernière, selon Bertaux[32] dicterait à toutes les couches de la société comment discourir ou se comporter. D'autre part, malgré une certaine marge d'incertitude inhérente à ce type d'investigation, il n'en demeure pas moins que la question fondamentale de la production culturelle des travailleurs, soulevée par de nombreux sociologues, réapparaît dans toute son ampleur. "Par leur appartenance aux classes sociales, les individus sont placés à des distances inégales par rapport aux valeurs communément reconnues comme l'argent, l'instruction, le prestige, le pouvoir etc.; de même les classes impliquent des manières différentes de participer à ces valeurs."[33]

Indépendamment de leurs différences notables et au-delà de la production culturelle des travailleurs, peut-on-parler de similarités chez les quinquagénaires des trois classes sociales? En s'inspirant du modèle théorique de la présente recherche postulant, entre autre principe, l'intensité potentiellement équivalente du développement au fil des ans, nous croyons qu'une des principales similarités soit reliée à leur croyance (sauf chez les 14% de sujets-exceptions) en une réduction substantielle de leur potentiel intellectuel aussitôt passé le cap de la cinquantaine. Les sujets, indépendamment de leur appartenance sociale, semblent croire qu'ils se situent dans une période de déclin ou de régression et qu'ils ne jouissent pratiquement plus des habiletés requises pour apprendre. Si on adhère à la conception médicale ou de décroissance irréversible, voulant que chez l'adulte au-delà de 50 ans, on ne puisse plus parler ni de développement, ni de maintien des acquis antérieurs, mais plutôt d'un déclin, on s'expliquera alors facilement l'absence, chez ce dernier, de tout discours relié à l'apprentissage ou à l'éducation continue. Par contre, si on opte pour la conception de l'évolution constante et équivalente au fil des âges (dans laquelle s'inscrivent les éléments théoriques de la présente recherche ainsi que des auteurs Labouvie-Vief;[34] Neugarten;[35] Lerner[36]) cette absence de propos, reliés à l'apprentissage ou à l'éducation continus, apparaît très inquiétante parce qu'elle risque d'hypothéquer la poursuite de l'évolution de cet adulte et que, tout compte fait, elle s'avère un obstacle de taille, pour ne pas dire une antithèse, à l'éducation permanente. **La tâche des formateurs d'adultes** apparaît donc gigantesque s'ils veulent explicitement viser à ce que la majorité des quinquagénaires adoptent une conception éducative continue et expérimentent une perception d'eux-mêmes en tant qu'apprenants compétents. Si non, ces intervenants risquent de se faire les complices d'une obsolescence programmée, plus ou moins consciemment, par toute la population active des 50 ans et plus. Concrètement, les formateurs d'adultes pourraient s'inspirer des résultats de la présente recherche qui mettent en lumière les efforts généralisés de recherche d'une sortie prometteuse, typiques aux adultes de la cinquantaine et différenciés selon la classe sociale d'appartenance. Jacob[37] dans sa revue de littérature, met en évidence l'importance de concevoir des interventions basées sur les données reliées à des intérêts ethnographiques telles la culture, les classes sociales, etc. Par ailleurs, on sait qu'il y a généralement des liens étroits, entre d'une part, la participation réussie à des activités d'apprentissage organisées et d'autre part, l'augmentation de l'estime de soi ainsi que l'obtention d'une certaine crédibilité sociale via la reconnaissance officielle des acquis.[38,39] La connaissance approfondie des efforts particuliers des quinquagénaires liés à la projection d'une image positive englobant l'entièreté de leur vie professionnelle, pourraient également s'avérer une des assises très importantes à l'élaboration et à la mise en application de divers programmes d'intervention pertinents (institutionnels ou autres). L'implantation et la dissémination de tels programmes apparaissent d'ailleurs impératives et urgentes dans nos sociétiés actuelles, caractérisées par le vieillissement de la population dite active. Enfin, les formateurs d'adultes pourraient également s'inspirer des témoignages des sujets-exceptions qui, à la différence de leurs pairs, évoquent la perspective d'une éducation continue. Ces derniers, comme le relatent les résultats de la présente recherche, sont préoccupés par leur soif d'en connaître toujours davantage et sont conscients qu'il faut constamment avoir l'esprit ouvert afin de poursuivre leur évolution; l'expérience au fil des ans aurait, semble-t-il, gardé en éveil cette aspiration: "Plus on vieillit, plus on sait des choses, mais plus il faut en apprendre."

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THE EFFECTIVENESS OF EDUCATION INTERVENTIONS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF NONTRADITIONAL OCCUPATIONAL ROLE IDENTIFICATION

Paula Ann Brook
University of Alberta

Abstract

The role of women in Canadian society is changing rapidly. Social, economic, and political changes in the larger society have made it easier for women to expand their personal and career options. A larger percentage of women of all ages are participating in the labor force, some in fields previously dominated by men.

But whether women's increased employment reflects primarily emancipation from the home, the attraction of interesting career opportunities, or simple economic necessity, barriers still persist to hinder career development. For women pursuing nontraditional careers, gaining the appropriate knowledge and skills, plus undergoing a process of socialization, are crucial factors in determining their occupational success. This study examines the impact of four distinct types of occupational preparation in fostering nontraditional role identification.

Résumé

Le rôle de la femme dans la société canadienne est en voie rapide de transformation. De récents changements sociaux, économiques et politiques offrent aux femmes un choix plus varié d'options personnelles ou de carrières. Un nombre de plus en plus important de femmes de tous les âges font maintenant partie de la main-d'oeuvre, certaines dans des domaines auparavant réservés aux hommes. Si le nombre sans cesse augmentant de femmes au travail semble justifié par un désir d'émancipation, l'attrait de carrières intéressantes ou la simple nécessité économique, il demeure que des barrières subsistent encore. Pour les femmes qui veulent exercercer des carrières dites non-traditionnelles, l'apprentissage de connaissances et d'habiletés, tout en étant sujet aux pressions de la soiété, peuvent jouer un rôle déterminant dans la réussite ou non de ces carrières. Cette étude examine l'impact de quatre types de formation aux métiers et leur

importance dans la création de nouvelles identités non-traditionnelles.

> When I was seven I wanted a hammer and a carpenter's pouch for Christmas. I built all kinds of animal houses, designing things for my pets. In high school I purposefully got kicked out of home economics so I could take shop, but it didn't work. My mother hated it; my Dad was okay. I had a dream of woodworking but never shared it with anyone. I'm in school now because I want job training and my four-year apprenticeship which should give me some security. I failed grades 7 to 11 but managed to pass grade twelve. In this program I learned a lot about math and how to use it. Fractions are important in carpentry. Also I never learned to read. I had learned to recognize what words looked like. I almost quit when I saw what I had to read. I learned to read! Friends helped me. I read a lot of learning guides. I was really embarrassed. But I can talk about it now.
>
> —Interview excerpt from a woman in a nontraditional career preparation program.

The Problem

One of the characteristics of educational institutions which distinguishes them from other socializing institutions is the extent to which their activities are intentional and deliberate. Educational institutions are seen to be responsible not only to the perceived needs of individual students but also to the preferences expressed by business and industry (including the state itself) which employ the majority of the educational "output."

The principal rationale for public policies that subsidize career education has been the idea that the kinds of jobs created by a changing labor market require specialized skills which can best be taught through formal programs at the postsecondary level. According to this view, career preparation programs benefit both the individual participants (in the form of improved job prospects and higher earnings) and society as a whole (in the form of a more productive workforce and a higher gross national product). Training and education programs have also been proposed as solutions to the dual problems of high unemployment and anticipated shortfalls in the workforce. Recent job training initiatives in both Canada and the United States are predicated on the assumption that training in job skills constitutes the missing link between unemployed workers and unfilled jobs.

Although acknowledging the importance of job skills development for all sectors of the labor force, the current emphasis appears to be on those who have not been represented well in the past. One group receiving much attention is women. Although the participation rates of women in paid employment have continued to increase since the second world war, this trend has not improved other economic realities for women. Women not only suffer from higher unemployment than men (8.8 percent compared to 6.6 percent in 1979 according to Statistics Canada, 1980, p. 70), they also are segregated into a limited number of occupations. From the last census data, it was reported that 63 percent of women in the workforce were confined to just three occupational categories—clerical, sales and service.[1] Women in the paid labor force today earn only about 60 percent of male earnings. This wage gap has remained relatively stable over the past two decades.

The Government of Canada has made a commitment to women to equalize opportunities and ensure progress through changes in legislation, policies, and programs. Toward this goal, special efforts are being made to encourage women to train for occupations traditionally dominated by men. The nontraditional occupations for women, according to Labor Canada, are those that have less than ten percent women workers. Included in this category are construction trades, skilled crafts, technical fields, and professions in science, law, engineering, and medicine. To improve both the educational and occupational equity of women, a variety of programs and intervention strategies are offered. The focus of these efforts is on acquisition of cognitive information, experience with practical skills, and exposure to affective expectations or some combination thereof. To date, there has been little research on the effectiveness of these strategies; recruitment and enrollment in nontraditional programs or jobs remain essentially a self-selection process.

This paper examines the role of postsecondary education in facilitating the development of a nontraditional occupational role orientation for women. Factors impinging upon career development and barriers to labor market participation in nontraditional, nonprofessional occupations are discussed. The results of a research project which examined the impact of four distinct educational programs (three nontraditional, one traditional) in preparing women to enter the labor market are presented. Specific questions for this study were: (1) What are the personal-social barriers to career development?; (2) How do personal-social barriers affect occupational role identity?; and (3) How is career commitment for women in nontraditional programs different from career commitment of women in a traditional oriented program? Conclusions about the effectiveness of each program in facilitating occupational role identification are offered and implications are discussed.

Education, Employment and Identity

The decision to participate in the labor force is influenced by myriad factors: individual preferences, financial need, available opportunities, and household responsibilities. Participation patterns vary with social class, marital status, presence and ages of children, type of community, education and training, and age. A study in the United States estimated that single women without children would work 35 years, and married women with one child could expect to participate in the labor market 25 years.[2] Over half of married women work; 61% of mothers with children under 18 are now working, as are 52% of mothers with pre-school children.[3]

The ways in which the education and training of women affect their labor force behavior are complex. It has been argued that the way women are educated and socialized interacts with the opportunity structures they face both at school and at work to produce outcomes that channel women in traditional directions and preclude the possibility of equity.[4,5,6] The number of years of education and training and the types of education and training can increase employment options. Yet other factors prevail to limit a woman's choice in the job market. Most males are encouraged to pursue different interests from females and to value different achievements. Children themselves know about gender differences by age three and continue to be influenced through the media, education, and other social systems about gender-related roles and norms.[7]

Educational and career choices are also shaped by attitudes—personal, peer, family, and societal. Even when choices are formally open, attitudinal constraints may prevail to segregate women into certain traditional directions. This streaming in turn is significant in shaping interests, competencies, and interactions of women as students. Acquiring the knowledge and skills appropriate for nontraditional careers which would expand career options for women is believed possible through education and training programs. But a nontraditional occupational identity is more than knowledge and skills; it also involves the acquisition of those values, beliefs, attitudes and expectations of the occupational role. This role acquisition occurs through a lifelong socialization process.

Two of the most important factors in career decisions are knowledge of self and knowledge of occupational alternatives. Knowledge of self is derived from clarifying personal and work values. Knowledge of occupational alternatives is gained through exploration and experience. The process by which women become associated with a specific occupation involves career interests, career choices, and career maturity and is labelled "career commitment." This commitment refers to the degree of importance attached to one's career and the willingness to undertake activities which enhance promotion.

It is important that graduates of career preparation programs reflect not only knowledge and skills but also a set of attitudes, expectations, and actual behaviors appropriate to the jobs they are seeking.[8,9] Education and training programs offer knowledge and skill components, but the attitudes, expectations, and behaviors (the effective components) requisite to jobs are often neglected in educational programs. These affective components are associated with success at both school and work.[10] The school-to-work nexus is thus an important bridging mechanism for labor market success.

Despite attempts to eliminate institutional barriers to women entering jobs dominated by males, only a relatively small proportion of female workers are employed in these occupations.[11] A review of the literature on barriers to female educational and occupational equity reveals certain commonalities.[12] They can be grouped under the following headings:

1. low level of support from family/friends
2. low occupational self-concept
3. lack of educational preparation for nontraditional careers
4. low level of role compatibility
5. lack of information about nontraditional careers
6. lack of available role models
7. lack of money to finance training.

These personal-social or attitudinal barriers tend to be covert and subtle; consequently they are more difficult to overcome than institutional barriers.[13,14]

Research studies indicate that barriers to nontraditional career development can be lowered or reduced by reducing external or structural obstacles, by providing a supportive atmosphere for learning, by presenting appropriate role-models (i.e. practicing tradeswomen), by offering assertiveness training, and by providing competent counseling (knowledgeable and sensitive to women in nontraditional vocations).[15,16,17] Helping women to identify, understand, and overcome attitudinal barriers is one means of facilitating their entry into nontraditional careers.

In spite of the emphasis on women's entry into nontraditional career training programs, the response remains low. During 1982-83 women accounted for less than 10 percent of the participants in nontraditional occupational preparation programs in Canada.[18] In British Columbia where the present study was conducted, 8.2 percent of the registered apprentices were female. This percentage is reduced to 3.0 if the large numbers of female hairdressing, barbering and floristry apprentices are removed from the total.[19]

Methodology

In an attempt to understand the career development process of women pursuing nontraditional occupational preparation, four groups of women enrolled in career preparation programs in Vancouver, British Columbia were experimentally tested in 1984 using pre- and post-test instruments. Three groups were involved in nontraditional career training; the fourth group, in a traditional career preparation program, was used as a comparison group. There were approximately fifteen students in each program. Participants came from two postsecondary institutions and were either selected as intact class groups or recruited as volunteers from specific programs. Each of the four career preparation programs used a different approach in offering occupational education and training.

Employment Alternatives for Women (EAW) is a nontraditional career exploratory program designed to provide women with the personal, physical, and mental development deemed necessary for success in either further education and training or nontraditional employment. Four areas are addressed: career decision-making and goal-setting; personal improvement; theoretical knowledge and practical skills; and nontraditional occupational expectation. It is a 16-week classroom and on-the-job experiential program.

Professional Cook Training, Level 1 (CkTrng) is a 20-week classroom approach to occupational preparation as a short order cook. Instruction covers theory and practice of menu planning, food preparation, and kitchen management. Course content is arranged in three segments: classroom theory and skill; practical experience in the school short order kitchen; and industrial training in the community. This program offers a traditional approach to nontraditional occupational preparation—classroom structure combined with laboratory experience.

The Training Access (TRAC) program is a self-paced open entry competency-based technical and trades program. It represents a replacement of the provincial pre-employment and pre-apprenticeship programs (which are the categories for women wishing to improve their job skills in the nontraditional fields). It also represents an alternative approach to teaching occupational knowledge and skills—that of individualized instruction.

Long-term Care Aide (LTC) represents occupational preparation of a traditional nature for women—the health care field. It is 15-weeks of full-time study involving classroom lectures, laboratory practices, and institutional experience. This program prepares women to care for residents in extended care, intermediate care, and personal care settings under the direction of a registered nurse. Because the program represents a classroom approach to a field dominated by women it was chosen as a comparison group.

The groups represent four distinct types of occupational preparation for women. Three (EAW, CkTrng, LTC) are classroom oriented combining theoretical instruction and practical experience; one (TRAC) is individualized. Three stress theory and practice. Only one, the EAW program, specifically addresses the idea of acquiring values, attitudes, expectations and behaviors appropriate to an occupational role identity—those attributes so necessary for job success.

Instrumentation and Findings

For this study six criterion variables were identified from the literature as impinging on a woman's nontraditional career development. These variables were used in testing the pre- and post-test hypotheses that the type of educational intervention received affected occupational role identification. The variables are described below.

Career commitment involves the behavioral and attitudinal aspects of work motivation and work values.
Goal setting is a process by which a person assesses occupational and educational options as a means to personal and career development; involves gaining awareness and knowledge about self and careers.
Personal-social barriers to nontraditional occupations are attitudinal dispositions involving expectations, perceptions, knowledge, and abilities; acquired through socialization.
Role acquisition is assuming the behavioral, attitudinal, and cognitive expectations of a social position.
Role conflict results from conflicting behavioral, attitudinal, or cognitive expectations arising from multiple roles, associated with career achievement and marriage and family interests.
Self-efficacy expectations are behavioral, attitudinal, and cognitive perceptions of one's ability to fulfill a particular role identity;

involves the competence and persistence of acquiring and maintaining that role.

Three instruments were used to collect data: a biographical questionnaire, a Survey of Women's Attitudes about Careers[20] and Nagely's 1970 Scale of Attitudes Toward Career and Career-Related Variables.[21] Career commitment was measured using the Nagely instrument. The remaining variables were measured using the Thomas instrument; personal-social barriers (in Table 1 and discussion) are the summation of the barriers to goal setting, self-efficacy expectations, role acquisition and role conflict. Additionally, interviews were conducted with three women from each program after the completion of their course of study.

The Thomas Attitude Survey questionnaire measured the perceived personal and social barriers for women desiring to enter nontraditional occupations. It contained 53 statements using a Likert scale ranging from strongly agree (5) to strongly disagree (1). A reliability check yielded scores from .73 to .84. The Nagely Scale of Attitudes measured career commitment using a 46 item, seven-point semantic differential technique. Two scales were derived from a factor analysis: Expectations of Career Benefits (measuring social meanings) and Career as a Vehicle for Self-Expression (measuring self-meanings).

The purpose of the interviews was to provide women an opportunity to discuss their career development and any obstacles or barriers encountered along the way. They were asked to account for factors in their career development and in the educational program which had specifically facilitated occupational role identification.

The findings demonstrated that at enrollment the programs were serving a heterogeneous group of women with regard to demographic characteristics but who were homogeneous with respect to the number and/or degree of barriers they perceived to nontraditional occupations. Participants' scores reflected similar gender role socialization experiences and attitudes. And although no consistent patterns were apparent among the groups at program completion regarding the number or degree of barriers perceived, on the average women in the career exploratory program (EAW) made the most progress in addressing psychosocial impediments to nontraditional occupations.

perceived barriers

Table 1 summarizes the results of the pre- to post-test changes by program on five of the variables as measured by mean scores. This table shows that the educational interventions assisted women in

Table 1

Progress Toward Employability for Women
in Traditional and Non-traditional Training Programs

Training Program	Self Eff Expectation (p= 070)	Goal Setting (p= 190)	Role Acqustn (p= 053)	Role Conflict (p= 006)	Barrier Total (p= 006)
Employment Alternatives for Women (n=15)	47	- 01	64	40	38
Cook Training (n=13)	- 43	- 47	- 45	- 04	- 35
Training Access (n=13)	16	22	10	65	28
Long Term Care Aide (n=16)	- 05	- 23	08	18	- 01
Total Progress Against Barriers	06	- 12	12	30	09

Note: All entries denote change in perception of barriers toward women's employability. Positive entries indicate that women see fewer barriers or reduced severity, hence easier access to jobs as a result of the program. Negative entries indicate that barriers are deemed more severe after the program than before. The alpha probability that the programs differ significantly appears at the head of each column.

under-standing and addressing the personal and social barriers to occupations, especially nontraditional occupations, but not all programs were affected identically. EAW enrollees made the most progress in addressing or overcoming perceived barriers from program enrollment to program completion followed by women in TRAC. Women in LTC effectively did not change their perception of barriers to nontraditional occupations. But curiously, women in CkTrng perceived more barriers from the beginning of their program to the completion.

On self-efficacy expectations and role acquisition, those in EAW also showed the greatest gain in occupational socialization. This means they perceived fewer barriers to nontraditional roles and saw themselves as competent and persistent in pursuing nontraditional occupations.

Women in CkTrng reported an increase in obstacles on every one of the variables. Women in TRAC were second only to those in EAW in

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understanding and addressing barriers to occupational role identification, particularly, role conflict problems (+.65).

Women in LTC exhibited the least change on measures of self-efficacy, occupational role acquisition, and total barrier count. They detected more problems in addressing factors affecting goal setting at the completion of the course than at the beginning. On all variables except goal setting their occupational role orientation remained the same; their program made little difference in their occupational orientation.

Combining all scores, EAW was more effective in helping women to understand and overcome barriers to nontraditional occupations. The TRAC program was second most effective in helping students address perceived psychosocial barriers. It appears that although women pursuing nontraditional careers (EAW, CkTrng, TRAC) had internalized norms associated with nontraditional roles, those who had explored various nontraditional career options (including skills, behaviors, attitudes, expectations, and barriers) were more likely to have acquired an occupational identity based on exposure and experience rather than on unrealistic information and expectations.

career commitment

Career attitudes and expectations are the results of a combination of environmental stimuli, educational experiences, references groups and personal characteristics. Table 2 summarizes the mean differences between the pre-test and post-test measures of career commitment as measured by the Nagely instrument. EAW and LTC students perceived a career as providing a greater degree of expected benefits and self expressiveness than did those in CkTrng or TRAC programs.

Both CkTrng and TRAC enrollees perceived few social benefits and self expressions associated with a career commitment. Something during their educational training affected career commitment adversely. In both programs, women interacted with male students and instructors (the other programs had only female students and instructors). Also, the CkTrng program may have been an initial choice for women because of its similarity to female norm socialization of cooking and meal preparation. Once enrolled, women may have become aware of the routine, mundane, and often strenuous aspects of cooking occupations.

Students in a traditional career program for women saw a career as providing few benefits and even fewer opportunities for self expression (.03). Their change scores indicated their program did little to alter their social and self expectations resulting from career identification.

Of the nontraditional groups, women in the EAW program envisioned occupational identification as providing a fairly high degree of expectations and expressiveness. Their change scores indicated they saw their career identification as allowing them to match personal characteristics and career expectations.

Table 2

Change Between Pretest and Posttest Measures of Career Commitment for Nontraditional and Traditional Career Preparation Programs

Program	VARIABLE Expectations of Career Benefits (f=1 860) (p= 148)		Career as Self Expression (f=2.758) (p= 051)	
	$\bar{x}_1-\bar{x}_2$	SD	$\bar{x}_1-\bar{x}_2$	SD
Employment Alternatives for Women (n=15)	19	34	29	46
Cook Training (n=13)	- 35	1 22	- 69	1 29
Training Access (n=13)	- 58	1 36	- 54	1 38
Long Term Care Aide (n=16)	13	93	03	71

Note Entries reflect changes in expectations of career benefits and self-expressions as influencing career commitment Positive entries indicate that women see a greater degree of expectations or expressions from having a career Negative entries indicate that career benefit expectations or self-expressions are reduced as a result of having a career The probability that the programs differ significantly appears at the top of each column

Overall then, psychological and sociological matching of personal characteristics and occupational characteristics appears to be a result of learning and developmental experiences associated with educational settings, societal norms, and career maturity.

general interview findings

Career development is viewed as a process involving career interests, career maturity and career commitment. It includes educational experiences, paid and volunteer work experiences, and personal

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experiences. Career development decision-making depends upon seeking and receiving information relating to occupations, preparation required, and training opportunities. From the woman's experience referred to at the beginning of this paper who wanted a hammer and carpenter's pouch at age seven, to another's experience as a high school volunteer in a hospital, to one's experience refinishing her kitchen cabinets, career interests arise at various ages and for various reasons as reported by women interviewed.

Most interviewees were able to discuss specific plans and processes in which they engaged for their present career preparation. They reported the need for career information and counselling which would enable them to make good choices and commitments. Approximately two-thirds of those interviewed expressed concern about talking to counsellors who were "too busy," "not encouraging," or who offered "inaccurate or incomplete information." This referred to both school counsellors and Canada Employment and Immigration (CEIC) counsellors. For those women receiving CEIC financial support, knowledgeable and sensitive counselling was a crucial factor in their educational and occupational success.

Barriers to occupations involve personal or societal attitudinal, behavioral, or cognitive expectations and perceptions. Barriers experienced by these women concerned the impropriety of certain activities. Experiences reported were: "my parents somewhat concerned about my being different"; "guys in shop class gave me a hassle because I was the only female"; "you don't belong here" (in carpentry shop). Perhaps the attitudinal expectations and perceptions about women's roles can be typified in the statement one young woman received from a male during a nontraditional field placement, "Have you thought about sewing?"

One significant barrier for women is the idea of role conflict: those conflicting behavioral, attitudinal or cognitive expectations arising from multiple roles associated with career achievement and marriage and family interests. As a generalization, this issue yielded the strongest sentiments expressed during the interview—from hostile, to begrudged, to resigned to positive. Representative were: "my mother says how messed up I am and that my brothers don't do this to her"; "my family gave me no support"; "time with my kids became more structured"; "my husband was very supportive."

Women in the EAW identified career exploration as a key socializing factor. Some of the general knowledge, skills, and attitudes they acquired from their program related to goal-setting, decision-making, effective communication, and confidence building. Yet many behavioral, attitudinal, or cognitive expectations which socialize one into an occupation were not learned from labs, lessons, or practicums. They were gleaned from other students, from observations, from other people. For example,

> you may get it (occupational role information) indirectly. This may be due to the trades hierarchy. I'm getting it from other people—how instructors talk about and look at others. There is an image of a stereotype . . . There are expectations and personality types that go along with these trades . . . I've gotten it from older students and people working and from people who have trained. It is a learning process—a developmental growth. Training is a part, apprenticeship a part, employment another.

comparing nontraditional to traditional responses

The preceding discussion relates to general interview findings. When exploring the similarities and differences among the four groups several salient issues emerged. Women enrolled in nontraditional programs reported an early interest in nontraditional activities and had pursued related courses and interests. Women enrolled in the traditional program had only pursued traditional female courses or interests. Only one nontraditional participant reported career interruption because of family interests or conflicts; all three women in the traditional program reported early career interruptions due to family responsibilities.

Concerning goal-setting, nontraditional interviewees reported definite long-term educational or employment goals; traditional women reported short-term employment goals related to the need for a job. Interviewees in the traditional program did not enumerate any barriers impinging from societal or personal perceptions or expectations. Their role orientation had evidently caused no role conflict. Women in nontraditional programs named several barriers associated with personal and societal expectations about role orientations.

Perhaps the area of maximum distinction between the traditionals and nontraditionals concerned perceived competence and persistence of acquiring and maintaining a role identity. Those in the traditional LTC program expressed no concern about abilities to do the job. To a woman, those pursuing nontraditional occupations expressed concerns ranging from apprehension, hesitancy, uncertainty or uneasiness about their competence and motivation throughout various stages of their career development. At the time of the interviews, all expressed confidence about their ability and motivation to carry through their career goals.

Another distinguishing difference was the idea of support and encouragement. Those in the traditional program never mentioned support groups per se. Seven of the nine nontraditionals offered unsolicited comments relating to support and support groups.

When only the three nontraditional programs were examined, several generalizations appear between the EAW program and the other two programs (CkTrng and TRAC). By its very nature EAW offers exploration, confirmation, and certainty. These women wanted more nontraditional role information and to try themselves out in a short program during which they counted on getting more support. Reflective comments included: "Employment Alternatives gave me more options—career and personal"; "it helped me confirm the person I am"; "this course helps women face uncertainty and expectations about trades." CkTrng and TRAC stressed only theory and skills. It was assumed enrollees had resolved any uncertainty about career orientations and were directing their efforts toward instrumental and intrinsic means of matching personal and career interests to labor market possibilities.

EAW exposed students to occupational socialization through a variety of experiences: practicing role models, women-in-trade films, guest speakers, shop tours, and work experiences. CkTrng and TRAC exposed participants to occupational socialization through work experience only (discounting theory and skill content). Interviewees in EAW reported specific factors influencing their school-to-work expectations; CkTrng and TRAC students referred only to occupational socializing factors in general, nebulous terms. It would seem that explicit occupational socialization was an important factor in the transition to a work role.

Implications

It appears that there are three types of females for whom implications of this study are relevant. The first type are those women who have already made a nontraditional career choice and are enrolled in a preparatory program. These women may still need and want confirmation and certainty of their career choice through interaction with others: students, role models, instructors, counsellors. The second type of female for whom there are implications are those who are still exploring nontraditional career options. These women may be in career exploratory programs or not yet registered but may be seeking information regarding options, expectations, and barriers requisite to occupational development. The third type represents those who are yet to be recruited or alerted to nontraditional, nonprofessional careers. This recruitment may occur through educational activities, women's offices (resource centers, counselling offices, government agencies) or through employment and social services offices. Women in this category are usually in various stages of career and personal awareness and have ventured beyond the home or current work environment to examine their lives in a broader or different perspective.

For these categories of women, there are specific policy, institutional, and professional implications. The two senior levels of government—federal and provincial—have a responsibility for funding and policy interventions. In Canada at the present there are both federal and provincial initiatives which emphasize nontraditional career and nontraditional career preparation programs for females. But occupational and educational equity are impossible without adequate funding, which is as yet unavailable. Institutions have a responsibility to support and maintain services which assist women interested in nontraditional careers. To this end there could be a women's office and/or women's program at each postsecondary institution; services now vary from institution to institution. Those professionals and practitioners working with these women have a responsibility to be informed and enlightened about women's issues and governmental and institutional policies which affect the women.

The implications for adult education research involve the paucity of research of women's nontraditional, nonprofessional career development. Considering the embryonic state of knowledge concerning these women, the most appropriate suggestion is to develop and test a theory which would explain occupational socialization for women. Theoretical research should build upon the identified psychosocial correlates of career development within formal learning environments. Empirical research should focus on instrument precision to establish construct validity. More qualitative data could be gathered. And future research should continue to build on the data bank of demographic, personality, and environmental factors influencing nontraditional, nonprofessional occupational role identification and career commitment.

Policy development and implementation which facilitates and fosters occupational socialization for these women could be examined more closely for effectiveness, e.g., recruitment, selection, and placement policies. Also, the curricula of most occupational preparation programs could be expanded to include greater attention to the affective aspects of occupational socialization. This has implications for instructional and support staff who may need or want information regarding female career development.

These implications seem to suggest that these concerns go beyond the simple provision of educational intervention aimed at preparing women for entry into nontraditional occupations. What remains to be seen are the types or approaches and levels of intensity of occupational socialization efforts which can effectively and efficiently respond to the special needs of women pursuing and preparing for nontraditional careers.

Summary

Occupational socialization concerns the rights and duties associated with a particular position in society as expressed in behavioral, attitudinal, or cognitive expectations. Occupational expectations thus relate to competence, performance, and values. An understanding of the cognitive and psychomotor factors of occupations can be easily assessed. The development of affective socialization—how one acquires the attitudes, values, and beliefs of an occupational role identity—is not so readily assessed. Socialization is a lifelong process, and career development is but one part of a continuing process of learning occupational norms, expectations, and behaviors.

Government decisions regarding subsidies and policies influence the decisions of individuals, of educational institutions, and of employers—and hence affect both the supply of educated and trained labor and the demand for its services. Students in postsecondary career preparation programs may have already acquired (or be in the process of acquiring) the requisite behaviors, skills, and attitudes through prior self-selection and socialization. But for those who are uncertain of their competence or unaware of occupational options and expectations—especially of a nontraditional nature—the appropriate intervention strategies may lie in career exploratory programs which address the affective components of occupational role identification.

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Perspectives

ADULT EDUCATION WITHIN THE NETWORK OF SCIENTIFIC DISCIPLINES: A ROUNDABOUT WAY TOWARD A PARADIGM OF ADULT EDUCATION

Wilhelm Mader
University of Bremen

I

In his Edward Douglas White Lecture on citizenship and education for freedom, at Louisiana State University in 1941, Robert Hutchins spoke of the "rabbit theory of education."[1] He quoted a 'Mr. Butler of Columbia' thus: "Any infant is encouraged to roam about an enclosed field, nibbling here and there at whatever root or flower or weed may, for the moment, attract his attention or tempt his appetite . . . Those who call this type of school-work progressive reveal themselves as afloat on a sea of inexperience without chart or compass or even rudder." Hutchins adds: "Obviously we should not look to rudderless rabbits to lead us through the mazes of the modern world."

Does adult education have a compass or a rudder to direct our investigations with the universities? Is our association with the different scientific discipline utterly random? Do we behave like rabbits nibbling here and there at whatever academic flowers attract our attention?

The declaration on citizenship and adult learning of the Canadian Association for Adult Education envisages "a learning society led by learning adults."[2] If learning adults are to lead through the mazes of the modern world, it should be evident that the research done on adult education within the intricate network of scientific disciplines at universities would be facilitated if its leading principles, or paradigm (to use the fashionable but practical term of Thomas Kuhn[3]) were clarified. To this end I will start with some historical remarks.

II

Every highly developed society today tends to establish its important roles and functions by professional training and academic career patterns; every important and powerful profession extends its professionalization process into the universities and the realm of science. The first European universities started with a school for lawyers (Bologna in the 13th century) and developed into universities which included faculties of theologians, lawyers and doctors. Centuries later the natural sciences were added to this mix. Social science is an even later child of the 19th century. Teacher training came to require a professional university training after World War II. Professionalizaton and the move to make a science of each area of study are twins in modern societies. Even a well-informed academic is unable to know and distinguish the host of new-born scientific disciplines: their subjects, their methods, their practical orientations, their findings. Among these disciplines—which create not only research, theories, and bodies of knowledge, but also career patterns and certification requirements—adult education is a baby. What is more, this infant is not a child of the scientific disciplines but was born of the practice of adult education and its importance in modern society.

One cannot say that adult education is a loved or recognized child within the scientific world. No wonder its scholars and students are often confronted with the slightly confused question: "What are you studying—adult education? What's that? What is it for?" Often the answer is a roundabout explanation which doesn't convince the questioner. Indeed, there is some confusion about the position and function of adult education within established scientific disciplines. In addition, there are open questions concerning the relationships of adult education as a field of social practice and adult education as a scientific discipline.

Although adult education is established at many universities with training programs and chairs, the legitimation and reputation of adult education seem unsatisfactory. Even colleagues at the same university, working in the very same institute, may hold completely different, sometimes contradictory, ideas about adult education and its function within the university. Metaphorically speaking: is adult education caught in the web of other disciplines as an easy prey, or is adult education becoming a part of the scientific network itself? With the intention of elaborating on these questions, I will discuss the German development of adult education and its professionalization process as an academic career.

III

Although adult education in Germany may look back on a rich and complex history over 200 years (its roots are to be found in the Enlightenment), it was not until 1969 that adult education became part of the university program. Although it might be boring from a Canadian or American point of view, I would like to outline the circumstances surrounding this development.

In Germany in the sixties, the traditional and venerable pedagogy changed into a science of education *(Erziehungswissenschaft).* The former 'art of education' was transformed into a scientific discipline. Education then received its own, and separate, university programs. Students could study the science of education within an eight-semester program leading to the title of ***Diplom Pädagoge***. If they so desired, they could step into a doctoral program to achieve the ***Dr. päd*** or ***Dr.*** *phil.* At the same time, adult education was established as one main focus of this new education program. That was the way our discipline was given birth: as one focus in the science of education. Chairs of adult education were funded and established, an adult education curriculum was created, a new population of students grew up (mostly students who had already finished a previous vocational training program), a small scientific community of adult educators built up, new journals and publications dealt with adult education, and so on and so forth. All these consequences and circumstances emerged from the **political** decision to create adult education as a university program. It is very important to realize that this happened as a result of general social developments and political decisions. It did not result from an inner differentiation of the established disciplines, which looked upon it a brat.

Hence, it is reasonable to examine the social and political background of these developments and decisions. I will emphasize two factors. After World War II, a deep-rooted and widespread belief took hold: that societal and political planning and decision-making have to be based on scientific research and analysis. Scientists became the indispensable counsellors of politicians. The rationality of science became the paradigm of politics, society, and economics. Scientific rationality, knowledge and methods, and social and political progress were not contradictions. Science was the **means** of progress and the route to a fuller understanding of humanity. Not only did this belief (or should I say myth?) concern the natural sciences and technologies; it also held sway in the realms of the fantasies of education, communication, and learning. This mentality is epitomized by the term, *homo faber*—man the maker. It has been a world-wide phenomenon. The second factor is peculiar to Germany. Since the beginning of organized and institutionalized adult education in the early 19th century, a bewildering set of institutions and programs has come into being. In a euphemistic manner this complex has been called a "pluralistic system." That means: adult education is a playground of unions, churches, political parties, companies, associations, etc. A contradictory variety of interests, world views, and practices have ruled the field.

In the late sixties this pluralist system was partially transformed into a public educational system by controlling and domesticating the plurality. Of course, this was accomplished by money and laws. Nearly every Land of the Federal German Republic launched a special law to promote adult education. Qualification criteria for adult educators were established. Certain programs got money, other programs got no money or less money. Adult education organizations had to fulfill certain criteria of planning and programming if they wanted access to diverse promotional programs. No wonder that the bulk of adult education institutions tried to satisfy these criteria.

I will not continue outlining the consequences, since the only purpose of this description is to identify the historical point at which adult education was forced to join the scientific world and define its relationship to other well-established disciplines at universities. Although there were laws and promoting programs, there was no elaborate body of knowledge of adult education which could help to create and generate subjects and theories and research. The funny thing that happened was that an academic program was established which had to create its scientific foundation **after** its birth.

So, what happened next? In Germany two models (or ways for adult education to become scientific) were realized. The advantages and disadvantages of these different ways of coping with the fact of an established discipline which lacked an elaborate body of knowledge may be of interest to a Canadian adult educator. The first model I would call the umbrella model; it is established at most German universities. The second model I would call the network model; it is in place at the University of Bremen.

IV

the umbrella model

As mentioned above, adult education found a place under the roof of pedagogy, or the science of education. Adult education could furnish

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its own room under this roof, but it had to adopt the style of the place. Pedagogy was a well-established discipline; everyone knew it. All teachers had to study it as part of their professional training. Its historical and institutional context was defined. It belonged to the tradition of *Geisteswissenschaft*. In being subsumed under the modern form of pedagogy, adult education could be understood as a mere differentiation of this old and well-known discipline. It could take over the traditional themes of pedagogy, modifying them to the peculiarities of its own field. That fitted into the political assumption that adult education should be analogous to the school system. Like pedagogy, it could use other disciplines as quarries. Especially psychology and sociology were mined for blocks of knowledge (for example, learning theories or development theories already supporting educational psychology). The results were of greater interest than the methods. Such disciplines gained the status of assistant disciplines which served up the contents for studies in adult education. One result was that the autonomy of adult education became the autonomy of using findings from other disciplines without producing contents of its own. Obviously, some really important problems and peculiarities of adult education did not receive sufficient attention within this model. Problems like working with special target groups (e.g. the unemployed), or teaching in non-age-graded classes, or learning on completely different levels of competence (e.g. illiteracy plus political autonomy in one person) did not get adequate attention.

This umbrella model tends to neutralize the political and societal realities and implications of adult education. The second model, which I call the network model, attempts to escape these disadvantages.

the network model

This model tries to knit a new fabric, drawing threads from different disciplines within the net of science. It holds that the conditions of adult education are quite different from those of public schools, colleges, or even universities. It assumes that adult education needs its own paradigm in order to create its own body of knowledge. And it asserts that the range of disciplines cooperating with adult education should be broadened. It is moving toward a new form of the science of adult education; it has a vision. The reality works this way.. Scholars from different disciplines—psychology, sociology, economics, political science, history, philosophy, education—who were experienced in various practice fields of adult education were brought together in the late seventies. These scholars brought experience of adult education in the unions and in the so-called *Volkshochschulen* (evening classes). Their main focuses included vocational, political, and cultural adult education. Every scholar was expected to keep up the tension between his or her discipline and his or her practice field while teaching and researching. They comprised a team of twelve professors. In the course of time, a curriculum and study program were born from their controversial discussions. The basic and shared philosophy of these professors can be outlined as follows:

1. Since the Enlightenment, adult education has been deeply intertwined with **democracy**. There is a fundamental interdependence between political culture and the education of adults. The cultural and educational standards of adults (knowledge, values, world views, etc.) determine—at long last—the public educational systems, from schools to universities. This is quite different from, say, a feudalistic or dictatorial system where the ruler or dictator determines the educational patterns.

The old and famous phrase of Wilhelm Liebknecht, "Knowledge is Power and Power is Knowledge" (it was 1872 when Liebknecht gave his famous speech to workers of Saxony) was a **political** program but became also a leading program of adult education. It expresses the interdependence of education and political culture.

This philosophy assumes that it is dangerous for a society to restrict adult education to an agency which imparts knowledge. Rather, adult education seems to be the melting pot of democracy, overseen by the people themselves. In adult education knowledge, values, fantasies, behaviors, and the processes of thought are assimilated in the *sensus communis* (common sense of the people). And without such a common sense there is no democracy. The German (untranslatable) word ***Bildung*** expresses this aspect of the basic philosophy behind adult education.

2. Adult education is regarded as an important economic factor. The standard of education among adults, the quality, speed, and flexibility of continuing and recurrent education throughout one's life often determine not only the private income of an adult but also the profitability of a company and even the economic productivity of a society. There is a growing link between adult education and a manpower approach. Modern communication technologies will empower education—but probably education in a very restricted and narrow sense. Therefore, it is absolutely essential to link the economic dimension of adult education with its political, democratic dimension because the antagonism between a democratic culture on the one hand and technical and economic progress on the other hand becomes increasingly dangerous. It is not self-evident that technical and economic progress promotes democratic structures.

3. The 'sovereign' of adult education is any individual adult; education is an individualized process. Although one can (and should) organize adult education for certain target groups, or sub-cultures or ages, the real education process lies in the work and the achievement of an individual, of one person with an intricate background, emotions, history, life perspective, and autonomy. The rules and subjects of adult education therefore cannot be set in an abstract way as if the learning person were only a recipient of something. Adult education has to take into account the **biographical** situation of the learning adult. Hence, it depends on its ability to analyse social and biographical situations (as periods and episodes) and to transform these conditions into learning situations and processes. Socialized subjectivity is the starting and finishing point of adult education.

V

Regarding just these three points from a basic philosophy of adult education, it is obviously impossible to build up an adult education program by simply adding together some plausible parts and findings from different disciplines and calling the result a new discipline. Practitioners will discover useful additions on their own without the direction of students or scholars. Those academics who have the advantage of being able to view the whole field of adult education have a responsibility beyond that of patching together course work. Given the three philosophical dimensions of democracy, economic, and biography, scholars of adult education might begin to weave a paradigm (in Kuhn's sense) for the field from these threads.

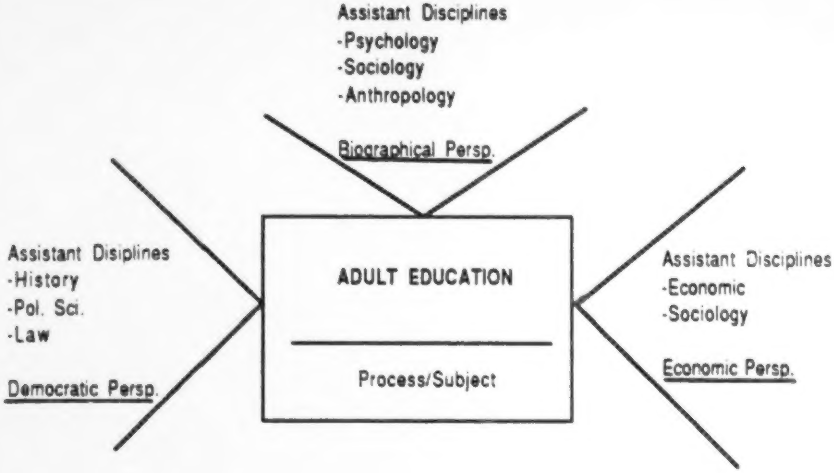
I would design it this way:

Education of adults (process, subjects, conditions) is that which has to be explained: the topic.

Democracy, economics and biography are the **perspectives** (the question marks of looking glasses which precede paradigms from which may arise questions, theories, methods) to look at adult education.

Scientific disciplines are the **tools** to qualify the perspectives (not to provide findings) into a real paradigm.

A diagram may illustrate this vision.


Assistant Disciplines
-Psychology
-Sociology
-Anthropology
Biographical Persp.
Assistant Disiplines
-History
-Pol. Sci.
-Law
Democratic Persp.
ADULT EDUCATION
Process/Subject
Assistant Disciplines
-Economic
-Sociology
Economic Persp.

It is not possible to fully elaborate here on this scheme, but I will suggest some short examples arising from the biographical perspective to illustrate how the paradigm might be created.

> The learning process of an artist depends on age, life-experience, self-constructs, sex, social strata, etc.
>
> Normally, scientific disciplines such as the social sciences would transform these factors into variables and then isolate them in order to find correlations. The results of most empirical research are well-tested correlations of a very few, separate variables. These findings are not useless. They are true within the definition of this method.
>
> But all these aspects, called variables, are inseparate in a concrete adult. The learning adult is an **identity** of age, sex, social strata, self-construct, history, life perspective, etc. It is impossible to isolate identity as one variable among others.
>
> Identity epitomizes the whole impact of the biography. Because adult educators have to work with adults, the central point of this work should entail a biographical perspective. A biographical perspective is an approach to identity (which itself is only realized by philosophizing about it on a

> metatheoretical level). However, it remains quite feasible to take a biographical perspective on education. The 'assistant disciplines' can lend support to this approach with their life-course psychology, or life-span theories, or cohort-analysis.
>
> The crucial point is that knowledge taken from other disciplines must first be transformed into such a biographical perspective before it is useful for understanding and analyzing the real education of adults. The essential question is to find out how to mediate the processes and subjects of adult education through a biographical approach—how to see the artist as the integrated person he or she is.

I do not deny the difficulties in such a 'joint venture' method of establishing a paradigm of adult education. It takes many years of co-operation. But what is the alternative? If we do not generate a real paradigm of adult education or if we reject trying to do so, it does not make sense to insist on, say, a research institute of adult education or a Department of Adult Education or a study program of adult education. Without our own paradigm, it would be better to distribute scholars and students among other departments. In my own University of Bremen, we are confronted with everyday problems which hinder the realization of such a project, but everybody is convinced of the necessity to keep trying.

Real interdisciplinary research and teaching is time-consuming, highly communication-oriented, less method-bound, and more problem-solving. Who is willing to spend many years in such a project? There is a big seduction to withdraw into the known and safe harbour of one's basic discipline. In addition, when working out the political dimension (the democratic perspective), the political stances and opinions of every scholar and student influence the co–operation. With regard to this principle of democracy: are we able to work together with colleagues of opposite political camps and avoid useless factions? Or do we hold—against reality—that scientific work does not have a political dimension? Withdrawal into the safer field of an original discipline sometimes gives shelter, but it produces a neutralized understanding of adult education which does not meet the real conditions of adult education practice.

Another aspect we have had to struggle with is that the scientific reputation of a scholar normally functions within the traditional field of a discipline and its accompanying scientific community. When researching and publishing, a scholar cannot neglect this fact. In Bremen, we do not have solutions as yet, but we have learned that these kinds of problems and questions do not arise for those who work under the umbrella model. Our model, the network model, forces us to clarify if a paradigm of adult education is desirable and possible. We remain convinced that there will be no reasonable adult education at universities without a distinguishable, discussible paradigm which generates research questions, provides methods and identifies perspectives of interpretation. Lacking this we are superfluous as a somewhat autonomous body within the universities. The rabbit theory of education—scholars nibbling here and there on whatever attracts our attention—does not work.

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FOREIGN LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION FOR ADULTS: A PROGRESSIVE TEACHING METHOD

Pavel Hartl and Helena Cisarova
The Charles University, Prague

Introduction

There are important differences between language instruction for children and adults.[1,2,3,4,5] While drill is usually a basic tool in foreign language teaching for children and youths, and frequently brings good results, the price is high. Many children fall out of love with studying languages, and on leaving the classroom they stop further learning. Passing time then destroys their hard-earned knowledge. This is important because the ability to learn does not decline so much with age as with the length of the period of the break in learning.[6,7]

One of the most important problems in learning languages, for adults, is that the teaching method and communicated content hardly ever mirror the variety of individual interests and everyday life problems.[8] The same situation is known from the history of psychological IQ tests in the first part of the century. Tests for children, i.e., the Simon-Binet test, or the Wechsler-Bellevue, were presented to adults; the adults failed to score well because the sub-tests did not mirror their life problems and situations.[9]

Adults have more individual differences than children, and a huge variety of likings and interests and special ways of reasoning and thinking.[10,11] All of this has to be respected in adult language teaching. The literature suggests that ability to learn is affected by: the adult's talent; his or her previous experience with learning; the educational level; the interval between the previous and present learning; the intelligence; and his or her present state of health.[12,13,14] Many adults have serious emotional barriers: feelings of anxiety in classroom situations; a fear of failing and losing social prestige; a dislike for competing. These facts strongly reduce the motivation of adults to learn. (Another, incidental, implication is that it is next to impossible to publish a textbook for adults that is universally appropriate.)

Reasons for Language Learning, and Implications

There are two principal sets of reasons for which an adult person usually decides to learn a foreign language. The first arises out of professional, or even existential, necessity, or from deep intrinsic absorption in a subject. In these cases, the learner's motivation is very strong. There are known to be extreme cases of this phenomenon in war time: people whose knowing or not knowing of a language was a question of survival or death were able to learn a foreign language in a very short period.[15]

The second set of reasons includes the wish to be understood in a foreign country, or an inclination toward a foreign culture and a wish to understand it better, or simply a wish to fill one's leisure time fruitfully. In all these cases, the motivation tends to be short-term. We are interested in the second group, that is, in people who have chosen language learning as a leisure pursuit, without a deep commitment generated either extrinsically or intrinsically.

Two Approaches to Language Instruction

We were interested in comparing the traditional language teaching methods with what we will call a progressive group instruction method. The traditional method is characterized by an emphasis on the use of paper - pen - textbook - blackboard, and tends to concentrate on a good knowledge of spelling and grammar. This is the approach that has been used for many years in English language instruction in the Prague Center of Culture.

Our alternative group instruction has the following features:

(i) The integration into the teaching/learning process of many ways of obtaining *feedback* between learners and between teachers and learners. Normally, and in many traditional teaching settings, an adult rarely gets feedback at the effective level. Cooper[16] suggests that to gain new information about one's behavior, attitudes, appearance, personal qualities, in a controlled but supportive teaching and learning atmosphere, is beneficial for adult learning. Our own previous experience[17] has indicated that the better people in a teaching group know each other, and the more positive information they have about themselves, the more intimate and supportive the atmosphere becomes in a class. A teaching group created by isolated adults is hardly ever suitable for successful learning. High levels of anxiety, and fear of losing prestige, result in self-defensive mechanisms such as ironic joking directed at the instructor and teacher. In sociometric terms, one-way relationships are typically found among participants in such groups. In other words, it is important to get at the feelings of the learners, i.e. affective learning.

(ii) Adults are interested in more than just memorizing new vocabulary and grammar, so this approach involves a broader cultural involvement, alongside insight into interpersonal relationships. In other words, the *socio-cultural aspect* of the learning is important.

(iii) This approach takes language learning in a natural way from the *concrete to abstract* thinking. In this approach, this is illustrated by the introduction of "I" as the first foreign word, then "You", and then phrases such as "I like", "I have", "I love", "I am", and their negative constructions. It is also illustrated in the way that verbs are introduced in the context of, and connected to, personal interests and emotional preferences of the participants.

In other words, the emphasis in this approach is to evoke a deep intrinsic motivation among the learners.

Testing the Group Instruction Method

The authors, one as psychologist and the other an expert in pedagogy and English language teaching, wished to put these principles to the test over a reasonably long period. They were able to form three groups of learners, one to be taught by the traditional methods, and two others by the alternative group instruction method. There were 14 to 15 adults in each group, between the ages of 19 and 42, of both sexes, and from various professions and occupations including university students and graduate and manual workers.

The group instruction approach included the following features:

Place - classes were held in localities such as clubrooms, a park, on the street, in a museum, a garden, on the riverbank, in the port, on a railway siding. Participants were seated either in a circle or in some appropriately informal way.

Process - each lesson started with a warm-up game involving grammar constructions and vocabulary. Similar games were introduced during the course of the session, some of which

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were adapted from games and role-playing exercises developed during the T-group movement. As has been noted above, the early part of the course introduced very simple verbs that are used frequently and that have a strong emotional value, such as "like" and "love" and their opposites. These were built up by linking with nouns and adjectives and with the different tenses as time went on. Participants were required to bring personal objects around which a new vocabulary was built and whole stories created by the participants themselves. In other words, grammar, idiom and vocabulary were built on practical exercises which came out of the interest of the students.

The lessons were evaluated by the students themselves. They provided a combination of symbols comprising hearts and thunderbolts, which expressed their reaction to the teaching and provided feedback to the teacher. Finally, each participant created his or her own textbook during the course, and these were periodically corrected by the teacher.

The sessions included more traditional processes such as formal explanations of grammar idiom and vocabulary, and at the end of each lesson a short dictation which was corrected at the following sessions by the teacher. The most frequent mistakes became the subject of instruction at the following sessions.

Some General Findings

The comparison of the two approaches appeared to confirm the efficacy of the group instruction approach and the principles of that approach which are set out above. Judgement was arrived at not on a quantitative basis, but in terms of the following indicators:

- absence and late arrivals were recorded in all the groups, and were significantly fewer in the two "progressive" groups than in the "traditional" group.

- with regard to the intentions of the participants to continue their learning, all but one participant in the two "progressive" groups gave positive responses, one stating that he was not yet sure what he would do. From the "traditional" group, one-third of the participants did not finish the course and of the remainder another third had not decided, by the end of the sessions, that they would continue.

- in terms of the richness of vocabulary, far better results were observed in the "progressive" groups than in the "traditional" group.
- the ability to engage in prompt and varying patterns of conversation was found to be higher in the "progressive" groups.
- the ability to write correctly was found to be about the same level in all groups.
- the participants in the "traditional" group were better at using and explaining grammar.
- in the two "progressive" groups, there were practically no complaints about the difficulties of memorization, whereas in the "traditional" group, this was frequently cited as a problem.

It is recognized that the attitude and commitment of the teacher in each teaching/learning situation is an important factor. In these three groups the teacher was the same, i.e., the second author, who is an English language teacher.

Conclusion

This experiment was conducted over a period of a year. Its findings as indicated above appear to support the principles of adult teaching and learning that have been cited. They appear to indicate the value of further research into non-traditional methods of teaching English as a second language. The importance of this field is one which justifies such study. From a broader perspective, it has been pointed out by Ananjev[18] that success in learning is in itself beneficial, since it slows down the process of growing old and helps to keep an adult in good all-round condition.

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FOREIGN LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION FOR ADULTS--A CANADIAN PERSPECTIVE

Mary E. Murray
University of New Brunswick

The Progressive Group Teaching Method described by Hartl and Cisarova is both relevant and timely for consideration within the Canadian context. As one who has worked almost exclusively with adult language learners for the past eleven years, I strongly support the intent of such a method for several reasons.

An environmental setting in language instruction tailors the course to the adult more than do many current directions in language teaching. To paraphrase Anthony Gregoire in his keynote address to the 1985 TESOL International Convention: *all too often we use bad judgement in insisting upon one approach. When buying a suit, we alter the suit to fit the individual; educationally, we tend to try to alter the individual to fit the suit.* As the distance increases between "formal" schooling and a subsequent return to the classroom, individuality becomes more defined in terms of the work world. The familiarity/comfort of the classroom recedes quickly into the background/past; re-entry into the world of "formal" schooling becomes threatening/intimidating. An approach like the Progressive Group Teaching Method might ease the adult more gently back into the "school" ambiance—which so many fear. In adult language learning, gentleness of approach is of primary importance; for many people, the language being attempted is, in itself, intimidating.

A further point on the importance of a "user friendly" approach in language learning is of particular relevance for the Canadian context. With Canadian students, the fear of loss of identity often works to inhibit the language learning. (These observations are from the perspective of one facilitating the acquisition of English.) If the learning occurs within the culture of the language being learned, the benefit of using the environment is maximized. By attending classes in different "environmental" classrooms (without walls), learners are able to observe and identify differences in culture. In recognizing the differences, individuals are often able to feel their own identities with more confidence. Incorporating the environment/culture into the learning process may enable the culture to become a tool for self-definition for the learner; as confidence is gained in the situation, so inhibitions to language learning are lowered. In my experience, upon completion of a language course, students have frequently described just this process.

The dearth of language text material designed exclusively for adult use is familiar to anyone working with adult learners. Much available material is juvenile/condescending to the adult learner, often leaving him/her feeling insulted, bored or uninterested in seemingly irrelevant content. In utilizing the environment, participants are presented with relevant, challenging stimuli, enabling learning to proceed from a posture of interest.

The structure of the relationship between teacher and student is another positive aspect of the Progressive Group Teaching Method. The teacher seems often a facilitator, rather than a teacher/lecturer. Development is often directed by the learners--the learning becomes active. This method would surely appeal to adults, who are actively engaged in directing their own, personal daily routines.

The inclusion of a socio-cultural component in Canadian second language courses has been promoted by the Federal Government Second Language Bursary Program for the past two decades. Excursions into the local environment/culture are a required part of any course affiliated within the Bursary Program. With the Progressive Group Teaching Method, excursions take on a different dimension. To consider the environment as classroom seems to be an intelligent and adult use of the socio-cultural milieu. Many possibilities exist for integrating aspects of the suggested methodology into a traditional classroom approach.

The method, as described, surely leaves many questions unanswered. Insufficient information is given to determine facts concerning variations of proficiency and how these are addressed. Language learners do not read, speak, and/or comprehend on an even level—a fact which has implications in assessing any approach.

The apprenticeship of teachers for such an approach is another consideration. Spontaneity, creativity, and flexibility would surely be requisites; a step-by-step handbook might be, at least, inadequate/misleading. In the process of having students become the catalysts for curriculum development, teachers would need keenly-developed linguistic intuition. In sharing the control of curriculum with the students, a teacher would need experience in making the most of a situation—of drawing the linguistic potential out of events as they happen.

Despite the lack of scientific/scholarly perspective, this article merits serious consideration in planning curriculum for adult second language learners. The Progressive Group Teaching Method considers the special needs created by the time period between "formal" education and further study; it addresses the enhanced motivation problem which **greatly** affects adult language learning. Those adults tending to be more intrinsically motivated, may respond with greater commitment when they see that their interests/needs are influencing both the class environment and the subject matter.

Within the last few years, the term "realia" has crept into the jargon of language learning. "Bringing the real world into the classroom" has been found by many teachers to be a successful tool. How much more effective for adults to have as the classroom "the real world"--their world, the world in which they function on a day-to-day basis.

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Book Reviews/Recensions

ADULT EDUCATION AND THE WORKING CLASS: EDUCATION FOR THE MISSING MILLIONS

K. Ward and R. Taylor (eds.). 1986. Radical Forum on Adult Education Series. London: Croom Helm.

There is much food for thought in this book. With the development of large scale unemployment in Britain and elsewhere, more and more people are again asking just what help education can give to the adult unemployed. There seems also to have been an intensification of guilt feelings in some quarters about the failure of the traditional forms of adult education to reach large sections of the working class, however defined. With this has come a growing consciousness that more effort should be put into the development of education specifically designed to assist women, ethnic minorities and that growing proportion of the population who are retired. The 'missing millions' of the sub-title to this book reflect these concerns and the authors argue with some force their case for a fresh approach, using their own three year experiment as a basic case study.

Work with the unemployed is the predominant issue in the book and a good number of vital questions are quickly brought to the surface. Can adult education really help the unemployed? Anyone in contact with unemployed people knows very well that what most of them want is first and foremost a job, and that this is the way in which any educational offering will be weighed up. Educational provision for the unemployed is moreover conditioned by assumptions made about the nature of unemployment. One view is that unemployment is just a temporary phenomenon which will go away as soon as conditions have improved, as soon as the world economic (market?) forces have settled down and adjustments made to allow for the use of new methods of production and new types of organization. Once the unemployed have developed the required new skills, it is said, they will be employed again, and the three, four of five million unemployed in Britain (figures depend on methods of counting) have just to live through a period of retraining.

Much of the current strategy and provision for the unemployed in Britain reflects this view. It can be seen especially in the training/retraining provision made by the central government through the Manpower Services Commission which stresses the technical and organizational explanations for unemployment, and partly in the Department of Education and Science funded scheme known as REPLAN which tries in a variety of ways to improve the educational opportunities available to unemployed adults. This whole approach, however, is open to challenge, as Ward and Taylor clearly argue. Unemployment, thanks to technological change and perhaps particularly the development of micro-processes, may well become a permanent feature in modern society. Any new jobs which are created are more likely to be filled by some of the new generation than by the long-term unemployed who are already with us in increasing numbers. Perhaps we should be thinking more of a society in which the machine will become the workhorse, leaving human beings free to develop the kind of 'leisure society' hitherto available only to some of the rich. This, however, would require a considerable shift in public attitudes and opinions, not least among the unemployed, implying as it does a move away from the well established 'Puritan work ethic' familiar on both sides of the Atlantic. It also raises many questions about the nature of society and about the effects of the present inequalities between people.

If jobs may never become available in the traditional sense and if therefore there seems little point in helping people to acquire new job skills, what can education offer? Based in a university department well grounded in the liberal tradition of adult education, the authors tend to think in terms of providing opportunities through which the unemployed can develop their own abilities as well as a greater sense of purpose, and thus become better able to cope with the new type of society. Coping, and living more satisfactory lives, however, mean different things to different people. There is indeed some danger of over generalization in much of the thinking about education and unemployment. Too often all the unemployed are lumped together and the heterogeneity is ignored; unemployment may occur at all levels of society from the unskilled worker to the high executive and at all ages from the young school leaver to the near retired. And people, of course, have differing responsibilities. The position, too, may be compounded by double or treble disadvantages as when people are working class *and* unemployed, female or black. Different needs suggest a variety of offerings. Perhaps, though, the vital need is for a new approach which challenges many traditional assumptions. How should such provision be organized? Who decides the curriculum? What type of provider is likely to meet with success? What exactly should be the role, if any, of central or local government? Or of the universities? In any case how to you measure 'success'?

The value of this book is that it both raises, and attempts to answer, this kind of question. Up to date we have not had a thorough going macro-study of unemployment and adult education but in recent years there has been an increasing number of case studies and reports of experiments, published in Britain by bodies such as the Educational Centers Association, the Workers' Educational Association, REPLAN and the National Institute of Adult Continuing Education. In a sense this book, too, is a report of a particular experience, but it attempts also to focus on wide issues. One of its major themes is said to be that 'for education to meet the needs of working-class people, its form and content have to develop and be negotiated in a diversity of ways with the different constituents of the working class' (p. 118).

The 'Pioneer Work' section of the Department of Adult and Continuing Education in the University of Leeds thus went out to clubs, community centers, tenants' associations, neighborhood groups and any relevant voluntary organizations it could find. Rightly it was felt that the provision for the working class in the past has been very limited, "restricted largely to either leisure/recreational areas . . . or to day release courses for predominantly white male trade unionists." Instead its central concern was to be with 'community based' programs designed to develop adult education for the whole working class through intensive field work, networking and general pooling of resources.

With this central, if not altogether new, approach, most of the book is concerned with descriptions of the work carried out in the cities of Bradford and Leeds in West Yorkshire. Before this, however, there are two chapters which set the scene and raise the wider issues. The first analyzes what is seen as the chronic inequality in all sectors of British society, inequality which is political, economic and educational, and inequality which is felt likely to grow under the present regime. Among other examples, attention is drawn to the growing challenge to comprehensive type schools and to the effect of financial restrictions in shifting the emphasis of British university adult educational provision away from working-class liberal adult education towards professional 'continuing' education.

Few indeed would want to challenge the comment that there has been 'a marked discrepancy between practical vocation (job-centered) education for the mass and the cultural liberal education for the elite.' Chapter 2 is also a critical analysis, this time of the educational responses made to unemployment both in the 1930's and the 1980's. If there is no matching job provision, what indeed is the point of training

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programs, or of special funding as at present given for example to basic education and to 'second chance' education?

The next five chapters are concerned with the particular experience of the 'Pioneer Work' activity in the years 1982-85. Chapter 3 examines the overall structure and objectives and raises the question of the rationale for university involvement, while Chapter 4, in a series of case studies, offers a careful analysis of the work undertaken. Both draw attention to the problems to be faced by this kind of work and provide not just an account of successes but also a self-critical examination of failures. Chapter 5 is concerned with the work developed with trade unions, particularly in the TUC 'Unemployed Workers Centers', Chapter 6 describes the courses designed specifically for women, and Chapter 7 those for working-class retired people.

Anyone concerned with the provision of education for the unemployed will find these chapters enlightening. They bring out clearly the fact that there are few immediate solutions to the dilemmas created by even limited success. If enthusiastic expectations are aroused how can one satisfy them? How can one develop a curriculum which goes beyond the limits of an initial short course? And how indeed is the active adult educator working in this way to be distinguished from a community activist? If the provision is cost free to participants—a marked feature of all the 'Pioneer Work' activity—how can you hope to continue this approach under a government which tends to look with disfavor on the provision of state funds for education? Another question which emerges is whether we have given enough thought to the feelings and perceptions which many adults, perhaps particularly those in the working class, have about education.

The book concludes with a brief set of 'Reflections on Research', evaluation being regarded as an essential part of this university experiment, and with Chapter 9 which both reviews the whole of the work undertaken and discusses its significance, not just in the immediate area but in terms of general adult educational provision. The authors consider particularly the way in which this three year experiment departs significantly from earlier university traditions in adult education, arguing that 'Pioneer Work' has had a different interpretation of working-class education, a redefinition of the 'social purpose' dynamic, and many innovative, educational processes. All of which is stimulating as indeed are the recommendations for the future with which the chapter ends. University staff will note with particular interest, the Department's justification for the enterprise as 'action-research' in contrast to the authors who gave much more value to the effect on the unemployed who took part.

Just as much of 'Pioneer Work' was viewed as a pump-priming exercise which could then be handed over to other agencies, so the account of this relatively small experiment provides an analytical base on which can be built reflections and policies to be considered by all. Of course the book may be challenged as being too detailed and meticulous, and as assuming too great knowledge of the British scene—and of British acronyms—but it is worth following through not only as a good account of a particular way of working but also as a source of fresh ideas. It has, alas, the usual unattractive format of the Croom Helm series, and a too minimal index, but it can be strongly recommended for purchase even at what some may feel to be an exorbitant price.

Derek Legge
University of Manchester

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PHILOSOPHY OF LIFELONG EDUCATION

Kenneth Wain. 1987. London: Croom Helm.

Philosophy of Lifelong Education (PLE) offers a philosophical examination of lifelong education (L.E.) both as a concept and as an educational program. In popular discourse, the word 'philosophy' is frequently misused—it is often equated with one's view of perspective whether or not one's view has any philosophical import or foundation. Although Wain is dealing with "an applied field", *PLE* is not simply an account of what the author believes about L.E.

PLE clarifies the meaning of 'lifelong education', examines critically the different existing trends within L.E. theory (some of the authors referred to include E. Faure, R.H. Dave, P. Lengrand and Ettore Gelpi), argues that L.E. lacks a coherent program (i.e., "a right philosophical expression for the theory" (ii)), searches for an internally coherent program and one that is "empirically relevant because it responds adequately to the pressure and demands of historical context" (30). This quest provides a rather thorough survey of humanism (Plato, Aristotle, the Stoics, Rousseau, Marx, Huxley and Paul Kurtz), existentialism (Kierkegaard and Van Cleve Morris), liberal philosophy of education (M. Oakshott, R.S. Peters, A. O'Hear and J.P. White) and pragmatism (Dewey).

Although this survey is both explanatory and critical, it is mostly a critique of the first three philosophical positions under investigation. None of these three positions, Wain argues, provide the adequate philosophical expression for the educational theory of L.E.: (a) the theories held by "humanists" about humanism indicate "little agreement about how it can present itself as a coherent programme . . ." (98); (b) while admitting the "positive insights" (128) of existentialism, Wain thinks that existentialism is "incompatible with the very having of an educational programme, lifelong or of any other description" (127) and it leads to a kind of "subjectivism unacceptable to the outlook of the lifelong education movement" (129); (c) liberal philosophy of education is criticized on holding conservative and formal views about education; even J.P. White's revised position[1] is not seen as being compatible with the L.E. program. The only way to save this position, according to Wain, is by introducing "radical modifications" (160) which "entail the very abandonment of the current liberal education programme" (160).

Pragmatism, as expressed in the work of Dewey, is ultimately deemed by Wain as the best choice given that it is "actually consistent with the movement's lifelong education programme, because it alone is compatible with the conceptualizing of a 'learning society' within it. A humanism which emphasizes a tradition of 'tragic guilt', as Suchodoloski's does, or radical individual responsibility, as Lengrand's does, or a universal human 'community', as Kirpal's and others do, cannot be the focus of such a society" (197).

The concluding chapter of *PLE* clarifies the concept 'learning society'. Wain argues that a 'learning society' as a community is both morally acceptable and provides the formal embodiment of the L.E. program. Wain's rationale for this is that it "satisfies the tension between the ideal of 'self-realization' and the demands of socialization" (207) without being restricted to either radical individualism or radical collectivism.

Wain's project, then, falls within both the "public" and "professional" dimensions of philosophy of education as characterized by Jonas F. Soltis.[2] For Wain's endeavor is both programmatic—it aims at influencing educational practices by providing value-laden prescriptions expressed in coherent and comprehensive statements—and applies the philosophical rigor (of clarifying concepts, identifying contradictions, detecting inconsistencies, flushing out assumptions of ideological positions, and providing arguments and justification) or conceptual and normative educational concerns. In this sense, Wain's general approach provides a very laudable example of how one could make progress in applied philosophy.

Notwithstanding my positive comments, I do have some serious reservations with parts of the elaborate but clear thesis defended in this book. I will identify two main parts (I and II) of this thesis and then raise some questions.

Part I

Wain rejects the analytic philosophy of education approach which dominated the field of philosophy of education in the 60s, 70s and early 80s. According to Wain, it claims to be "value-neutral" and neglects the historical-contextual considerations. This approach, Wain contends, leads to "a liberal philosophy of education" which tends to restrict education to schooling. Thus, such an approach confuses L.E. with either lifelong upbringing or an "extension of school and university learning into adult life" (139), and "renders . . . 'self-education' a self-contradictory one . . . " (140). Moreover, a liberal philosophy of education, according to Wain, rests on what Rorty calls the foundationalist project in philosophy. This "casts philosophy into the role of guardian of culture . . ." (9) and puts it in "a privileged position to adjucate between the different knowledge claims that constitute culture . . ." (9).

Part II

Wain claims to be working within the paradigm offered by Pragmatism and Philosophical Hermenutics. He also attempts to defend "the 'relativistic' consequences of hermenutic philosophy . . . [which] rejects the possibility of an objective commensuration between different programmes, between different knowledge-claims, [and] which rejects the traditional fact-value distinction" (12). This is a central point in Wain's thesis. For, according to Wain, one of the main reasons Dewey's pragmatism is compatible with the pragmatic L.E. program (in contrast to the utopic trend, as exemplified in Faure's work) is precisely Dewey's notion of growth and his refutation of static ideals. A defense of relativism, then, becomes crucial to Wain's philosophy of L.E. proposed in this book.

Criticism of I

There are different stages in the development of analytic philosophy of education. Representatives of the more recent mode of this approach—moderate analytic philosophers of education—do not defend neutrality. They also take contextual considerations into account. I have argued at length that the recent criticism of analytic philosophy of education is outdated since it focuses on a trend in analytic philosophy of education which no longer exists.[3] Analytic philosophers of education have reflected on the early analytical work, realized certain mistakes and broadened their approach to analysis. Moreover, the recent analytic approach does not necessarily adhere to all of the tenets of the liberal philosophy of education program as identified by Wain. Although some proponents of the analytic approach have tended to defend a narrow concept of the education person, this approach is not necessarily incompatible with the openness required by the L.E. program, nor does it necessarily lead to a defense of the *status quo*. Wain writes: "it is evident that education for a fixed and static order accommodates the *status quo* better than one that encourages an experimental outlook, that concentrates on the dynamic aspects of life . . ." (181-2).

And the liberal philosophy of education approach is characterized as one that strives for objectivity. While I do not want to discourage "an experimental outlook" in education, one needs to point out that Wain's claim is *not* necessarily the case. One should recall the example of Plato who proposed an ideal educational program which aimed at fixed and static forms but which, given the *context*, actually would have disrupted the *status quo* if it were to have been implemented. A similar point can be made with regard to R. S. Peters' vision of an educated person: if Peters were to be taken seriously some things in schools would have to be altered *radically*. (This remark should not be taken as a defense of Peters' notion of an educated person.)

Criticism of II

One of Wain's reasons for defending "the hermeneutical form of inquiry" is that it allows an "openness to the world" and encourages "the ideal attitude of tolerance of the other . . . [which] opens the way for the 'fusing' of other horizons with one's own" (20). Moreover, it seriously takes into account the historical context. One needs to question, however, whether (i) these qualities are unique to the kind of inquiry defended by Wain and (ii) these qualities necessarily lead to the kind of relativism embedded in philosophical hermeneutics. William Hare, for example, a moderate analytical philosopher of education who has argued for the ideal of open-mindedness, warns us that this ideal does not lead to relativism or subjectivism.[4] In fact, Hare argues quite convincingly that the attitude of open-mindedness is *not* incompatible with the notion of objectivity. Harvey Siegel has made a similar point with regard to the notion of critical thinking.[5] Moreover, it is important to indicate that moral tolerance ought not to be confused with relativism; neither is it the case that contextualism necessarily amounts to a defense of relativism. As J. F. Soltis and K. A. Strike conclude: "We can be objective without being certain, and we can be tolerant and open to other points of view without being relativists."—a view which Wain, unfortunately, does not consider.[6]

Wain's defense of relativism includes an attempt to reject the common critique of the paradox or contradiction of relativism. It seems to me that he fails to do this. According to Wain, the defining premise of *all* forms of relativism is the following: "*All* our judgments about the world are made from a cultural view point" (15, my emphasis). Is this statement--a publicly pronounced one--made from *a* cultural standpoint? Wain's reply, to be consistent, has to be in the affirmative. But then how can one claim that this statement applies to *all* cases?

Wain is correct in holding that the relativist's defining premise does not preclude the possibility of their being several beliefs, values, and dispositions that "*happen* to be held cross-culturally" (17, my emphasis). But this does not save relativism from the critique of the paradox or contradiction of relativism. I should add that I am not denying the fact that people hold different views because of their cultural context. What I am claiming, as Mary Warnock puts it, is: "If we really believed that any moral [and non-moral] view was as good and worthy to be adopted as any other, then we would of course make no moral [and non-moral] judgements at all" (7). But in fact we do!

In conclusion, *PLE* is a well-organized book, and in general the argument flows very well. The book ought to be very useful as an initial reading for a graduate seminar in the foundations of lifelong education. In this respect, it is unfortunate that the book lacks a chapter on the various shades of Marxism and L.E. (At the end of the chapter on L.E. and Liberal Philosophy of education, Wain rather hastily concludes that the Marxist position does not deserve a separate chapter "because there are no fundamental differences between Marxists and liberals over the technical definition of education" (158).) Some might even complain about the omission of D. Vandenberg and Maxine Greene in the discussion on Existentialism, as well as the omission of Van Cleve Morris' criticism of Experimentalism in the chapter on Dewey. Notwithstanding these omissions, the book ought to generate very productive discussions and further inquiry into the foundations of a lifelong education program.

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John P. Portelli
Mount Saint Vincent University

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Graduate Degrees in Canada—Adult Education and Cognate Subjects

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This is a supplementary list of major papers completed in 1986, which were not received in time for publication in Vol. I, No. 2, 1987.

Volume II, No. 2 will publish the list for 1987.

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

Doctor of Philosophy

D.E. Chapman	An interpretive study of the circumstances of married, mature-age, undergraduate university students (Supervisor, A.G. Konrad)

UNIVERSITE DE MONTREAL

Mémoires de maitrises (M.A.)

S. Mbonabucya	La formation des administrateurs des coopératives du Rwanda (Directeur, C. Touchette)
C. Robillard	Mesure du degré de connaissance du programme d'études en éducation physique chez un groupe d'enseignants (Directeur, C. Touchette)
M. Sauriol	Une approche éducative pour les immigrants adultes ayant des difficultés d'apprentissage dur francais (Directrice, G. Painchaud)

Thèsess (Ph.D.)

A. Douquette	Obstacles à l'éducation des adultes: Motifs de non-perfectionnement des infirmières due Québec (Directrice, G. Painchaud)

ST. FRANCIS XAVIER UNIVERSITY

Master of Education

K.J. Logan	Facilitating a career development program for clerical workers (Supervisor, M. Gillen)
R.C. Owens-McLeod	The human relations role of evaluators: A conceptual framework (Supervisor, J. Dobson)
R. Reid	A self-directed learning experience in the field of adult literacy (Supervisor, W. Sinnett
J.R. Skaling	A model for assessment of needs in a training program (Supervisor, J. Dobson)

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Submissions address: Dr. Catharine Warren, Faculty of Continuing Education, The University of Calgary, 2500 University Drive N.W., Calgary, Alberta, T2N 1N4

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Table of Contents/Table des Matières

Articles

Learning to Name Our Learning Processes
Virginia R. Griffin 1

Réaction des Femmes à une Perspective d'effort Intellectuel pour Effectuer un Apprentissage
Louise Patoine et Colette Dufresne-Tassé 17

Learning and Philosophy of Mind
Mark Selman 28

Perspectives

Prospects of Folk High Schools in European Countries
Eero Pantzar 43

Prospects of Folk High Schools: A Canadian Perspective
Jindra Kulich 53

Book Reviews/Recensions

Critical Pedagogy & Cultural Power
D. W. Livingstone, ed.
Reviewed by Michael Law 56

Women and Education: A Canadian Perspective
Jane Gaskell and Arlene McLaren, eds.
Reviewed by Bonnie McEachern 61

Graduate Degrees in Canada—Adult Education and Cognate Subjects/Diplôme d'Etudes supérieures au Canada—Education des adultes et sujets cognitifs 63

The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education/
la Revue canadienne pour l'étude de l'éducation des adultes
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Articles

LEARNING TO NAME OUR LEARNING PROCESSES

Virginia R. Griffin
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education

Abstract

What it is like to be an adult learner is suggested in this article as a basic area of inquiry in which teachers of adults should always be engaged, but not alone. What it is like to be a learner is transposed to the question of what learning processes the learner is experiencing. Adult learners have as much at stake in the exploration or inquiry as the teacher; they also are essential partners in the search for understanding, identification, and clarification. Ways to help learners to become co-inquirers, to name their own learning processes, are explored. A rich body of research dealing with learning processes, or what it its like to be an adult learner, is identified. The theoretical and practice ideas presented in the article are the result of ten years of experiential learning and reflection, studying theory and research, and supervising qualitative research projects.

Résumé

Cet article suggère que l'examen de ce que c'est que d'être un apprenant adulte devrait être un domaine de recherche dans lequel les éducateurs d'adultes ainsi que d'autres intervenants devraient toujours être engagés. Ce que c'est que d'être un apprenant adulte peut se traduire par la question quels sont les processus d'apprentissage chez l'apprenant. Celui-ci, tout comme l'enseignant, a intérêt à ce que cette question soit explorée; tous deux sont des partenaires essentiels dans leur démarche de compréhension, d'identification et de clarification. Des moyens pouvant aider les apprenants à devenir co-chercheurs et à identifier leurs propres processus d'apprentissage sont explorés. Un riche éventail de recherches traitant des processus d'apprentissage, ou de ce que c'est que d'être un apprenant adulte, est identifié. Les idées théoriques et pratiques émises dans cet article sont le fruit d'une décennie d'études et de réflexion expérientielle, d'analyses théorique et pratique, et de direction de projets de recherche de type qualitatif.

Recently the CBC broadcast a program with the subject "What It's Like to Raise a Child." The next week the subject was "What It's Like to Be a Child." Very insightful programming! It suggests that to be effective as parents, it is useful to be sensitive to what it is like to be child.

Anyone who is a teacher of adults has probably asked, "What is it like to teach an adult learner?" The point of this article is to suggest we should also be asking, "What is it like to be an adult learner?" If we ask that question and learn from the answers we get, will we become more effective teachers? Will our learners find their learning more exciting and rewarding?

The intent in this article is to argue that it is important that we and our learners learn to name our learning processes, to describe alternative approaches to naming our learning processes, and to point out some of the difficulties in doing so. Some examples of research projects that have been done in this area are listed, and further research that is needed is identified.

I have spent the last ten years wrestling with these issues. In addition to indicating how I have gone about learning what adult learners are like through my teaching over those years, I briefly mention examples of research that students in our program at OISE have done to try to find answers to the question of what it is like to be an adult learner.

My answers to the questions about the impact of such inquiry on a teacher's effectiveness are subjective and based on my own experience as a façilitator in a graduate program, and on my resulting belief system. Readers who teach in non-university systems may also find the ideas relevant, since at a basic level, all learners share some common feelings and struggles.

Effectiveness in Teaching

The most obvious answer to the question of whether understanding what it is like to be an adult learner increases the teacher's effectiveness is that anything which makes the learner a more effective and powerful learner increases the effectiveness of the teacher! And a teacher can best help learners be more effective and powerful learners by understanding what it is like to be an adult learner and following through with behavior which grows out of that understanding. Being able to understand the perspective of the adult learner, and to see the world as he/she sees it is central to a learner centered approach.[1] And whatever one's educational philosophy, certainly this understanding is essential to implementing the old adult education maxim of "start where the learner is."

The important point in this argument is that for the teacher to understand what it is like to be an adult learner, he/she must ask the particular learners in a class or group at the moment. A generalized answer is helpful, but the particular answer for each learner is most crucial. Many students in a class may tell us a given exercise was very helpful or even inspiring. The more quiet ones may have failed to see the relevance of the exercise for them or their work. The ones who say absolutely nothing may be deeply disturbed by the activity. The teacher needs to know what is happening.

The teacher in this situation may think, "What is new about this? I know to ask learners for feedback about how a particular exercise affected them." And I agree. Feedback of the kind suggested in the above situation is important, and is one way to find out some of what it is like to be an adult learner. But there is more learners can tell us; and more they can learn to tell us if we find ways to help them learn how, and if we listen carefully.

I am suggesting that learners find it empowering to be asked what they are experiencing (many have never been asked this by a teacher). And they find it even more empowering to develop the awareness and ability to say with ordinary words what they are experiencing. Another example will be useful here. Boyd and Fales[2] report interviews they did with learners who were known to be highly reflective learners. Their studies were about how learners reflect. People with whom Boyd and Fales talked initially couldn't tell them how they did it. It was such a natural process to them that they had not put into words what they did when reflecting. After talking with the researchers about their experience, the learners found they *could* describe their processes. Moreover, they felt a surge of new energy as a result, and they felt empowered as learners once they were able to describe or name their processes.

Learning Processes

Although the word "process" is a commonly used one in adult education, the concept of learning processes, as the inner happenings of a learner, is not widely recognized or used. What do we think of when we are asked to describe what it is like to be an adult learner? If we keep a learning journal of our own experiences of learning, what do we write about? Judging from the learners' journals I have seen, I think most people write about the events or activities in which they are engaged, and the learning that results. These are important to note in a learning journal but they are not what I mean by learning processes. Other kinds of entries in a journal might include problems we are having in learning, solutions we are finding to help us learn more effectively and the people with whom we are interacting: who is helpful, who is not, and why. Learners often record not only what they have learned about the subject being studied, but also what they are learning about themselves as they engage in these activities and as they reflect about those experiences as they write. Not to be overlooked is the meaning the learning of content or the self-awareness has for the learner. These kinds of journals approach very closely what I mean by learning processes. What is relevant here in these records is **not** the events and activities and **not** the subject-related learnings, except that these provide the context for exploring what is happening within the learner at a different level. What is relevant are the processes such as those hinted at above: **reflecting** on activities; **identifying** what has been learned; **deciding** with whom to interact and for what purpose; **developing** ways to interact with other learners; **deepening** a self-awareness; **finding** personal meaning in the learning; **learning** from emotional reactions; and **diagnosing** and **solving** learning problems. Thelma Barer-Stein presented a more intricate set of learning processes in the first issue of this Journal.[3]

Now that some learning processes have been suggested, one can look more closely at what a learning process is. (1) It is what is happening, denoting action. (2) The action is something that happens within the learner. It cannot be seen by the outside observer. (3) Processes being experienced by a learner are influenced by the state of the learner and his/her past experience, as well as by the activities in the learning setting or classroom. The implication of this statement is that no two learners in the same classroom, doing the same activity, will be experiencing the same process. (4) It is something that happens over time; it is not a quick once-and-done event. It is a dynamic happening that flows with a life history of its own. Heider has called this process a vibratory pattern.[4] I would modify his idea to "a process is a vibratory patterning."

A patterning is, in my usage here, an act of finding that seemingly disparate experiences fit together in some kind of relationship that has meaning to the learner.

Approaches to Identifying Processes

Over the years, I have used several different approaches to identifying learning processes that learners might be experiencing (see figure 1). My first approach was to make a list of learning processes I thought learners might find in their experience. I developed this list from a variety of sources. I based it partly on theory I found relevant to my style of teaching or to the philosophy I was trying to implement. I based it partly on my awareness of my own learning. Another source was my recollection of things learners had told me of their struggles, thoughts, emotions, and joys: whatever discussions with previous students had revealed to me. Another source was research on learning, most of which was done from the perspective of the researcher and was limited to the frameworks known before the study was done.

A different approach to research, and one that is growing more common, is that done from the perspective of the learner.[5] In these studies, the researchers start with no framework, except their own biases which they are obliged to reveal as fully as they can to the reader. They then attempt to find how learners understand their experiences and processes. They may add none or a lot of their own interpretation in the analysis of the data from learners, but once again they tell the reader how they reached their conclusions. I have supervised many dissertations of this type, and at first, used them to expand my list of likely processes. Until recently, I was troubled by the fact that the researchers wanted desperately to start their research free of a framework (not because they didn't know of a framework they could use, but because they believed in letting the makings of a framework emerge from the learner). However, then they proceeded to develop a framework for other researchers or learners to use. I now see these studies as very useful for many learners because they open up the possibilities of what learning processes can be and give the next learners a vocabulary with which they can think and reflect. These next learners then can also reject what the researcher has reported as being different from their own experience. Using these research reports in a "sharing of stories" way, rather than in a "prescriptive" way led to the second approach.

A second approach to identifying processes, which is very different from the first, is to encourage the learners to name their own processes. Learners are not accustomed to doing this, nor do they have any training in doing so. They often find it very helpful to read the "stories" of other learners, particularly if the stories are about experiences they have just had, but are having difficulty finding the words to describe those experiences. I have often had learners tell me that they have found a term paper written by another student who was previously in the class they presently are taking to be very useful because it helps them know that another person has had the same difficulty as they and found a solution. Students who are experiencing perspective transformations (Mezirow first introduced this term to adult education)[6] as part of their learning sometimes do not know what is happening to them until they read another person's story of what it was like for him or her. And then they say, "Oh! there is a name for what I'm going through. Other people have felt the confusion I have. I'm not the only one! I felt very lonely and lost until I read ___'s paper." These stories sometimes appear in term papers (I make copies of term papers available for other students to read only with the author's permission) or in a thesis. Many of the theses I will list later are rich with stories of learners' experiences. Academic books, autobiographies, or novels are sometimes sources of learners' stories and words to describe their experiences.

In qualitative theses the researcher often uses a lot of interpretation of the data to lift the data to a higher level of abstraction; yet direct quotes from the learners are presented so that the reader can judge the fairness and honesty of the interpretations given by the researcher. These interpretations are often useful to the readers so that they do not have to sort through a morass of detail, but contain enough of the detail to get the flavor of the learner's experience.

Another source that learners use in identifying the processes they are experiencing is their previous training. For example, those who have been well trained in group process will often see their own learning processes only in terms of group process. Those who have been exposed to a strongly cognitive psychology background will see their learning processes in terms of cognitive processes and will be blind to other processes. The only way we can interpret our worlds is in terms of ideas that are familiar to us but sometimes we limit ourselves to the concepts we have been taught as the only legitimate ones. We have to find other concepts that we can consider legitimate. This is the task of learning to name our learning processes.

The final approach to the learners' identification of their own individual processes is what I have called an enlightened awareness of self. It is this approach to which I wish to give attention in this article because it is in this approach that the teacher or facilitator has a crucial influence in effecting learning how to learn. (Learning how to learn is a concept growing in importance because of the work of Smith.)[7,8]

I summarize these approaches in the following chart before moving on to further discussion of this final approach and to the issues involved in helping learners learn how to name the learning processes they are experiencing.

Approaches to Identifying Learning Processes

1. **Teacher develops list of likely processes**
    a. from theory or philosophy or teaching style
    b. from own experience in learning
    c. from recollections of discussions with previous learners
    d. from research
        i. from researcher's perspective
        ii. from learner's perspective

2. **Learners develop own names for processes being experienced**
    a. from "stories" from other learners
    b. from researcher interpretations in qualitative studies
    c. from own background, past experiences
    d. from enlightened awareness of self

Figure 1. Summary of approaches to identifying learning processes.

Enlightened Self-Awareness

Since learners are unaccustomed to thinking in terms of their own learning processes, teachers or facilitators find it essential to help them develop their awareness of learning processes and of self-as-learner. One technique which I have already mentioned, which is useful for this purpose and which is non-threatening to learners, is the keeping of a **learning journal**. A second technique, also non-threatening, is for learners to join a mutually acceptable **learning partnership.**[9] In a trusting relationship, the two or three partners can help each other reflect and find words to describe their experiences by talking with each other about them. The insights gained in this safe environment can then be taken to the larger learning environment.

Reflection time in classes is a good time for students with diverse backgrounds and experiences to discover the variety of ways their colleagues are experiencing the class and naming the processes they are experiencing. The teacher can help in this ambiguous task by serving as a **role model** of this way of thinking: revealing the learning processes he/she is experiencing as well. Learners tend to fall back on the safest thing they know to discuss: their emotional reactions to what has been happening in class. The teacher may need to help them translate this kind of discussion to the level of learning processes. The **translation process** is difficult for me as a teacher. It is made more palatable if the emotional reactions are accepted since they are real and need to be dealt with before anything else can be discussed. They then provide a great opportunity for reflecting on how emotions, both negative and positive, can be used to aid in learning. This then opens the opportunity to reflect on the fact that we tend to think of our learning processes in terms of our previous training and experience. Learners can then in smaller groups help each other examine the relevance of this observation to them and can **challenge each other, in a supportive way, to go beyond that past training and experience while still valuing it.**

Stressing the importance of **learning how to learn** is crucial. Giving learners the time to reflect individually and to discuss in the class group the question of how these reflection periods are helping them learn how to learn will help learners at all levels of self-awareness develop an expanding understanding and comfort with the idea of learning processes.

Many adult learners come to learning settings with the socialized belief that they will be called on to use only their rational minds or intellect. My experience has been that when the expectation that they will use more of themselves in learning is explained, they are greatly relieved, even if a bit frightened of this strange new world that says, "You can use **all of your learning capabilities**: your emotions; your physical responses; your subconscious mind; your intuition; other altered states of consciousness; your relationships with friends and partners; and your spiritual capability as well as your rational mind.[10] They need to be assured that they use all of these capabilities in everyday life, and that they can use them equally well in an adult education class. I find that these assurances, and assistance in planning how to use these capabilities, plus guided experiences in doing so, energize learners, and free them to begin naming their learning processes. One reason this happens is that they are given free reign to name these processes because there is not yet a prescribed list of processes that one should expect to experience in these areas. This surge of energy comes, I think, from what Hunt calls being your own best theorist, by starting with your own experience.[11]

In a recent class, I was searching for a way to enable learners to think about and talk with the class group about the most important process each had experienced in the course. I settled on the idea of asking them to think of a **metaphor** that would represent this process to them. They were meeting in my home and were free to use anything in sight as a possible trigger for identifying a metaphor. I was quite impressed with the richness of metaphors and ideas that they shared with each other. I have found these metaphors appearing in term papers, a qualifying research paper, and in my own thinking since. Even three months later, I can remember the metaphor each person discussed and the processes these metaphors represented. And my memory of class conversations is normally not that reliable! Metaphors have the quality of making ideas memorable as well as communicating significant meanings succinctly. Although the metaphors were focussed on concrete objects (an outdoor thermometer, a large plastic butterfly, a bougainvillea plant, the view out of my study window, etc.) the ideas associated with them were dynamic and "vibratory."

Teachers or Learners to Name the Processes?

When I first started working with the concept of learning processes, I felt it was my responsibility to name or to list the processes I thought learners would experience in my classes. I felt this was my responsibility because obviously no one else would know what I meant by the term and I had to create examples through my lists. I knew not everyone would experience the same thing, given a particular activity, but yet I used several of the processes from my list as a way of explaining at each class session what I had hoped would happen when I planned the agenda for that session.

The lists I created were based on solid ground: things previous individual learners had told me about their struggles and reactions to course events, class discussions and feedback, and findings from dissertation research I had supervised in the late '70s.

My thinking has evolved over the years through several stages, and I am now at the point of believing, as a result of continued work with learners, that it is more productive for the **learners to name the processes** they are experiencing or have experienced in a course than it was for me to name what I thought they would be experiencing.[12] I have set aside using the lists with which I started although they are available for learners who wish to study them. As a teacher I have responsibilities in helping learners learn how to name their processes, but I believe that the learners, left free to name their own learning processes, are more empowered by the ability to do so and by the results than they would be if trying to recognize in their experience something that I have named, using my words and my views of reality.

This observation has taken on greater force for me as a result of a learning journal I have been keeping of my efforts to learn to buy and to use a personal computer and the meaning of it for me. This is to be a starting point for a larger research project using a heuristic approach.[13] In connection with this project I have been reading a book by Sherry Turkle, *The second self: Computers and the human spirit.*[14] She reports the finding of three stages of learning in becoming part of the computer culture and how those stages are played out when the learner starts at different ages. It is a fascinating book and I recognize "her" stages in my own learning. However, I think there are additional stages and meanings in my own learning, and I would have felt "robbed" of some important insights if I had accepted only her results and had not bothered to keep my own journal and do my own analysis of my processes. Hence, I have another example of **learning from the inside out** instead of its opposite, **from the outside in.**[15] I, like Hunt, am still advocating reading research done by others. Turkle's work is very affirming to me in that it tells me I am on the right track and that I can move ahead with confidence in describing my own processes, and furthermore, it is worth my while to do so.

Resistance Issues

Resistance issues relevant to learners naming their own learning processes include: naming versus labelling; valuing differences versus orderliness or sameness; inside out approach versus expert outsider; and naming versus experiencing. I will discuss each of these issues before listing examples of research that have been done, and discussing research that is needed.

As in the argument about all dichotomies, the question is: Will our approach be "either-or" or "both-and?" My philosophical position is that the "either-or" arguments crystallize the differences more dramatically; searching for the "both-and" resolution is more productive and creative. I shall try to start with one and end with the other.

naming versus labelling

Labelling persons usually means describing some characteristic of them that tends to "put them in a box" from which it is difficult to escape. The ongoing and intentional changes of the person are thus not easily acknowledged or recognized. People who are defensive about being labelled also tend to resist naming, without thinking of the difference. Their resistance is a useful reminder to us that the naming of processes should also be allowed to be a changing phenomenon. An experience that is named in one way at one time can well be understood differently later and the interpretation reconstructed as the person grows and develops. This form of freedom to change is to be granted to others if we wish to use it freely in ourselves.

valuing difference versus orderliness or sameness

Standing alone and saying, "I did not experience it that way, but experienced it differently," is risky to many learners. The tendency among learners is to feel, "There must be something wrong with me; I must be dumb that I didn't see what everyone else saw!" For many, there is comfort in sameness.

Teaching would be much easier if every learner we met experienced the same process from a given classroom activity; that orderliness would allow things to move along more quickly and smoothly. It would also be boring!

Valuing differences, on the other hand, not only allows but encourages each person to experience things differently. Discussions of these differences often lead learners to reconsider their position and to change. If the change is genuine, and just not following someone else because of dependence on them or being influenced by their power or other attractiveness, the changes are to be valued, and can be the start of significant learning and new self-awareness. Learners in my classes often report that they had had no idea that people could see things so differently; this is an enormous revelation to them. If they have been teachers, I wonder how they have been able to keep these differences submerged in their classes so that they have not been aware of differences among learners. I also wonder why their learners have been so polite and docile that they have not been capable of surfacing their different points of view. These comments grow out of my assumption that differences are present not because the teacher has done something wrong, but because the teacher is doing a lot of things right! And these differences are not to be labelled "conflict" but sources of information from which learning can result if the differences are valued.

How can there be a "both-and" resolution of this dichotomy? The easiest answer is that we can make it "O.K." for learners to express sameness at one time and to express differences at another time. Important learning can come from either, whichever is genuine for the learner.

inside out approach versus expert outsider

Some learners like to be told at the beginning what the teacher thinks they are likely to experience, or to read what other learners who preceded them experienced. Other learners do not want this information ahead of having the experience. It does not have as much meaning until after they have had the experience. Being told what will happen to them robs them of the elation of discovery. This is just one form of the inside out versus expert outsider issue. It is an issue of **when** the learner wants to read relevant literature about learners' processes. Another issue is **whether** they want to read about the experience of others. I am willing to give a learner freedom to choose **when** they want to read about others, but I think those who choose not to tap this source of information are cheating themselves of important insights and inspiration for their self-understanding.

A critical factor in this issue is that the material made available for reading should be about the experience of others and not prescriptions of what somebody thinks learners **should** experience. We all resist being told what we should experience or feel. Those who write material based on qualitative research with one, ten, or two hundred people must be careful not to convey a prescriptive stance as though there were only one reality.[16] Those who write about the learning process in adult education are immediately suspect to me, as are those who say true learning is "X" (one thing). I immediately begin a mental argument of, "What about 'Y' and 'Z'?" A subtle difference in wording can convey a **freedom to be** to the learner or a **prescription to be like me or as I want you to be**. (At this point I went back over this article to check my wording and to be sure I had not conveyed an attitude of prescriptiveness.) It is difficult not be prescriptive when we feel strongly about something. We need to remember more change occurs in learners if they feel free to make up their own minds; resistances are immediately raised when we are told we should do something. At least this is true for those of us who like to operate on the inside-out principle.

The "both-and" resolution of this issue is captured in expecting people to read outsiders' reports as well as to name their own processes, using whatever is meaningful in their reading; but making certain that the material they have available to read is written in a sharing, not prescriptive way.

naming versus experiencing

A way of expressing this issue is the question of whether the need to name the processes being experienced gets in the way, or hinders "going with the flow" of experience. I do not know the answer to this question but I suspect that the timing of naming of processes is crucial here. Naming something too early can block its full development and potential or the full understanding of it. Not naming it at all lets it evaporate into the ether, unlikely to be recalled at a later time when it would be useful.

It is usual to have a reflection period at the end of each class session. These periods are very useful to get feedback about the session, but I am usually disappointed by the lack of ability of most students to name fully the processes they are experiencing. I have, too, often decided I have failed to make the concept clear to them. I am now developing the hunch that the timing immediately after one session in a series of sessions in the learning events is not the most useful for naming processes. We usually have far more productive discussions about learning processes at the final session of the course. And I know there are some students who take a year or more to come to some understanding of their processes and the meaning of the course to them. This is an area that has not yet been researched but should be. Students doing research through interviews with other students in classes interviewed the students once a week between class sessions and got much data but they were not asking students to name their processes; the interviewers gathered raw information and then took months to make sense of it and to interpret it in terms of processes experienced by the learners. I have always assumed it takes a long time to analyze qualitative data but only now have I seen the similarity with a learner taking time to make sense of his/her own experience. I remember so clearly the students who have come to me for guidance in writing their term papers at the end of a course. Several have been in a dilemma of not knowing how to write about their experience of the process of transformation because the transformation they were going through was not yet complete. The same kind of dilemma, presented by unfinished processes, exists for some, when students are asked to name their processes at the end of class sessions. I know in my journal-keeping about my learning, I am unable to see the pattern of a process until I have completed the process and have reflected back on the whole. This is especially true of transformations or transitions in meaning perspective.

An example would be that it is easy to identify relational learning, that is, the help from other people. But any generalizations about the whole pattern of what kind of help was useful and when will have to wait until the completion of the learning project. A patterning of relational learning would include such elements as, "Support was useful when I was exploring, but I needed critical evaluation as the project drew to a close."

It would therefore seem that some kinds of processes can be identified after a short time of experiencing but other kinds can only be identified much later. I try to make it clear to learners that they likely will have the same reaction and should not be discouraged when the processes they can name early on are not the full story. I also try a mixture of timing patterns for reflections on learning processes. I hope that a year from now I will have clearer insights on this issue after experimenting, careful observation, and discussion with my students. This is the best "both-and" resolution I can express at this point.

Research on Learning Processes

To give the reader some idea of the theses completed in our department that have dealt with the question of what it is like to be an adult learner, I will give a short list of examples. Many of these are ones I have been involved with, either as supervisor or committee member. The categories after which I list each are ones developed from a longer list of theses on learning processes. After presenting this list, some areas still needing research will be identified.

EXAMPLES OF THESES ON LEARNING PROCESSES
DEPARTMENT OF ADULT EDUCATION, OISE

CATEGORY AND TITLE	RESEARCHER	DATE
Formal Course Learning		
Adult Learning in an Emergent Learning Group: Toward a Theory of Learning from the Learner's Perspective.	Marilyn Taylor	1979
Capability Related Process		
Images of Interdependence: Meaning and Movement in Teaching/Learning	Gwyn Griffith	1982
Reflection		
Teachers and Reflection: A Description and Analysis of the Reflective Process Which Teachers Use in Their Experiential Learning	Ann D'Andrea	1985
Other Processes		
Learning as a Process of Experiencing Difference	Thelma Barer-Stein	1985
Major Transformations		
The Experience of Doubt and Associated Learning in Religious Men	Ross Keane	1985
Health and Care Giving		
Taking Charge: Personal Responsibility for Health	Linda Pickard	1982
Aging and Retirement		
Major Issues of Older Adults Confronting Institutional Living: What to Keep and What to Give Away	Bernice Wilson	1983

Readers interested in receiving the longer list should write the author.

Figure 2. Theses on learning processes.

Needed Research

These theses deal with adult students in formal higher education programs, and in informal out-of-school programs. Some relate to the learning of adults not in any program but to those attempting to deal as effectively as they can with life circumstances. They and those in the longer list add much to our understanding but there are at least three areas of research still needed.

1. timing of naming of processes vs. experiencing

The need for systematic study of this issue was discussed earlier. It is a complex question when we consider that the optimum timing for naming different areas of process probably differs, and optimum timing for individuals probably differs too. Nor do we know what individual characteristics have an influence on the question of best timing. Optimum or best timing also needs some clarification. "Best for what?" will have to be answered. No doubt there are multiple answers.

2. naming the learning processes as a process

I have made a number of assertions about the value of this process which I believe to be true and have had affirmed by many learners. But they need to be checked out systematically in the experiences of more and varied learners. There are other questions to be explored, ones which I have not discussed earlier. Is there any relationship between the learning style and the ease with which people can learn to name learning processes or between the learning style and the perceived value of learning to name the learning processes? What is the relationship of learning to name one's learning processes with the goals of a learning program? With the level of self-awareness? With the educational level? With the degree of self-directedness encouraged in the learning environment? With readiness for self-direction? With control exercised by the teacher? With procedures used to help learners learn to name their processes? Many questions go unanswered and could be the base for a major research program.

3. learning processes and other variables

The long list of students who have done and are doing research in this area in our department has demonstrated a belief that understanding learning from the learner's perspective does have value. However, there are a number of gaps that need to be filled by additional research: gender differences; additional socio-economic levels; other educational levels; other occupational groups; people in special circumstances such as unemployment, physical disability, chronic health problems; learning in instrumental and dialogic domains as well as those in the emancipatory domain (Mezirow[17] used these terms, citing Habermas); and other areas of process such as those dealing with spiritual capabilities, emotional capabilities, physical capabilities (stress and relaxation), subconscious capabilities (in addition to imagery, metaphors, and intuition). These are all areas needing additional work.

Educational procedures that could be used with categories of learners who have high proportions of learners with inhibitions on self-awareness, and public examination of personal processes, should be developed and documented. A synthesis of the theses dealing with learning from the learner's perspective is needed also. The book David Boud and I edited [18] is only a tiny start in pulling together work that has been done in this area and does not pretend to be a synthesis.

Postscript

In trying to think how I would characterize this article for the abstract, I found myself going back to Schon's *The reflective practitioner*.[19] I considered using his conceptions of what a reflective practitioner does to clarify what I have done in my teaching leading up to this article. But this article is essentially not about me but about adult learners and what they can do to make their learning more effective and to increase their power in learning how to learn. But some of Schon's ideas will still be useful. He talks about the competent client who is enabled to become an active participant in shared inquiry and is thus invited to join in a reflective contract with the practitioner (in our case, teacher). He contrasts the reflective contract with the traditional contract (figure 3).[20]

Traditional Contract	Reflective Contract
I put myself into the professional's hands and in doing this, I gain a sense of security based on faith.	I join with the professional in making sense of my case, and in doing this I gain a sense of increased involvement and action.
I have the comfort of being in good hands. I need only comply with his advice and all will be well.	I can exercise some control over the situation. I am not wholly dependent on him; he is also dependent on information and action that only I can undertake.
I am pleased to be served by the best person available.	I am pleased to be able to test my judgments about his competence. I enjoy the excitement of discovery of his knowledge, about the phenomena of his practice, and about myself.

Figure 3. Schon's comparison of client (learner) contracts.

When learners first come to us they may not be expecting to enter into such a reflective contract but once they are invited they and we will be enriched as they "cultivate competence in reflective conversation" with us.[21]

Heider[22] has another way of pointing out that learners and teachers should be working together in cooperative inquiry such as that required in understanding what it is like to be an adult learner. In discussing the philosophy of Tao and leadership, he says,

> The group members need the leader for guidance and facilitation. The leader needs people to work with, people to serve. If both do not recognize the mutual need to love and respect one another, each misses the point.
>
> They miss the creativity of the student-teacher polarity. They do not see how things happen.[23]

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21. *Ibid.*
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REACTION DES FEMMES A UNE PERSPECTIVE D'EFFORT INTELLECTUEL POUR EFFECTUER UN APPRENTISSAGE

Louise Patoine, Télé-université
Colette Dufresne-Tassé, Université de Montréal

Résumé

Comment les femmes réagissent-elles à la perspective d'un effort intellectuel? Ont-elles tendance à fuir les situations qui exigent un effort comme le laissent prévoir, par exemple, les recherches sur la motivation à l'accomplissement? Cette étude menée auprès de 33 femmes, enseignantes au primaire et ayant entre 35 et 40 ans, nous indique qu'elles acceptent dans une très forte majorité d'entreprendre une activité d'apprentissage qui exige un effort particulier. Les données, recueillies à l'aide d'un instrument projectif inspiré des travaux sur la motivation à l'accomplissement initiés par McClelland, font voir cependant que les causes de perception positive de l'effort sont liées à la tâche alors que les causes de perception négative sont davantage liées au sujet lui-même, à savoir son manque de confiance et la perception d'un manque d'habileté pour accomplir la tâche. D'autres recherches devront cependant être menées pour vérifier et approfondir ces résultats afin de mieux comprendre la réaction des femmes, et des adultes en général, à la perspective d'un effort intellectuel à faire pour apprendre.

Abstract

How do women react in view of an intellectual effort? Do they tend to escape from situations that require an effort as one can predict from the research done on achievement motivation? The present study conducted with 33 women, teachers on the primary level and being between 35 and 40 years of age, shows that they agree in a very large proportion, to start a learning activity that requires a particular effort. Moreover, the data gathered through a projective tool developed from McClelland's work on achievement motivation, shows that the causes of a positive perception of the effort are linked to the task as the causes of a negative perception are more linked to the subject herself, that is, her lack of self-confidence and her perception of a lack of ability to achieve a task. More studies are needed however to verify and to deepen those results so one can better understand the reaction of women, and of adults in general, in view of an intellectual effort to learn.

Introduction

L'apprentissage se présente parfois comme un fruit mûr prêt à être cueilli d'un geste de la main. Mais souvent, le fruit se trouve sur la plus haute branche de l'arbre et le cueillir exige une démarche et un effort particuliers.

La présente recherche porte sur la situation où un effort est nécessaire pour effectuer un apprentissage. Plus précisément, elle vise à identifier les réactions de femmes à la perspective d'un effort à faire pour réussir un apprentissage.

Vue sous cet angle, la notion d'effort ne semble pas avoir été étudiée. Après une investigation poussée, nous n'avons trouvé aucune étude sur le sujet, les chercheurs ayant plutôt porté leur attention sur les conséquences de l'effort ou sur l'attribution de la réussite ou de l'échec à diverses causes. Et pourtant, il semble évident que la façon dont l'adulte perçoit l'effort influence la qualité de son apprentissage et même décide du sort de celui-ci.

Notre expérience auprès de groupes d'adultes en situation de formation nous a permis d'observer une vaste gamme de réactions à l'apprentissage. Ces réactions étaient particulièrement évidentes lorsqu'il devenait nécessaire de faire un effort pour le réussir. Alors que certains étaient heureux d'affronter un défi, d'autres, au contraire, se montraient agacés, frustrés, anxieux même, et abandonnaient parfois leur démarche d'apprentissage.

Ces observations ont fait surgir diverses questions: Est-il naturel de faire un effort intellectuel? Qu'est-ce qui incite une personne à accepter ou à refuser de faire un effort pour apprendre? Comment expliquer la variété des réactions des adultes devant la perspective d'un effort à faire pour apprendre?

La recherche documentaire n'ayant pas fourni de réponse à ces questions, nous avons mené une recherche exploratoire dont l'objectif est d'identifier, d'analyser et de classifier les réactions des adultes à la perspective d'un effort intellectuel pour apprendre.

Définition de l'effort

La notion d'effort intellectuel est très complexe si on en juge par les travaux consultés autant en psychologie générale et en psychologie industrielle qu'en pédagogie et en philosophie. La définition de l'effort est d'ailleurs confondue avec sa mesure, soit: le taux de clignotement des yeux (Edwards 1983), la rapidité avec laquelle une tâche est exécutée ou l'énergie dépensée pour la réaliser (Murphy 1977; Terborg et Miller 1978), le temps consacré à l'activité (Borko et Shavelson 1978; Thomas 1983; Weiner 1965), le degré de motivation (English 1977; Feldman-Summers et Kiesler 1974), le degré de fatigue, lui-même connu indirectement par le taux de productivité et d'accidents et par le degré de satisfaction (de Wilmars 1967).

Il nous a semblé important d'élaborer une définition de l'effort afin de cerner convenablement le sujet de cette recherche. Ce qui, ultérieurement, ne nous a pas empêchées de demander aux sujets de cette étude leur propre définition de l'effort car il s'agit d'une réalité fort subjective.

En puisant dans les données des divers travaux consultés, nous définissons ainsi l'effort intellectuel: perception subjective de l'énergie nécessaire pour surmonter des difficultés, des obstacles ou des résistances en vue d'acquérir un objet désiré ou nécessaire, cet objet prenant la forme de notions, de concepts ou d'habilités.

Cadre théorique

L'être humain a des besoins à satisfaire. L'un d'eux concerne la réalisation de soi. McClelland (1953) a nommé "motivation à l'accomplissement" (achievement motivation) une tendance relativement stable à rechercher l'actualisation ou la réussite, c'est-à-dire, à se donner des objectifs difficiles, à les réaliser, et à réagir affectivement à ses succès et à ses échecs.

Selon que la personne est plus ou moins motivée, il est donc probable qu'elle se fixe des objectifs plus ou moins élevés et qu'elle fait l'effort nécessaire pour se réaliser et atteindre ses objectifs. Et plus l'apprentissage proposé est susceptible d'offrir l'occasion de satisfaire un besoin, plus la personne est disposée à consacrer l'énergie nécessaire pour réussir. Comme on peut le constater, le concept de motivation implique la notion d'effort. Ainsi, les travaux de Grabe et Latta (1981) et de Heckhausen (1967) sur la motivation à l'accomplissement indiquent que les personnes motivées fournissent, ou ont l'impression de déployer (Preston 1983) plus d'effort que les autres lorsqu'elles se consacrent à une tâche.

Il semble par ailleurs que la femme soit moins motivée que l'homme à "s'accomplir" (Hoffman 1972; Nicholls 1975; Young et Brown 1973). Si l'apprentissage est un moyen de tendre vers l'accomplissement, il est donc probable qu'elle aura moins tendance à choisir de faire l'effort nécessaire pour apprendre. Hoffman (1972) et Maccoby (1966) affirment d'ailleurs que la fille réagit moins positivement que le garçon à un défi intellectuel. De plus, elle semble percevoir les études comme inutiles pour atteindre ses buts (Hoyenga et Hoyenga 1979) et trouve que l'apprentissage est une tâche peu attrayante (Sherman 1976). Et même si l'apprentissage l'intéresse, sa motivation à éviter l'échec serait plus grande que celle de l'homme (Berens 1972; Hoffman 1972; Horner 1972; Maccoby et Jacklin 1974; Veroff et al. 1975), ce qui contribuerait à la faire hésiter à s'engager dans une situation où un effort est nécessaire pour apprendre puisque c'est là une situation qui présente des risques d'échec. De plus, comme elle a facilement peur des conséquences négatives de son accomplissement personnel ou de celles de sa réussite sur ses relations avec les autres (Alper 1974; Gama 1985; Hoffman 1972; Maccoby et Jacklin 1974; Paludi et Fankell-Hauser 1986; Rosenberg et Simmons 1975; Volmer 1976; Walker et Heyns 1962), elle risque d'hésiter et même de fuir une situation qui exige un effort intellectuel.

D'autres travaux indiquent que la femme manque de confiance en elle (Crandall 1969; Farmer 1976; Feather 1969; Feather et Simon 1973; Maccoby et Jacklin 1974; Sleeper et Nigro 1987) et qu'elle a facilement l'impression que ses chances de réussir sont minces (Deaux et Farris 1977; Hoyenga et Hoyenga 1979; Meece, Eccles-Parsons, Kaczala, Goff et

Futherman 1982). Si on ajoute à cela les interventions décourageantes des personnes de son entourage (Bardwick 1971; Farmer 1976; Friskey 1974; Komarovsky 1973; Lockheed 1974; Monahan, Kuhn et Shaver 1974) et son malaise à se retrouver en compétition, particulièrement avec des hommes (Deci, Betley, Kate, Abrams et Porac 1981; Feather et Simon 1975), on imagine sans difficulté qu'elle refuse de faire un effort pour apprendre.

L'ensemble de ces résultats nous a amenées à croire que l'étude de la réaction des femmes à la perspective d'un effort à faire pour apprendre apporterait des données intéressantes et nous avons formulé l'hypothèse suivante: la perspective d'un effort intellectuel à faire pour réussir un apprentissage intellectuel amène habituellement une réaction de rejet de l'effort chez la femme.

Méthodologie

L'instrument utilisé pour la cueillette des données est une épreuve projective qui s'inspire des travaux de McClelland (1953) sur la motivation à l'accomplissement. Il consiste en un stimulus écrit qui invite les sujets à rédiger une histoire sur Rose, un personnage fictif. Voici la description de ce stimulus.

> Histoire de Rose
>
> Rose est placée devant l'éventualité d'un effort intellectuel réel à faire pour apprendre quelque chose.
>
> 1. Qui est Rose et dans quelle situation se trouve-t-elle?
> 2. Qu'est-ce que cette situation lui propose d'apprendre?
> 3. Qu'est-ce que cet apprentissage représente pour elle?
> 4. Quel type d'effort est-ce que cela lui demande?
> 5. Quelle est sa réaction à cet effort? Pourquoi?

Ce stimulus a été présenté à 36 enseignantes de niveau élémentaire de la même commission scolaire, âgées de 35 à 40 ans. Chacun de ces sujets, sur rendez-vous, a été rencontré individuellement par le même expérimentateur. Les rencontres duraient environ une heure et avaient lieu à l'endroit choisi par le sujet.

Les données recueillies sont catégorisées à l'aide d'une grille d'analyse élaborée à partir de la recension des écrits et du matériel obtenu dans une pré-expérimentation. Afin de s'assurer que les données ne sont pas déformées par l'analyse et l'interprétation d'un seul correcteur, douze des protocoles sont soumis à une autre personne.

La grille d'analyse comprend treize dimensions qui, elles-mêmes, se subdivisent en plusieurs catégories. Voici la liste de ces dimensions:

1. Décision des sujets
2. Type d'effort

3. Réactions à l'effort
4. Issue de l'effort
5. Causes de perception positive de l'effort
6. Causes de perception négative de l'effort
7. Type d'apprentissage
8. Domaine d'apprentissage
9. Cadre dans lequel se fait l'apprentissage
10. Description des personnages
11. Moment où joue la compétition
12. Issue de la compétition
13. Perception de l'homme par rapport à celle de la femme.

Les proportions et pourcentages sont utilisés pour mettre en relief la signification des données recueillies. Pour la vérificaton de l'hypothèse, nous avons établi les différences au moyen du test de Cochran (Siegel 1956).

Résultats

Le premier résultat concerne le sort réservé à l'hypothèse. Les histoires contiennent-elles, tel que prévu, des manifestations de rejet de l'effort dans une proportion supérieure à 50%?

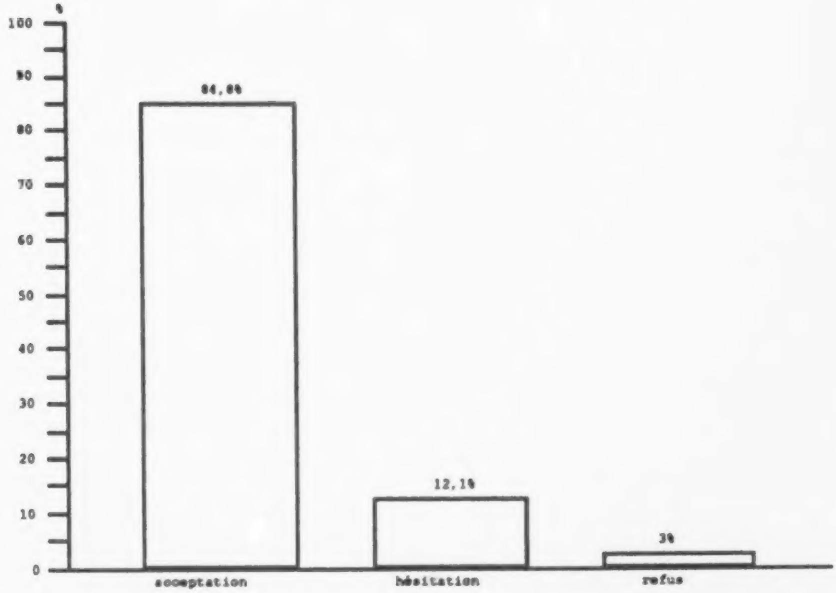

Figure 1. Proportion des sujets pour chacune des décisions possibles.

Le contenu des histoires infirme cette hypothèse (voir figure 1). Les femmes acceptent en effet de faire l'effort nécessaire pour apprendre dans une proportion de 84,8%. Le tableau suivant montre que le Chi carré (X) calculé sur ces données est significatif au niveau .01.

Tableau 1
Décision des sujet

OUI	HÉSITE	NON	Chi carré (*) (**)
28	4	1	39,76**

* p < 0,05
** p < 0,01

Ce résultat contredit les données fournies par le contexte théorique. Comment cela s'explique-t-il?

Quatre raisons peuvent être offertes. Eccles (1986) considère que le concept de motivation est défini selon des standards masculins qui ne permettent pas d'expliquer "l'accomplissement" chez la femme. C'est peut-être ce qui est à l'origine de la différence marquée entre hommes et femmes dans les nombreuses recherches réalisées, entre autres, par Atkinson et Feather (1966), McClelland (1953, 1955, 1958, 1971) et Weiner (1972).

La deuxième explication serait l'outil de cueillette de données utilisé. Dans notre recherche, les femmes pouvaient choisir la situation d'apprentissage, ce qui n'est pas le cas dans la grande majorité des études consultées, où la situation était imposée.

Les sujets de cette étude vivaient une situation socio-économique incertaine, provoquée par la diminution du nombre d'enfants qui oblige les commissions scolaires à fermer des classes et à éliminer du personnel enseignant. Ceci est la troisième explication des résultats obtenus. D'ailleurs, la raison la plus souvent invoquée pour accepter l'effort est un but lié à l'emploi: en trouver un, garder celui qu'on a, etc.

La quatrième et dernière explication est liée aux changements sociaux qui entourent le rôle de la femme dans la société. La réussite de cette dernière est de plus en plus acceptée dans différents milieux. Les modèles féminins de réussite sont maintenant courants, ce qui peut amener la femme à imaginer plus facilement la réussite sociale.

La grille d'analyse permet cependant d'apporter des nuances à ce qui précède. La description de Rose, personnage de l'histoire, celle des caractéristiques de la situation d'apprentissage et de l'effort tel qu'imaginé par les sujets, permettront de reconnaître certains stéréotypes encore présents dans la population. Les chiffres entre parenthèses indiquent un pourcentage de sujets.

Voyons d'abord les caractéristiques du personnage imaginé.

1. Rose a un statut inférieur à celui des sujets qui l'ont imaginée (66,7%). Concrètement, la majorité des sujets imaginent que Rose est mère de famille ou secrétaire.

2. Rose est mariée et mère de famille (45%) ou célibataire (25%), ce qui correspond aux caractéristiques des sujets.

3. Rose possède des qualités positives (77,8%) et se trouve dans un état affectif également positif (79,2%).

Qu'en est-il des caractéristiques de l'apprentissage?

1. Rose choisit un domaine d'apprentissage mixte, c'est-à-dire choisi autant par un homme que par une femme (74,1%).

2. Rose s'intéresse autant aux apprentissages de type professionnel (55,2%) que non-professionnel (44,8%).

3. Rose préfère apprendre dans un cadre académique (68,8%) plutôt que par autodidaxie (18,8%).

Les caractéristiques de l'effort décrites par les sujets sont les suivantes:

1. Rose perçoit l'effort avant tout comme un *investissement important*, c'est-à-dire comme la perception d'un surplus d'énergie à déployer pour faire l'activité (71,9%) et non comme un *acte de volonté*, c'est-à-dire comme une décision ferme d'agir en fonction d'une intention précise (9,4%), ou comme une *attention volontaire*, causée par le fait que la personne doit faire une activité alors que son intérêt est ailleurs (18,8%). L'importance de l'investissement peut être due à des obstacles à surmonter (60,9%), au temps à y consacrer (34,8%), à la concentration (34,8%) et à la persévérance nécessaire (34,8%) pour réussir.

2. Rose réagit positivement à l'effort (68,2%).

3. Tous les sujets ont indiqué une ou plusieurs causes de perception positive de l'effort. La principale cause perçue par Rose est liée à la tâche elle-même, plus précisément, à l'attrait que représente celle-ci (96,9%). Cet attrait vient particulièrement du fait qu'elle lui permet d'atteindre un but (74,2%), soit trouver un emploi, garder celui qu'elle a ou améliorer son rendement au travail.

4. L'effort présente aussi des aspects négatifs pour la majorité des sujets (75,7%). Les raisons de le percevoir négativement sont surtout liées à la perception de soi plutôt qu'à la tâche, plus particulièrement au manque d'habileté ou de familiarité avec l'objet d'apprentissage (79,9%).

Cet aspect est conforme aux données tirées des travaux sur la confiance en soi cités plus haut. La femme plus que l'homme manque de confiance en elle et elle a facilement l'impression que ses chances de réussir sont minces.

5. Malgré cela, Rose réussit son apprentissage, soit complètement (68,4%), soit de façon mitigée (21%).

Conclusion

Contrairement à ce qui était prévu, les femmes de cette recherche acceptent de faire l'effort nécessaire pour apprendre et réagissent plutôt positivement à cet effort. Comme il s'agit d'une recherche exploratoire qui a été menée auprès d'un petit nombre de sujets, on ne saurait généraliser ces résultats.

D'autres recherches devront être réalisées pour mieux comprendre les réactions des adultes devant la perspective d'un effort à faire pour apprendre. Ces recherches devraient cependant être élaborées selon une approche systémique. En effet, la perception de l'effort intellectuel est très subjective et peut être influencée par l'apprentissage à faire aussi bien que par le contexte dans lequel il se déroule ou que par la perception qu'on a de soi-même. C'est donc tout un système qui doit être étudié pour bien connaître les réactions à l'effort et saisir l'impact que ces réactions peuvent avoir sur l'apprentissage.

Ce domaine mérite d'être davantage exploré si l'on veut, en tant que formateurs d'adultes, apporter un support adéquat à celui qui non seulement doit apprendre une matière quelconque, mais qui doit aussi s'habituer à faire face à l'effort intellectuel, ce qui est le cas de beaucoup de femmes qui retournent aux études après plusieurs années consacrées à leur famille.

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LEARNING AND PHILOSOPHY OF MIND

Mark Selman
Simon Fraser University

Abstract

This paper is an argument in favor of a revised conception of learning in the field of adult education. It suggests that prevailing conceptions in the field refer to learning as a type of internal event or process, without any clear idea about what this implies. It is suggested that such a conception is based on theories of mind which are no longer found to be convincing. An alternative conception is proposed, one which emphasizes the social nature of learning. The paper concludes with some remarks about the effect that the adoption of such a conception would have on theory in the field of adult education.

Résumé

Cet article propose un nouveau point de vue de l'apprentissage dans le domaine de l'éducation des adultes. Il suggère que les conceptions courantes dans ce domaine parlent de l'apprentissage en tant que processus ou événement interne sans que les implications de ce processus soient spécifiées. Il propose qu'une telle conception est basée sur des théories de l'esprit qui ne sont pas tout à fait convaincantes. Une conception nouvelle est proposée qui souligne la nature sociale de l'apprentissage. L'article se termine par quelques remarques sur l'effet qu'aurait l'adoption d'une telle conception sur les théories dans le domaine de l'éducation des adultes.

Introduction

There is a widespread tendency in the field of education to regard learning as a particular kind of mental event or process: something that happens 'inside one's mind'. When learning is thought of this way, it seems natural to distinguish between 'adult learning' and 'children's learning' by contrasting the nature of the processes leading up to certain sorts of mental events in adults and children. One of the purposes of this paper is to argue that 'learning' is not (most productively) used to refer to a particular kind of mental event or to a particular kind of mental process. In the words of James McClellan:

> It's no more reasonable to believe that there is one process of learning than that there is one process which includes composing sonatas, arguing logically, making love, dancing the Texas Star, and riding a unicycle. There is learning to do all these things, learning to enjoy or hate doing

> them, learning when, where, and with whom to do them, learning why one should or shouldn't . . . *One process?*—in the sense that photosynthesis, however complex and varied, is one process? False. Absurd. Insane.[1]

Learning can be distinguished from other sorts of human capacities, like perceiving, remembering, and deciding by the circumstances under which it is appropriate to use the word 'learn', rather than by the identification of particular happenings in the mind or brain. As a result, if one is seeking differences between adult learning and children's learning, the social context, rather than the realm of psychological theory is the most fruitful area of inquiry.

It may strike some as odd, or misguided, to discuss this issue as a problem of meaning. After all, we can 'mean' whatever we decide with the word learning, or any other word, and if some people want to use the word to refer to mental events or processes, that is their business. It might be suggested that useful knowledge about learning is only going to come about by seeing how people learn, under what conditions they do it best, and the like. Surely an examination of the meaning of words cannot be expected to make any difference to how, or how well, people learn?

My response to these objections is that there is no dearth of empirical research into problems of learning but that most research has failed to produce theory which goes beyond common sense views about how learning takes place or is best promoted. Many 'theories' in education fall far short of even this modest goal. One of the reasons may be that some of the central concepts, especially the concept of learning, are often misunderstood. What is required, in my view, is the acceptance of a revised conception of learning, one which recognizes the importance of the public, social world, in contrast to one which is situated primarily in the workings of inner, 'mental' space. Such a conception will, I argue, fit better with our everyday use of the concept of learning, and should provide a more productive frame of reference for learning theory in general, and adult learning in particular. By this, I do not mean to suggest that we will ever have a comprehensive, law-like, learning theory. There are good reasons for rejecting such a possibility.[2] But we may be able to develop a set of conceptions which are useful in making sense of situations in which learning takes place.

The idea of developing such a conception of learning is hardly original. Ludwig Wittgenstein, writing and teaching in the 1930's and 40's, realized that criteria for the use of mental concepts like perceive, read, and understand are facts about the world, not facts about inner processes.[3] To offer an example, we say that a person has 'understood' something because he or she can tell us what it means or make use of the information it contains, not because we have any knowledge about what is going on in the person's mind. But, we may be led from the perfectly natural assumption that something must be going on in the person's mind, to the more questionable assumption that a particular kind of event or process must correspond to our use of the word 'understand'. In part, this paper is a reiteration of existing work on such mental concepts. This may be useful at the field of adult education's present state of development because it provides an alternative to a 'psychologized' conception of learning which appears to have been unproductive in contributing to the development of constructive research programs into the conditions under which adults learn.

The argument proceeds in four stages: first, establishing that prevailing conceptions of learning are in need of revision; second, outlining four conceptions of the mind and the role of mental concepts; third, suggesting an alternative to the prevailing conception of learning; and fourth, describing some effects of the proposed conception on research and practice in the field of adult education.

I. The Inadequacy of Prevailing Conceptions

A careful and detailed analysis of conceptions of learning employed in the field of adult education is beyond the scope of this paper. Rather than attempt a 'mini-survey', one particular author's description of 'learning' will be used. It is my contention that the example provided embodies several ideas which are representative of a dominant (but by no means, the only) approach to the conception in the field of adult education in North America. The familiarity of the phrases employed in the example will serve as support for this claim.

Stephen Brookfield raises the problem of how to understand the nature of learning in the context of explicating the term "self-directed learning."[4] He attributes the "considerable confusion" to which the term gives rise, to its "gerundive nature." However, one may notice that few of the same confusions attend our use of terms like 'skipping' or 'chopping'. This can be taken as an indication that there are sources of confusion which Brookfield's analysis leaves unidentified. Nevertheless, what he does take note of is significant. Citing Verner and Little, he suggests that learning should be used as a noun only:

> . . . to describe an internal change in consciousness, that is, an alternation in the state of the central nervous system.[5]

Brookfield continues:

> Hence, the term *learning* would be reserved for the phenomenon of internal mental change whether that be characterized as a flash of gestalt insight, double-loop learning, or a rearrangement of neural paths. Such internal phenomena would be discernible externally in the form of permanent behavioral change, and it would be by observing such change that we would reason that learning had occurred.[6]

This description of learning does little to advance our understanding of the concept. Its clauses are variously false, speculative, and ambiguous. It fails to distinguish between 'learning' and other mental concepts (e.g. deciding) or even occurrences such as taking a very strong dose of some drugs or being hit hard on the head. It also rules out many everyday occurrences which anyone would be prepared to call learning.

It is obvious that learning does not always take the form of permanent behavioral change. We learn many things that we subsequently forget and we learn many things which turn out to be irrelevant and have no impact on our behavior, much less effect a permanent change. A change in a person's pattern of behavior may, given certain conditions to be examined later, be evidence for the claim that learning has occurred, but such evidence, by itself, is neither necessary nor sufficient.

The notion that learning is either "a rearrangement of neural paths" or "an alteration of the state of the central nervous system" is highly speculative. While it could be the case that every change in belief, tendency, capacity, sensation, or attitude manifests itself in some physical change in the brain, it is far from being established that this is the case, or that these purported changes are best described as rearrangements of neural paths. Even those researchers who are most optimistic about the potential contributions of cognitive and neural science to our understanding of human capacities are dubious about the explanatory power of these connections. Howard Garder, in his review of theories of mental representations, attributes to Jerry Fodor, "strong reservations that the 'natural kinds' of the nervous system will map in any interesting way onto the 'natural kinds' of psychological or mentalistic explanations."[7] But, even if it is true that changes in beliefs, tendencies, or attitudes do cause (or are caused by, or are the same as) changes in neural paths, it is unclear that this would tell us much about learning. Other occurrences, like 'making a decision', 'having a dream', 'forming an opinion', or 'remembering something', might, for all we know, produce (or be the same as) the same sorts of neural changes. More importantly, even if all these assumptions are granted, even if we assume that there is a set of arrangements of neural paths which correspond uniquely with states of 'having learned', the existence of such connections seems utterly irrelevant to education concerns. People have taught and learned for much longer than they have known about neural paths and it is not clear how "neural path" explanations, even if they were established, would help people do it better. Educators deal with people at the level of social interaction and, unless made obsolete by new techniques in neurosurgery, are likely to continue to do so.

Suggestions that learning is an "internal change of consciousness" or "an internal mental change" are far less clear and specific but no more informative. If such changes are to mental states like sensations or 'thoughts as experienced', the claim is patently false for many instances of learning. People learn many things, including rules of grammar and bad habits, without necessarily being aware of having learned them. If "change in consciousness" is thought to include unconscious or subconscious change, we start to get into rather murky waters. Such changes, for all we know, might be going on all the time. But if unseen, unfelt changes in non-conscious states were 'what we really meant' when we used the term learning, sophisticated psychological procedures would be required to identify instances of learning, and they are not.[8] (We have seen that change in behavior, by itself, is not a reliable criterion.) It does seem that learning necessarily involves some kind of change but Brookfield's description of learning does not usefully identify what kind of change. Its various clauses are neither specific enough to differentiate learning from other human capacities nor general enough to admit perfectly ordinary examples of learning.

My point here is not that we can criticize any particular definition or description of the nature of learning, but that the commonly used definitions bring confusion rather than clarity to our commonsense notions of what it is to learn. It is striking that 'learning' is often taken to be either "change in consciousness" or "change in behavior," or both. Yet the same writers who employ these conceptions often go on, as Brookfield does, to write about "effective learning," "an act of learning," "learning in an active sense," "learning behaviors," and "learning outcomes." If one substitutes "change in consciousness" or "change in behavior" for "learning" in these expressions, the results are largely unintelligible. There is clearly something wrong with the conceptions, or with the phrases in which "learning" is employed, or with both.

This may be regarded by theorists and researchers in the field of education as rather depressing. While it may be possible to engage effectively in practices which are intended to promote learning without having any clear and explicit definition of learning, it is difficult to imagine a coherent and useful program of research based on such a poorly developed central conception. When the apparent incoherence of such widely used terms as "learning behaviors" is recognized, confusion seems complete. My suggestion is that we ought to examine our conceptions of learning in a critical light and construct a more coherent conception. Although space will not permit it in this article, a revised conception could then be used as an instrument for testing the adequacy and utility of phrases like "learning behaviors" and "learning outcomes." In order to establish a perspective from which we can reflect critically on conceptions of learning, a few comments about four important conceptions of mind may be useful.

II. Mental Concepts

The last ten years have spawned a rash of recountings, reconstructions, and deconstructions of epistemology and the philosophy of mind. Many of these treat the topic with a degree of sophistication and some sympathy for the historical factors which gave rise to conflicting views about these issues. The ensuring account contains no such subtleties, but rather is intended to draw attention to a few significant features of some of the important positions in the development of western philosophy. There are many differences and ways of expressing the differences between beliefs about the nature of minds. One, which is useful for the purposes at hand, is the extent and manner in which the mind is believed to 'structure' thought.

Plato raised the question in what has come to be called the *Meno* paradox.[9] Socrates, as Plato's protagonist, asked how we can ever learn a new concept, for example, the concept of virtue. If we do not know what it means, how will we look for something about which we know nothing? How would we recognize the 'correct' meaning, unless we already knew what the answer was? But, if we already know what it means, we have no need to learn. Socrates suggested the solution that we must already have the concept in our minds and that experience and teaching can bring us to recognize it. The mind is seen, according to Plato, as already having the concepts which were understood to be the true form of reality. Learning was thought to be recollection. The structure of the mind was thought to be inherent and a reflection of the true structure of reality of which the material world was an approximation.

The British empiricists, writing in the 17th and 18th centuries, viewed the mind as a blank slate or a wax tablet upon which experience makes impressions.[10] Apart from some very primitive capacities to compare the impressions made by properties of objects, the mind was thought to be without structure, merely a receptacle which is gradually filled with data gained through the senses. People were thought to learn about the world inductively, building up an accurate representation out of bits (atoms) of sensory input.

Kant rejected the notion that all our knowledge is generated inductively, a notion which had troubled Hume extensively, although Hume had suggested no alternative.[11] Kant argued that we have no direct, unmediated knowledge of the world, that our knowledge is of the relations between ideas or 'appearances'. He argued, on the basis of facts about the subject/predicate structure of human languages, that there are only certain relations which can be recognized or expressed. Relations like causality, identity, and quantity form a set of innate concepts which structure our thoughts and determine the limits of what can be learned.

Wittgenstein posed an alternative conception of learning and the 'structures' of the mind. *Philosophical Investigations*, the book in which he developed the central issues which concerned him for the latter half of his life, begins with a critique of an inductive account of language acquisition.[12] He demonstrated how no such account can explain how people learn language. However, he did not accept a Kantian account of innate concepts based on categorical distinctions between kinds of statements. Rather, Wittgenstein emphasized the flexibility of language and the variety of purposes to which it is put. He argued that our concepts and beliefs form interconnected, mutually reinforcing nets, sometimes referred to as "language games," which are generated in social practices. Sentences and words take their meaning from their use in public discourse. What goes on in people's minds is determined and made possible by the use of language in culturally developed institutions. On this account, mental concepts such as 'understanding', seeing', and 'learning' are used to attribute propensities or capacities to act, based on the context in which the actions could, or would, take place. The mind ceases to be thought of as a 'thing', or some sort of 'inner space' where certain sorts of operations happen, but rather is used as part of a way of talking about the sorts of things people can or tend to do.

The question Socrates asked continues to haunt educators.[13] While Plato's conception of mind, in its classical formulations, seems somewhat incompatible with modern sensibilities, the other models continue to influence our conceptions of learning in important ways. The work of Piaget, for instance, has been referred to as "developmental Kantianism."[14] Skinner's behaviorism can be seen as combining an extreme version of Wittgenstein's emphasis on the need for public criteria of mental verbs with an atomistic inductivism derived from the empiricists.[15] Any conception of learning must take some position with regard to these or with competing conceptions of mind, whether the position is made explicit or not. There is something important about each of these exemplars or they would not have had, nor continue to have, such a grip on our ideas and theories. However, many of the assumptions and distinctions which served to support empiricist and Kantian conceptions of the mind can no longer be taken seriously. In particular, it is no longer plausible to maintain that there is a clear and sharp distinction between description and interpretation, a distinction which is essential to empiricism and to its successor, positivism. Nor is there a categorical distinction between analytic and synthetic statements, without which Kant's picture of the mind is elegant, but uncompelling. It is my contention that the confusions identified earlier with the 'prevailing conception of learning' are related to the inadequacies of empiricist and Kantian accounts of the mind as an 'inner space' in which are performed certain operations as labelled by 'mental' concepts.[16]

III. A Social Conception of Learning

It is not my intention to argue that, of the four possible conceptions of mind, only Wittgenstein's remains plausible and should, therefore, be adopted as it stands. The following account of a social conception of learning is simply an attempt which has been informed by Wittgenstein's critique of traditional conceptions of mind and is useful for thinking about education and educational research.

Learning is an innate capacity of sentient beings.[17] At least down to the level of earthworms, all creatures are altered as a result of experience to some degree and under some conditions. Human beings differ from other forms of life (in part) by being able to make plans about what to try to learn. Thus, people learn intentionally (because they try to) and incidentally (as all sentient beings do). Not that we can draw a sharp distinction between these two kinds of learning for we cannot. For example, we would be hard pressed to identify a child's first intentional efforts to learn. There are, however, some relatively clear examples of either intentional or incidental learning, some discussion of which may illuminate the importance of 'purpose' to the concept of learning. But first, it is worth attending to the notion of a 'result' as it is used in the phrase "result of experience."

The English language, and other languages, contain verbs which are used to refer to activities, and verbs which are used to refer to 'results or 'outcomes' of activities. The activity of 'competing' is associated with the successful result, or achievement, 'winning', and the failure, 'losing'. The activity of 'attending' is associated with the result, 'noticing'. 'Studying' and 'practicing' are both activities related to the result, 'learning'. Not all of these activity/outcome relationships are parallel, however. While one must be competing, in some sense, in order to win or lose, and there must be some possibility of winning or losing in any context in which we would say someone is competing, no such tidy relationship exists between some other pairs. Consider the relationship between 'practicing' and 'learning'. People often practice in order to learn: for instance, one can practice a piece on the piano in order to learn it. But one can also practice scales in order to keep one's fingers limber. And, it should go without saying that we often learn without practicing: for instance, by reading a book.

The concept of studying is more closely connected to the concept of learning. If it were said that Helen was studying without intending to learn anything, the meaning would be rather unclear—perhaps that Helen was fiddling with her books because she was bored and restless, or was preparing for an exam in a course which she thought was useless? Any ordinary use of the verb 'study' seems to refer to an activity undertaken with the intention of learning something. But the other half of the relationship does not hold, for learning may also occur with no preceding activity of studying.

As an aside, it may be noticed that many 'result' concepts can be used to refer to activities in which one can be engaged. In response to the question, "What is your husband doing?", it is perfectly sensible to respond, "Learning to use the food processor." Parallel responses could be, "Losing our money at the racetrack," or "Organizing the broom closet." In each of these cases, an activity is referred to by its expected outcome. Writers in the field of adult education often use 'learning' to refer to 'activities intended to result in learning', without regard for whether the intended result is achieved. Thus, Patricia Cross cites a table which distinguishes between "learners" and "would-be-learners" when referring to "those engaged in trying to learn" and "those who would like to be so engaged."[18] Alan Knox writes about "learning effectiveness" as if learning is an activity in which one can be engaged with better or worse results while considerations discussed earlier suggest that learning *is* a result.[19] While many such constructions are mere conveniences, their uncritical use has resulted in some of the confusions which Brookfield attributes to the "gerundive nature" of learning.

Though some of the relations between 'task' and 'result' verbs are untidy, they are useful in illuminating the different ways in which purpose enters into claims about learning. When learning is the intended outcome of an activity, its occurrence is an achievement (something like winning). When learning is incidental, a by-product of an activity engaged in for other purposes, it is simply a result (like noticing). However, this is not to say that incidental learning does not serve a purpose, but merely that it does not happen *on* purpose. The distinction is between 'purpose' as the intention of the person who learns, and 'purpose' as a furtherance of what is viewed as rational, good, or desirable.

Generally speaking, the changes that we recognize as instances of learning are changes which can be understood as serving a purpose. Even 'mindless' learning such as the development of a disposition to salivate at the sound of a bell, serves a purpose as long as the environment is relatively stable and no one changes the rules of the game. This point can be demonstrated with another animal example. If hungry rats are placed in a maze, all sorts of activity is exhibited, but none of the activity is recognized as evidence of learning until a pattern arises which can be understood as functional in serving the rats' purposes, that is, in procuring food. If the rats engaged in activity which was, in our eyes, aimless, or repetitively self-defeating, we would be hard pressed to understand it as 'learned'. Of course, the finding of food may not be in the best interests of the rats, all things considered: the rats which are most successful may be used in an awful experiment. Nevertheless, the finding of food seems like a rational objective for hungry rats to pursue, and learning maze routes is rational given these ends. Obviously, I am not attributing a developed sense of rationality to rats. The necessary 'rationality' is a function of the fact that the rats' actions make sense given our beliefs about what they 'want'.

Judgments about instances of learning rely on contextual factors including the comprehensibility of the learners' purposes and the rationality of their expectations given previous relevant experience.[20] Such judgments are not made on the basis of knowledge about the mental or neurological states of rats or of people. Rats are taken to be hungry because they have been deprived of food and because, if shown food, they eat it. Judgments about people's motivations and beliefs, and about what is rational for people to care about and believe, are 'built into' the concept of learning.

The connection between rationality and learning is also displayed in the epistemological force of many claims which employ the term 'learning'. In many cases, the phrase 'came to know' can be substituted for 'learned' with no change in meaning. This is significant in that 'knowing', in contrast to 'believing', implies that the relevant claim is held 'on the basis of reasons' or is 'rationally assertable'. On the other hand, it would be unusual to refer to cases of repression, or of sublimation, as instances of learning unless it is being pointed out that these can be understood as purposive changes. As can be seen, attributions of learning are judged against a background of knowledge about how individuals act, and should act, in any given context.

Explanations of how we come to have such knowledge are worth examining. Traditional views have suggested that we know how other people think by examining the relation of our own sensations to our own actions and extrapolating that the same is true for other people. What is most certain is our own experience. While we may be wrong about facts pertaining to the world, including other people, we cannot be wrong about what we believe, think, or feel. Accordingly, language is taken to be a public representation of inner thoughts, and truth is understood as a relation of correspondence between ideas and the world. Virtually nothing about this account has received wide acceptance from philosophers writing in the latter half of this century.

What Wittgenstein argued was that the knowledge about motives, beliefs, thoughts, feelings, and so on, is part of what is learned when a person learns a language.[21] We learn what anger is, for example, by coming to understand the context in which the word 'anger' is used. Children learn what anger is by being told, "Don't be angry now," or, "You'll have to control your temper," and not by unmediated introspection. Use of the word 'anger' creates a category of human emotion rather than merely providing a label for some pre-existent category. It is the use of language in social context which allows us to experience the distinctions between anger and fear, jealousy, disgust, irritation, indignation, or moral outrage. The sophisticated range of emotions, values, and beliefs which humans have is not so much described by language as it is created by language used in social intercourse. Human capacities are what they are, not only because human brains are what they are, but largely because of the complex and sophisticated tools provided by human languages and their role in social practices. On this account, the mind and mental concepts (including 'learning') are understood as 'social constructs' which are used in predicting, understanding, judging, and explaining human action.

The role of agreement across the membership of communities in their social practices, including their use of language, plays a vital role in Wittgenstein's analysis. Learning from other members of the community is how this agreement comes about. If it is said that a person has learned to speak a language, apply a rule, do long division, or sing a song, the criterion for accepting the claim is that the person agrees (substantially) with other members of the community in performance and/or result. If learning is understood as a relation between an individual and members of the community, any hope of finding it 'inside an individual's head' must be regarded as misguided.

To summarize the conception: learning is one of many words which are used to talk about what a person (or other creature) is able or likely to do. 'Learning' implies that the person has changed and that the change would, under certain sorts of conditions, be manifest in the person's actions. (Please note the distinctions between this claim and the claim that learning is a 'change in behavior'.) Further, the change is a result of experience, that is, it can be understood as following rationally from the relevant experience(s). While the change may or may not be sought intentionally, it is an increase in capacity or improvement relative to some standard or goal. Judgments about learning are made against a background of knowledge about people's intentions and beliefs. Such knowledge is generated largely by the acquisition of language in the context of public discourse.

IV. What Does this Mean for Adult Education?

The acceptance of the conception I have begun to elucidate would not, by itself, bring about radical changes which are completely alien to current educational research and practice. Rather, it would tend to focus our attention on certain sets of problems and cause us to regard others which are not taken seriously as being poorly formed or irrelevant. Although space does not permit any detailed mapping of the proposed conception onto existing approaches to adult education, some very broad points of similarity and contrast are obvious. It is generally consistent with, for instance, Freire's ironic dismissal of the "banking approach to education" and the "specialization of consciousness,"[22] as well as Dewey's integration of the "subjective" and "objective" conditions for learning.[23] It is generally incompatible, however, with the work of writers who propose scientific theories in order to enlighten us about the nature of learning and to provide the technologies by which learning is supposed to take place more efficiently. Almost all such theories involved distortion of the concept of learning to the extent that it no longer resembles the shared public concept in which the practical problems of educators are framed.[24]

Generally speaking, adoption of the proposed conception would be consistent with the recognition that psychology provides no privileged standpoint or methodology for the study of learning. All fields of inquiry which shed light on our social relations, social practices, and institutions would be recognized as useful to the extent that they help us to understand the purposes and the contexts which define 'learning'.[25]

Learning would be understood to be less clearly related to individual states of consciousness and more clearly related to social practices and culturally generated ways of life.[26] It would be seen as part of a vocabulary by which human actions are understood and interpreted as well as predicted and explained. Because use of the concept of learning involves interpretation and judgments about rationality, it would be recognized that any causal account, couched exclusively in terms of physical entities and events, can only be a partial account, and will fail to capture much of the term's significance.

Because causal accounts of learning can only be partial accounts, the failure of educational researchers to show consistent and convincing correlations between 'learning', as indicated by assorted 'outcome measures', and educative 'processes', as categorized by the behavior of teachers or people who are trying to learn can be seen to be a problem of inadequate conceptualization, not a problem to be overcome with additional research grants and increasingly sophisticated methodologies. But this should not be regarded as a reason for dismay because if it were possible to determine what people would learn on the bases of any given experience according to deterministic, causal laws, it would be possible to determine people's beliefs, values, and actions. Educators would no longer organize situations in order to help or encourage students to learn; they would determine what their students came to believe and to do. Fortunately, no theory of learning seems to be in immediate danger of threatening our concept of the autonomy of the self, and (at least partly) because such theories can only be partial accounts, no such theory can succeed.

The notion of autonomy and the related notion of self-directedness have been important in discussions about adult learning. Adoption of the conception of learning for which I have argued would lead to an emphasis being placed on the differing social contexts of adults and children, rather than extensive reliance on hypothezied states of psychological development. What characterizes "self-directed learning" is that a person undertakes an activity with the intention of learning something. For such a decision to count as being autonomous, he or she must be responsible for it. Various conditions affect the degree to which a person is considered responsible for an action. Such conditions include: that the action is free, in the sense that it is not the result of coercion or compulsion; that it is informed, in that the individual has some idea what is at stake in possible alternative courses of action; and that the individual has some relatively stable set of values or purposes. These are the sorts of requirements which are involved in attributions of responsibility about individuals' political, contractual, and other decisions. They are also closely associated with prevailing conceptions of what it is to be an adult in our society. So, while it is hardly the case that the age of majority is a necessary condition for individuals being able to plan their own learning projects, it is consistent with our other socio/political and legal judgments that decisions about learning by adults have a different status than similar decisions by children. One could say that there is a presumption that adults undertaking activities (of certain types) are autonomously pursuing learning whereas the presumption with children is that their decisions are undertaken under conditions of reduced autonomy.

There are also, of course, other differences between the lives of adults and children in our society which affect the purposes for which they try to learn and the conditions under which learning takes place. The need for comprehensive initiation into a broad spectrum of social practices and institutions outweighs many alternative goals for children. Adults are likely to pursue more specific purposes according to an established set of values and interests. Many of these distinctions have been noticed and commented upon by adult educators but often as matters of peripheral concern, matters which affect 'the context of learning' as opposed to 'the process' itself. According to the conception for which I have argued, questions of purpose and social context are the questions which define learning. Differences between the purposes and social contexts of adults and children can be understood as providing reasons for distinguishing their respective activities, and the intended results. This is not, of course, an argument that such a distinction is of great significance to the field of education but merely identifies the criteria by which such distinctions are to be drawn.

Another effect of the adoption of the proposed conception of learning involves the use of 'theory' in educational practice. Prevailing conceptions tend to embody a notion of theory as the responsibility of psychologists who discover the 'principles of learning' which practitioners ought to follow if they wish to be successful. When 'learning' is understood to be defined by purpose and context, it is immediately apparent that no generalized, 'de-contextual' theory of learning can provide a coherent framework for the study of learning. The place to study purpose and context is, obviously, in context.

When one ceases to look for neurological states and mental processes and thinks instead of reasons, purposes, and values, the need for sensitive and intelligent practitioners, rather than theories with high predictive power, seems apparent.

Such considerations do not deny a role for research into learning and activities related to it. They do suggest that research ought to be directed at developing ways of 'seeing' situations rather than principles which can be applied to practice. Research can provide alternative ways of understanding the social practices and institutions which form the context in which learning takes place. Some of these 'alternative ways' may be useful in improving practices, not only in the sense of leading to more efficiency in achieving desired goals, but also in clarifying and re-evaluating the purposes of those who are trying to learn about something. Understanding a wide range of these alternatives is a large part of what it is to be a sensitive practitioner. Research may also illuminate the criteria or standards which are implied by the phrase 'having learned something' according to the nature of that which has been learned.

Conclusion

In conclusion, I would like to note that this list of quasi-predictions about the effects of adopting the proposed social conception of learning is necessarily incomplete and somewhat vague. The conception itself has only been sketched out in these remarks and its adoption would necessitate it being reformed and developed in practice. It does, however, provide a philosophical background which could clarify and illuminate some existing traditions within the field which have, to a certain extent, been marginalized in North America. Briefly, it suggests that learning is not simply something that occurs inside people's heads; it is part of a way of talking about what people can, could, or would do. It is grounded in knowledge of their purposes and expectations as displayed in action and social intercourse. The value of this conception is threefold: it explains why psychological theories alone cannot be satisfying as accounts of learning, thereby preventing unrealistic expectations; it re-orients our thinking about some recalcitrant issues like the distinction between adult education and the education of children; and it makes explicit the manner in which socio/political and cultural questions are centrally involved in attributions of learning.

While, like all conceptions of learning, the social conception is based on certain beliefs about the nature of minds, it is not based on unsubstantiated empirical claims. Because it is grounded in a general understanding of human action in a social context, the conception can be informed by, and useful in, the variety of forms of research which are employed in the field of education. In keeping with strong traditions in the field of adult education, it is useful in maintaining an emphasis on the individual as a member of cultural, social, and political communities.

Acknowledgement: I would like to thank my father, Gordon R. Selman, for suggesting that there is a need for work on this topic.

Reference Notes

1. James E. McClellan, *Philosophy of education* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1976), 55-6.
2. Donald Davidson argues that there can be "no strict deterministic laws on the basis of which mental events can be predicted and explained" and that events as described by mental concepts "resist capture in the nomological net of physical theory." See "Mental events," reprinted in *Essays on actions and events* (Oxford: Carendon Press, 1980), 207-8.
3. Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophic investigations*, trans. G. E. M. Anscombe (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1958), paragraphs 143-202.
4. Stephen D. Brookfield, *Understanding and facilitating adult learning* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1986), 46.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. Howard Gardner, *The mind's new science: A history of the cognitive revolution* (New York: Basic Books, 1985), 82.
8. See Jerry Fodor, *Psychological explanation: An introduction to the philosophy of psychology* (New York: Random House, 1968), 77-86, for an example of such a non-conscious change in 'mental' processing. Fodor shows that competent speakers of a language 'hear' sentences differently than non-speakers in that they parse according to meaningful language units rather than level of acoustic energy. Sufficient experimentation might show that parsing is a necessary condition of having learned a language. However, it can be part of what is meant by 'having learned a language'. Knowing a language means understanding and being able to follow certain rules, being able to connect sounds with their correct references 'in the world', and many other things. The best developed psychological theory cannot establish those rules or those references.
9. Plato, *Meno* (New York: Bobbs-Merril, 1949).
10. While these notions are common to all the empiricists (especially Locke, Berkeley and Hume), the view was first framed by John Locke in *An essay concerning human understanding* (1690), especially secs. 23 and 24. Selections from the three major empiricists, including Locke's *Essay*, are found in *The empiricists* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press, 1974).
11. Immanuel Kant, *Prolegomena: To any future metaphysics that will be able to come forward as science*, trans. Paul Carus, and rev. James W. Ellington (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 1977), 3-7.
12. Wittgenstein, *Philosophical investigations*, paragraphs 1-12.
13. For examples see: Carl Bereiter, "Toward a solution of the learning paradox," *Review of Educational Research* 55 (1985): 201-226; Donald A. Schon, *Educating the reflective practitioner: Toward a new design for teaching and learning the professions* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1987); or Kenneth A. Strike, *Educational policy and the just society* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982).
14. Strike, *op. cit. Educational policy*, 62.
15. See McClellan, *Philosophy of education*, 5-9, for an account of the

relationship between 'metaphysical' behaviorism and Skinner's 'pedagogical' behaviorism.

16. By far the most famous example of this line of criticism is Ryle's criticism of the Cartesian conception of mind as "the ghost in the machine." Ryle, however, unlike Wittgenstein, believed that mental concepts were analytically reducible to dispositional predicates. See Gilbert Ryle, *A concept of mind* (London: Methuen, 1949).
17. Many parts of this account are borrowed from McClellan, *Philosophy of education*. Please note that 'intentional' is used throughout this account to refer to the intentions of the person trying to learn. The relations between teaching and learning, and the teacher's intentions are outside the scope of this paper.
18. K. Patricia Cross, *Adults as learners* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1981), 209.
19. Alan B. Knox, *Adult development and learning* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1977), 563.
20. Our concept of learning is related to the notion of 'rational objectives' which guarantees that statements about 'learning' cannot be reduced to purely physicalist language (facts about neurological events and brain states or facts about behavior) without changing their meaning. Hilary Putnam argues convincingly that 'rational' cannot be eliminated or replaced by non-normative words or technical decision procedures. See her *Realism and reason: Philosophical papers, Volume 3* (Cambridge: University Press, 1983), 148-54, and 245-7. Putnam's reasons are explicitly linked to Davidson's argument cited in note 2.
21. See David Pears, *Ludwig Wittgenstein* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1986), 149-178, for a more complete introduction to this notion.
22. Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the oppressed*, trans. Myra Bergman Ramos (New York: The Seabury Press, 1970), 57-74.
23. These notions permeate Dewey's extensive publications. One relatively concise account is offered in *Experience and education* (New York: MacMillan, 1958), 23-52.
24. A more detailed examination of this point is given in Michael Chapman, "Inner processes and outward criteria: Wittgenstein's importance to psychology," in *Meaning and the growth of understanding*, ed. M. Chapman, and R. A. Dixon (Berlin: Springer-Verlag, 1987)
25. Charles Taylor's description of the human sciences in *Philosophy and the human sciences* (Cambridge: University Press, 1985), is useful in showing how certain actions are "constituted" by the net of concepts and institutions in which they are a part. One of his examples is of "voting," an action which is only comprehensible against a rather complex knowledge of social context.
26. Ference Marton's, "Towards a psychology beyond the individual," in *Psychology in the 1990's*, ed. K. M. J. Lagerspetz, and P. Niemi (North Holland: Elsevier Science Publishers, 1984), can be understood as 'expanding' our conception of psychology to include socio/cultural and philosophical concerns and thus, is moving in a similar direction.

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Perspectives

PROSPECTS OF FOLK HIGH SCHOOLS IN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

Eero Pantzar
University of Tampere, Finland

Abstract

Folk high schools in different countries are a type of residential college for adult education. Their impact in adult education is greatest in the Nordic countries where their strong position is based on the Danish origin of folk high schools.

In recent years development in society also has forced folk high schools to face a situation where they have had to think of their future. The most important actual problems are: difficulties in recruiting adults to courses, the increasing competition in the 'adult education market' and unsteadiness of financial resources.

In the future the folk high schools will have to extend the co-operation and division of work between the institutions. They also will have to find new special target groups to look for alternative sources of finance and to support adequate quality of teaching. The more folk high schools are able to adapt to the developing society the more secure their position will be in the future.

Résumé

"Folk high school" (école supérieure populaire) est une sorte d'éducation des adultes en résidence. C'est dans les pays nordiques qu'elle a le plus grand impact en éducation des adultes; sa solide position s'explique par l'origine danoise du système.

Ces dernières années le progrès de la société a obligé aussi les "folk high schools" à réfléchir et à analyser leur avenir. Les problèmes les plus importants à résoudre sont: le recrutement des étudiants, la concurrence toujours croissante sur "le marché de l'éducation des adultes" et les difficultés financières.

Pour pouvoir résoudre ces problèmes, les établissements doivent entre eux, élargir à la fois la coopération et la division du travial entre eux. Ils doivent trouver de nouvelles clientèles cibles, chercher de nouvelles sources de

financement et de plus, garantir un niveau de qualité de l'enseignement suffisamment élevé. En Europe, les "folk high schools" doivent également coopérer au plan international; toute l'éducation des adultes des divers pays s'appuie en fait, sur un fond fort semblable de progrès économique et culturel.

What Does the Term 'Folk High School' Mean?

In this article Folk High School is referred to in its broad sense as an institution that functions in the area of general non-vocational adult education. The original model is Danish, and the Danish folk high school tradition has been maintained particularly in the Nordic countries and the Federal Republic of Germany (the *Heimvolkshochschule*).[1] The residential colleges for adult education of Great Britain, the Netherlands and Switzerland, which will be dealt with in this article, do not as such correspond to the Danish folk high school, although similar institutions function in the above mentioned countries—for example the Dutch *Volkshogeschool* and the Swiss *Volkshochschulheim* as a form of the residential college. In these countries different historical factors have had an influence on the national features of development in the organization of adult education.

The history of adult education, on the whole, is not very long. The origins can be found in the late 18th century England, where, as early as fifty years before the establishing of the first Danish folk high school, the First Adult School in Nottingham was functioning.[2] Also in Holland and Switzerland adult education was in operation even in the 19th century although the founding of the folk high school in these countries is said to have taken place at a later date.[3]

It is also important to be aware of the fact that the folk high school in its original form, not to mention its original goals, can hardly be identified in any country. Friedenthal-Haase stated that in the tradition stemming from Grundtvig, the folk high school has four essential characteristics.[4] First, it is a school for everyday life. Secondly, it presupposes maturity and experience. It is intended mainly for young adults. Thirdly, it is a school of national culture. Finally, it is not a school for book-learning, but a place for lively interaction.[5] The characteristics mentioned are partly unfamiliar to the folk high schools in the Nordic countries today. Mørch-Jacobsen has characterized the situation today by saying that the term 'folk high school' covers a host of different schools, both in the individual Nordic countries and in the Nordic area as a whole.[6] He goes on by saying that the national characteristics are as much due to vital differences of folk high school tradition and cultural backgrounds as to differences in national legislation. One thing which all Nordic folk high schools have in common, however, is that to a greater or lesser extent they keep their distance from the rest of the educational system and have historically regarded themselves as an alternative to that system. The Grundtvigian folk high school and its principles can be justly interpreted only in the right historical period of time, whereas today's folk high schools possibly have an emphasis on being an alternative to other education. In the past few years, however, when searching for their place and finding adults for studying, folk high schools seem to have had to approach other educational systems. The problem of existence has forced them to make compromises as to their popular educational principles.

The future of the European folk high schools has been discussed a long time. In 1986, I had a chance to participate in a conference on "The Future of Folk High Schools." This conference coincided with the 25th Jubilee of the founding of the Folk High School Association in Lower Saxony. Delegates attending the conference came from most European countries with a history and tradition of residential adult education: Finland, Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, Great Britain and West Germany.[7] In the summer of 1987, I also visited Dutch folk high schools. This international cooperation produced basic material for this analysis of the prospects of folk high schools.

The Development and Present Situation of Folk High Schools in Different Countries

When looking at folk high schools in different countries one must bear in mind that they are a type of residential college for adult education. The adult education varies from one country to another; the colleges also have a history of a different length in each country.

The impact of folk high schools in adult education is greatest, at least in number, in the Nordic countries and West Germany. There their strong position was long based on tradition. In other countries, other adult educational institutions and organizations have taken care of the functions typical of the Nordic folk high schools. It is also clearly seen that the position of general adult education is strong; for instance, compared to other countries, the West German *Volkshochschule* organization also offers extensive general adult education, operating as a kind of evening folk high school.[8]

In Denmark, the first folk high school was founded as early as 1844.[9] A total of about fifty Grundtvigian folk high schools were founded in Denmark between 1859 and 1870. National missionary movements started schools of their own about 1890, and after 1900 work began on a number of folk high schools affiliated with the labor movement, sports associations and other popular movements.[10] Compared to other Nordic countries, Danish folk high schools are more independent and further away from the actual school system. This means, for example, that they do not confer formal degrees, nor, of course, do they hold examinations.[11] However, in Denmark the function of folk high schools has undergone changes which partly involved adapting to the demands of the developing educational system. On the other hand, society has also changed and given folk high schools new challenges.

Alongside the traditional long-term courses, short-term courses have been in operation for a long time. In the (105) Danish folk high schools today, 15.000 people study in long-term courses and 42,000 people in short-term ones.[12] The demands of a developing society have been met by looking for forms of activity and subjects that are important and interesting to adults. For this reason folk high schools also try to fill specialized needs. Some of them, for example, place special emphasis on sports and athletics; others on music, art or drama; and others on problems of working life or special international topics.[13]

In **Norway**, the first folk high school was founded as early as 1864.[14] After that, folk high schools were being founded at a fast rate, and now there are 86 of them altogether.[15] Almost half of the folk high schools in Norway are run by various Christian churches and other organizations.[16] They have tried to reform the Norwegian folk high schools vigorously by developing legislation, and there has been a strong increase in short-term courses since 1985,[17] the number of which used to be minimal.[18]

In long-term courses, which are 33 weeks long, there is an annual participation rate of about 6,000, and every year about 20,000-30,000 Norwegian students take part in short-term courses of various lengths.[19] Problems have arisen in recruiting students, especially for the long-term courses, which have made folk high schools consider a reform of the contents of their teaching and the target groups.

In **Sweden**, the folk high school activity is almost as old as in Norway. The first Swedish folk high school was founded in 1868,[20] and as elsewhere the idea spread quickly. Today there are 125 folk high schools, and most of them are maintained and owned by different organizations. About 40% of folk high schools are sponsored by different county councils.[21] Most of the Swedish folk high schools organize long-term courses, normally for 30-34 weeks, as well as short-term courses.[22]

In the Swedish folk schools, the annual number of students in long-term courses is about 17,000, and about 230,000 in short-term ones. In Sweden there is more competition between institutions offering educational services, so the folk high schools have tried to develop their services and teaching in cooperation with other organizations.

In **Finland**, folk high schools were established later than those in the other Nordic countries. The idea came from Denmark via Sweden. The first folk high school was founded in 1889.[23] A considerable number of folk high schools were founded in the first decade of the 20th century, and the present number is 90. The Finnish folk high schools can be divided into four categories on the basis of their functional background and sponsoring communities:

- Grundtvigian or provincial folk high schools. These folk high schools have not tied themselves to any political or religious movement;

- Christian folk high schools, which are based in different religious movements and the Evangelical-Lutheran church;
- Folk high schools of social organizations. These are owned mainly by political organizations or trade unions;
- Three folk schools are serving such special groups as the handicapped.[24]

The 1983 report of the folk high school committee states that the definition of the function of Finnish folk high schools is based on the general functions of adult education. The report also states that the functions of folk high schools have to be viewed in the present situation, and the adult educational needs of the moment should be identified through a situational analysis.[25]

The long-term courses in Finnish folk high schools have a total of about 6,000 full-time students, which is exceeded considerably by the annual amount of 40,000 short-term students. To meet the challenges of today, Finnish folk high schools have, among other things, increased teaching which qualifies students for a trade, and it has clearly narrowed the gap between folk high schools and the formal school system.

In **other European countries** there is , with the exception of West Germany, a noticeable difference from the Nordic model of folk high school, the movement being more toward residential colleges for adult education corresponding to the Danish one.

In **Great Britain**, the history of adult education is long and varied, with a strong popular educational image, the influence of the Nordic folk high school being seen in the establishing of the residential colleges at the turn of the century.[26] Different figures are given for the number of residential colleges for adult education of the folk high school type, but there are only a few colleges arranging long-term courses. Short-term colleges are more common, though their significance in British liberal adult education quantitatively is not similar to that of the folk high schools in the Nordic countries. In any case, the development of short-term residential colleges for adult education since the 1960s is a very significant feature in British adult education.[27] Adult education of the folk high school type does not seem to have gained the same kind of footing in Great Britain as in many other countries.

In **West Germany**, folk high schools have a strong position in the adult education system. The folk high school movement was started in northern Germany, and it was in Germany that Grundtvig's influence principally was seen outside the Nordic countries. In the course of time, two different types of folk high schools were born from this basic start: the *Heimvolkshochschule*, i.e. residential colleges for adult education which were similar to the Danish folk high school, and the *Volkshochscuhle*, i.e. evening colleges for adult education.[28] The borders between the different German folk high schools (*Heimvolkshochschule*) are not very clear, since in the group of residential colleges for adult education there are other institutions side by side with the clearly Danish folk high schools. Sponsors of these institutions include different church and social organizations. There are about 200 residential colleges, and about a quarter of them are close to the Danish type of folk high school.[29]

In the present situation, special attention should be paid to the considerable differences between separate federal states in the folk high school activity. The strongest area at the moment is Lower Saxony. One of the important external developmental features in the West German folk high schools has been a pronounced increase in short-term courses. However, recruiting students seems to be a problem.

Typical of adult education in the **Netherlands** is the variety of traditions which includes Catholic, Protestant and 'general' traditions. Institutions designed for adults, which were of the residential center type, existed as early as in the first decades of the 20th century, but the folk high school based on the Danish model was founded only in 1931.[30] The development of folk high schools led, however, in a different direction from the one in the Nordic countries. A feature typical of folk high schools has been the abundance of short-term courses, of a sort similar to those offered by other residential colleges which are the equivalent of folk high schools. While at one time there were as many as nearly 50 residential colleges, of which more than ten were folk high schools, this number was considerably reduced for economical and political reasons, i.e. the state has had less opportunities for subsidizing them.

For a long time there was a noticeable vertical division between residential colleges and folk high schools according to philosophical values typical of Dutch society, a factor that was decisive also at the start of adult education. After long efforts, there is now cooperation in residential college activity and both the state and the institutions themselves have participated in developing it.[31] Including the whole of residential adult education, Dutch folk high schools now operate on the principle of a kind of private initiative. The institutions plan their courses and after that they can apply for financial support, for example, from the state. However, the state contribution has decreased in recent years, and therefore new solutions for financing have had to be found. The annual number of adult students has been about 120,000: the three main content areas of education are the humanizing and democratizing of work; supporting teaching in schools; and addressing special groups, such as the unemployed, old people, single parents, etc.

In **Switzerland**, adult education is very distinctive. One of the reasons behind this is a relatively great cultural autonomy exercised by the cantons. This can be seen in a heterogeneous national organization and in the multiplicity types of adult education.[32] Adult education in Switzerland is provided mainly by voluntary organizations launched by private initiative. Apart from national bodies there are a number of local associations which do not have a national affiliation. Folk high school activity was started already at the end of the 1920s, but the first folk high school was not founded until 1936. Folk high schools have never established a footing in Switzerland, although in the beginning the intentions of introducing the Danish folk high school were serious.[33] The fact remains, though, that in Switzerland, as elsewhere, in adult education there are institutions which carry out a similar function to that of the folk high schools in the Nordic countries. The Swiss folk high school itself offers considerably less of a range of functions than in those countries. However, it seems that there is more and more interest in increasing the amount of adult education of the residential college type.

In the **different European countries**, folk high schools have reached very different positions, but the original Danish and Nordic folk high school activity has been, from the very start, the model that has had an inspiring influence on efforts to develop adult educational organizations. The reception of the folk high school idea and its further development in different countries has been connected with many things, such as social conditions, administrative systems, and other developments in adult education. It is interesting to see that people concerned with folk high schools and residential colleges in Europe have recently been interested in discussing together current problems of their institutions, thus indicating that despite their formal differences, common aims and content can be found among them.

In an international folk high school conference held in West Germany in 1986, a large number of problems were brought up which were shared by folk high schools in most European countries. These are of great importance to the future of folk high schools (and residential colleges) in different countries. Many central issues were presented, and recently one of the most important seems to have been the **problem of having enough students** (Sweden is an exception in this respect). The second common problem is the **increasing competition in the 'adult education market'**. The third one is **economic difficulties**. Although folk high schools, e.g., in the Nordic countries have secured their economy through legislation, economic problems have not completely disappeared.

Direction: The Future

In recent years, developments in society and the educational system have forced many adult educational organizations and institutions to face a situation where they have had to think seriously of the possibilities and conditions of their survival. The needs of developing society have especially increased the need for vocational adult education, which traditionally has never been included in the function of folk high schools. In many countries, however, the question has been raised as to whether folk high schools should change in this respect to keep up with the general changes. Vocational studies have, in fact, been included in folk high school programs in countries with a strong folk high school background, such as Finland in particular and Sweden to a lesser extent. On the other hand, the same lines of development have strengthened the idea that folk high schools should have a strong role of popular education of a liberal kind.

In the Nordic countries, the freedom that folk high schools have is regarded as a strong point. By freedom they mean, as it was put in a Nordic folk high school conference, not the freedom to do anything but to be able to concentrate on the most essential things at different times. It always means also dealing with basic problems independent of the ideological trends at different times.[34]

When deciding about their future, folk high schools have been striving for new solutions and trying to test their effect in order to maintain and develop their own function. At the national level, two main principles seem to underline many good solutions: the cooperation and the division of work amongst the institutions.

A look at the most meaningful future-oriented ideas of development shows that the most common European solution is the **increase of short-term courses**; in fact, they are already of great importance. Folk high schools aim to consolidate their position in the future by finding **new special target groups**. Different European countries vary in this respect as well. In folk high schools (and residential colleges) in Great Britain and some countries in Central Europe the unemployed seem to be a more important group than in the Nordic countries. Other target groups are women, foreign workers, single parents, etc. In working with such target groups, folk high schools have a chance to show their social awareness. The social outlook is shown also in the tendency to take advantage of the educational needs derived from the democratization of working life, for instance in the Netherlands. Changes in working life have given folk high schools other possibilities too, for instance, in countries like West Germany, where the idea of educational leave is well developed.

As a result of economic difficulties, folk high schools in many countries have had to look for **other sources of finance** which in the future are likely to be found in the form of various courses either arranged by an established cooperational organization or by the institutions themselves for another organization, with a third alternative being the letting out of their premises to other groups. One aim is that the students' costs should not be raised. Folk high schools will be able to compete because of the **quality of teaching** which is guaranteed by a competent teaching staff. An important means of maintaining folk high school activity is an ability to create such **a study environment** as to give the students a possibility of feeling comfortable both in their studies and their leisure time. The study environment must also be developed in the direction of enabling the whole family to study. There have already been experiments in this field in West Germany, for example.

The more folk high schools are capable of cooperation at the national and international level, the more secured their position will be in the future. The European perspective is always shared by different countries because, for example, the economic development and cultural background is very similar in these countries.

To describe larger European questions, I will finish with a quote by Derek Legge, an Englishman, and his view on the future of residential education:

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> Various questions have to be asked concerning the future of residential education in Britain. Do we need more colleges of either long-term or short-term nature? Partly it would seem that the answer depends upon an assessment of the balance between the advantages and possible disadvantages of this form of education, and partly upon the willingness of people to avail themselves of the opportunities so offered . . . Besides the difficult question of cost, there are assertions that the courses are shallow and too short to allow for systematic study . . . Against this, there is some subjective, though substantial, evidence that residence makes a significant impact on the development of interest and awareness, and that even a short absence of home and work can effect quite remarkable learning and attitude changes . . . The willingness of people to come depends basically on their expectations and their individual assessment of the value of the experience.[35]

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PROSPECTS OF FOLK HIGH SCHOOLS: A CANADIAN PERSPECTIVE

Jindra Kulich
The University of British Columbia

The idea and the Scandinavian models of the folk high school, a liberal education residential center for adults, have attracted North Americans since the early 1900s in successive waves, as it seems, one for each generation.

Among the early indigenous adaptations on this continent were the John C. Campbell Folk School and the Highlander Folk School in the United States. Canadian adaptations followed considerably later, in the post Second World War era. By 1960 there were folk schools in Manitoba, Ontario and Nova Scotia; none exist today. These Canadian folk schools, although definitely inspired especially by the Danish folk high schools visited by Canadians in the mid-1950s, differed markedly from the Danish prototypes; the programs lasted only from a weekend to a week, and almost none of the Canadian folk schools had their own facilities but were rotated among several farms. The reasons for their growth and their ultimate demise still are awaiting analysis. The later Quetico Centre in Northern Ontario, which is still in its prime, is an interesting year-round residential center for adults influenced by the folk high school idea.

It is interesting to note that several attempts by Danish immigrants around the turn of the century to transplant the Danish model (as it existed at that point in time) intact to North America (for example, Dalum in Alberta and Elk Horn in Iowa) all failed within a few years, as they were destined to fail in the two societies based on assimilation (in the U.S.A.) and acculturation (in Canada) of immigrants.

However, for adult educators in any country who are concerned with questions of self-renewal and social consciousness in their own country there is much inspiration and food for thought in the original Grundtvig idea and its' permutations as these evolved in a number of countries. Pantzar in his article reminds us again that residential adult education, especially of the folk high school type, has been, is, and can be an important social institution in many, if not all, countries.

All the examples of transplantation and adaptation of the folk high school around the world demonstrate that the folk high school idea can and does inspire people even today, but that any attempts to transplant the actual Danish folk high schools to another country, with different background, conditions, and culture, have been foolhardy and destined to fail. If we wish to benefit from the folk high school idea, and I think we could and should, we need to be equally creative now, as our Danish and other colleagues have been before us, in our appreciation of the idea and its application to *our* needs, *our* situation, and *our* people.

We do have a number of residential adult education centers in Canada, among these are the Institut Cooperatif Desjardin in Levis, Quebec, the UAW Residential Centre in Port Elgin, Ontario, and the Banff Centre in Alberta. Of these, the Banff Centre has been inspired by the Scandinavian folk high schools. However, useful and important as these centers are, they come nowhere near the original and still timely concept. The Quetico Centre comes the nearest in Canada to the folk high school idea. We also do have a number of camps and residential centers operated by various church groups. All of these institutions operate on a two track system, sponsoring their own educational programs, but also renting their facilities to outside groups for their own educational and meeting purposes and thus many have become "educational hotels."

I would like to close my commentary with an edited version of my comments at the 1983 Grundtvig conference in Copenhagen:

> I am concerned about how Grundtvig's ideas apply to a modern, highly industrialized, immigrant society.
>
> In our increasingly more specialized and automated society, a society where we most likely never again will have full employment, a society where self-renewal will be more and more important, we need more than ever before a general, liberal education rather than only vocational or professional training.
>
> Most of us have lost our myths, forgotten our historical connections, and have become print-oriented. However, I see signs of growing awareness of these losses and of trends to regain lost ground. I see these in the increasing interest in the mythology of the Indian and Inuit people, in the almost explosive interest in one's roots, in genealogy, which is sweeping North America, in the interest in folk art, folk singing and folk dancing, as well as in the renewal of the art of story-telling
>
> I feel very strongly that relatively new, especially immigrant societies, like Canada, need to find and to establish their own cultural identity, on a creative combination of their rich ethnic heritage of the peoples who make up Canada, influenced by the wisdom of the original native people, and interacting with the natural environment in which we live.
>
> For the kind of awakening Grundtvig was talking about, for the kind of self-renewal and social consciousness we need today, we need residential liberal adult education, because it is precisely in that setting, removed temporarily from the daily business of earning one's own living, that we can be periodically re-charged in a fellowship with others in lively interaction, can find our bearings in our unending quest for the meaning of our individual lives and that of our people, and can continue to grow

and develop our potential, both as creative individuals and as responsible members of society. But, I would remind us that this refuge needs to be only temporary, that, like the young farmers of Grundtvig's time we need to return to our daily life, hopefully renewed and inspired.

We would do well to reexamine again the folk high school idea and its various manifestations in several countries to see what we can learn and what we can apply or adapt to the Canadian situation and needs in the 1990s. In my view, the Dutch folk high schools would be an especially interesting model to explore.

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Book Reviews/Recensions

CRITICAL PEDAGOGY & CULTURAL POWER

D. W. Livingstone, ed. 1987. Toronto: Garamond Press.

The crisis in Marxist and neo-Marxist thought has resulted in a variety of responses. Some intellectuals have ditched the whole legacy; others have responded by exploring anew difficult and applied questions. *Critical pedagogy & cultural power* is a serious and very honest attempt by a number of writers—many with Canadian affiliations—to take this second route.

The book is a contribution to the wider area of 'cultural studies' that over the past 30 years or so has emerged as a discrete field of academic inquiry; in effect, one created from within the neo-Marxist, humanist tradition that found expression in the late 1950s and early 1960s in the theoretical works of Richard Hoggart, Edward Thompson and Raymond Williams. Hoggart's and Williams' work rescued the notion of culture from its more elitist connotations and reworked important ideas within Marxism, especially the concept of 'consciousness,' while Thompson's historical sociology emphasized agency: people making their own history.

During the 1960s and 1970s, this tradition was forced to engage a variety of other Marxisms, some friendly, some hostile. In the 1970s, the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies became both a focus and an inspiration for work in this field, much of which addressed educational problems thereby placing in a wider social and cultural framework issues that many educators tend to examine in isolation. This tradition, therefore, is one of the most fruitful and enduring outcomes within English speaking neo-Marxism of the Marxist revival of the late 1960s and 1970s. It continues to enrich and define socialist humanism and serves as a solid base to engage enriching European ideas. Raymond Williams' more recent theoretical work is an example.

Written in this tradition, *Critical pedagogy & cultural power* is a collection of essays compiled and introduced by David Livingstone. It has its origins, we are told, in a study group at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. Some of the essays were apparently presented as papers to the study group, others, its seems, were invited. There is a loose theoretical theme holding the book together—I will come to that in a minute—but one has to say that the overall impression is that it was assembled in a hurry, rather than edited. Although gathered under four general headings—"Cultural paradigms," "Ideologies and education," "Schooling & skilling," and "Political practice,"—each contribution is a stand alone piece. Furthermore, they appear not to have been written for the same readership. In places, the study group appears intent on talking to itself; paragraphs run well beyond a page; the discourse assumes much prior reading (even study group attendance). These are not chapters for a wider readership. But in other places the essays are well written; it is almost as if the further the author is away from Toronto and the study group, the clearer her or his thinking.

The loose theme providing the theoretical spine that attempts to hold the book together is the coupling of two organizing concepts: 'cultural power' and 'critical pedagogy'. In his introduction, Livingstone sketches what he terms a "hegemonic crisis" in advanced capitalist societies: a social crisis marked by the weakening of subordinate groups' acceptance of the dominant social order. In other words, most ordinary people do not *believe* in 'the system', but out of economic necessity they comply with its demands. If they don't work, they and their children will either starve or be forced to rely on ever decreasing welfare services and private charity. By 'cultural power', Livingstone means something like the ability of particular groups—his interest is in subordinate ones—to express within their own group and to society as a whole their beliefs, values, meanings and aspirations. The second concept, 'critical pedagogy', owes much to Freire and refers to educative work that is designed to develop cultural power among subordinate groups. Livingstone identifies "families, the mass media and schools" as "the prime educative agencies" in advanced capitalism (p. 5). Surprisingly, he omits 'work'; nor does he talk of other important sites where adults interact in everyday life and within which values and meanings are formed and transformed.

Space does not allow consideration of all of the essays in the book, hence what follows are brief comments about five; hopefully, this selection provides some insight into the diversity of the chapters. The first substantive essay is by Philip Corrigan who, elsewhere, has contributed much to our understanding of the state. This essay, however, is an unfortunate opening chapter. Corrigan sets out to discuss ways of thinking about schooling and to relate these ideas to the nature and role of the state. In a potentially interesting way, he draws on both his British research and more recent Canadian work. The result, however, is a premature paper; I do not know how long Corrigan had been in Canada before the paper left him, but reading it one continually has the feeling that this is fundamentally a British theoretical essay spiced with last minute Canadian illustrations. For the reader with 'Study Group 501' or an equivalent prerequisite, neither this nor the density of the piece may be a disadvantage; read and reread, this is a rich paper; but in the context of this book, it does not work and accordingly gets the book off to a poor start.

One of the essays that tries to remain close to the theoretical thrust of the book, in form as well as in spirit, is Edmund Sullivan's critique of television. His focus is the "culture of television"; he argues that whether we watch it or not, it is "the most powerful instrument for value formation within our culture" (p. 58). Sullivan then builds the case for a critical pedagogy of the mass-media, relates it to social power and then to trace its contours. Sullivan is very skilled at making macro-micro links. For example, in one section he suggests that we live in an age of "decadence" and cultural decline and explores the ways in which the dominant social order responds to this and how the media, in particular television, are an essential element in that response. One political strategy is to deflect attention elsewhere: the Soviet Union. But as Sullivan then argues, the Russians are not at all responsible for acid rain, support for Pinochet, the decline of cities and so forth. An immense military arsenal is justified by way of reference to the Soviet threat, yet when we walk through a video parlor, a toy store or a shop selling pornographic material extolling violence against women we are confronted with a "preoccupation with violence" that cannot be blamed on the Russians.

In the same section, Satu Repo uses concepts derived from Gramsci to look at the worldview of working people and two contrasting ideological discourses directed at them: (1) the weekly tabloids that greet us at the supermarket checkout; (2) a media educational campaign conducted by a labor union (CUPE). One of the strengths of Repo's essay is the way in which she is able to apply Gramscian concepts and insights derived from the British cultural studies work to Canadian situations; the transition is much smoother than Corrigan's forced mesh. There is, however, an inclination towards oversimplification. For example, Repo chides the union (CUPE) for conducting its campaign in the *Globe and Mail* which, she suggests, is a paper that "workers are least likely to read" (p. 95). As those with any sustained experience of unionized workplaces know, the dynamics of learning and leadership are much more complex than this. What is important in a campaign such as the one she discusses is that 'the message' is disseminated to the on-the-job educators, the people who by way of quiet conversation, speeches at meetings, pinning things on notice boards and so forth help make and remake working peoples' worldview. Embedded within this particular paragraph is a reading of working class culture and a pessimism with respect to work as an educative site that is just too dismissive; it closes off any sense of possibility rather than looks for spaces and openings. Nevertheless, this piece generally offers a good example of ways in which overseas theoretical insights can inform a discussion of Canadian research.

Written in a generally accessible style is Jane Gaskell's contribution on gender and skill. She opens with her core premise: "the notion of skill is central to the way inequality is justified in the workplace" (p. 137) and from there examines how skill comes to be defined, its relationship to ideas about women's work and women's pay and the role education and training plays in all of this. Much of this has been discussed by Gaskell elsewhere, but that makes this contribution no less valuable. She deals very neatly with the relationships under consideration, but remains, I feel, imprisoned by the training model she critiques; education, schooling and training are pressed too tightly together, almost as synonyms, and it is hard to see where she would offer a critical pedagogy other than in schools and colleges.

In the same section—"Schooling & skilling"—Roger Simon's "Work experience" is probably the best piece in the book. Like Gaskell, Simon has the ability to introduce quickly the ideas with which he proposes to work. Gaskell considers 'skill'; Simon considers 'experience'; both articles complement each other nicely. Simon opens his essay by treating as problematical the notion of "experience"; while it "may provide powerful messages about the world we live in, it contains no guarantees that it will generate the insights necessary to make its 'truth' transparent" (p. 155). He sets his theoretical framework early, succinctly and with a greater clarity than some of the writers on which he draws; he then presents us with an illustrative, ethnographic case study of how one student in a 'co-operative education program' "produced a particular understanding of herself and her work" (p. 156) in a day care center. The point of the essay is to show how the production, regulation and legitimation of experience, such as that in school based 'work experience' programs, structures subjectivity.

These brief comments hopefully point to some of the strengths of the book. Despite the problems with the book's assembly, the organizing theme linking cultural power with critical pedagogy is sound. Where an essay offers both a critique of some aspect of cultural life followed by an outline of the cracks and spaces within which critical pedagogy can take place, the book fulfills its aims. At the same time, there are a number of concerns that need to be thought through by adult educators interested in the general thrust of work on 'critical pedagogy'.

The problem of reader accessibility is a good place to start. While I readily concede the place of theoretically complex works, I am not at all convinced that books that purport to be written for 'educators' should aspire to enter into discourse at this more complex level. If critical pedagogy is to have any meaning and any possibility, then it needs to be explored in dialogue with educators. But who are the educators? One of the disturbing trends in much of the radical education literature is the tendency of authors based in academic institutions to continually impose a K-PhD vision of education and to define educators accordingly. This doesn't happen all the time in this book, but it happens too often. What we see here is a hint of the notion of the privileged intellectual and an accompanying dismissive attitude towards working people and their cultural organizations, including the labor movement. What is lacking in so much of this work is any sense of the dynamics of education in everyday life. Adults interact with each other in a variety of formative sites; as Raymond Williams has taught us, values and meanings are in a constant state of formation and transformation. Within each of these formative sites there are educators, adult educators; not people with a diploma or a degree that labels them as such, but men and women who shape everyday knowledge and opinion, who interpret the world, and who contribute actively to the making and remaking of meanings and values. If we accept Livingstone's notion of a "hegemonic crisis," then it follows that there are many sites of formative influence within which a critical pedagogy can be developed. But this requires radicals to rethink notions of education, to adopt a more inclusive definition of educator and to write in a way that promotes much more symmetrical dialogue with these educators.

It is the narrow view of education and educators that limits the value of *Critical pedagogy & cultural power,* at least if it is read solely on its own terms. And there is a danger that because of the increasing specialization of our field, we adult educators will fall into that trap; a danger that the book will be seen simply as another useful source of readings for the sometimes obligatory, single semester, birds-eye view sociology of adult education course that decorate our graduate programs. Alternatively, we can see this and related work as presenting adult educators with a challenge. This decade there has been a debate in our own literature about the theoretical shallowness of adult education research. Cultural studies have much to teach us; and we, potentially, have much to contribute to the development of cultural studies. The challenge presented by *Critical pedagogy & cultural power* is to take the ideas and insights offered and to employ them as theoretical tools in order to open up the concept of education in ways that extend critical pedagogy into the everyday lives of adults.

Michael Law
University of Waikato (New Zealand) and
University of British Columbia

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WOMEN AND EDUCATION: A CANADIAN PERSPECTIVE
Jane Gaskell and Arlene McLaren, eds. 1987. Calgary: Detselig.

This book contains sixteen papers presented at the Women and Education conference held at the University of British Columbia in June 1986. That the book is a result of the conference is indicative of the commitment of the contributors to disseminate their beliefs, values and research findings about the female education experience to the widest possible audience. This commitment in turn suggests there is something new and exciting that must be shared.

We are not disappointed. The book claims to be the first comprehensive overview of Canadian scholarship on women and education. This claim is not unreasonable if we consider the previous publications of Veronica Strong-Boag, Beth Light, Ruth Pierson, Alison Prentice, Susan Mann Trofimenkoff, Sylvia VanKirk or Jill Vickers as singular efforts to redress specific absences of Canadian scholarship on Canadian women's history and status in general. In this book, Light, Pierson and Prentice are among several others who analyze and criticize women's education in Canada, past and present. Rival publications to the claim for first overview might be Trofimenkoff's *Neglected majority* (1977) or *Canadian issues: Reaching out: Canadian studies, women's studies and adult education* by the Association for Canadian Studies (1984). However, *Women and education* is unique for the point of view it presents. The contributors are united in insisting on the importance of female experience and the obligation to generate changes in education that will lead women to equality with men. These changes include changing the ways of thinking about education, as well as its purpose and content.

The book challenges the received notions that education is equally accessible to men and women and that it provides both sexes with equal opportunities. With historical evidence and contemporary studies the contributors map the explicitly gendered experience of education. Through primary school to higher education they trace the sexual division of education that disfavors women. Even adult education which purports to exist to serve individuals' needs defines those needs in terms of male experience, regardless of the fact that the higher percentage of adult students are women.

The book does not stop at exposing gender inequality in education. It suggests what action is needed to rectify it and defines the role of academics, feminist researchers and feminist activists in improving women's education in Canada.

Like most overviews, the book risks providing mere glances at a perplexing subject. Those glances are provocative however, strategically pinpointed at the four cruxes of the matter: women as mothers and teachers, women's access to knowledge, the curricula and adult education. Gaskell and McLaren have collected a mixed bag of writing on these four themes. Marta Danylewyz, Beth Light and Alison Prentice collaborated on a highly statistical and somewhat confusing account of the sexual division of labor in teaching. Roberta Mura, Meredith Kimball and Renee Cloutier as well as Jane Gaskell contributed clear pragmatic studies of high school girls' course choices. Unfortunately, Dorothy Smith's discussion of ideological structures is too abstract and dated (1975) to be meaningful but it is tempered by Nancy Sheehan's historical analysis of women and educational reform and Thelma McCormick's timely look at feminism and Women's Studies programs. Both of these are excellent examples of articulate writing and analysis. It is always a pleasure to read pertinent and poignant Kathleen Rockhill whose contribution to the book brings us face-to-face with the anomaly of women's experience—education as threat and desire.

Each of these topics merits a book in itself and the editors have not disguised their desire that more Canadian academics join a national feminist research effort to provide Canadians with a national perspective and national statement on women's education. One might argue that this is unrealistic due to the provincial jurisdiction of Canadian education. But federal government funds subsidize much of higher education and control many vocational training programs in Canada. What the book lacks in substance becomes a substantive argument for more large-scale funding of educational research, particularly with a feminist focus. As a precedent, the book sets a commendable example of scholarly collaboration toward women's educational equality. However, its numerous printing flaws, typographical errors and unimaginative cover design bear witness to the publishing difficulties Canadian scholars face and serve to undermine the credibility of the scholarship. The editors can be applauded for sensing the urgency to publish this "first" but should be chastised for their haste that has produced sloppy editorial work.

Feminists and feminism may have their critics but the value of feminist educational research is made clear by this book. What is women's educational experience? Is Women's Studies a viable academic program? What is a sociology for women? How does the ideological structure of society affect women in education? What are the restraints on women's education? Is there gender discrimination in our educational institutions? Finally, who should read this book? Anyone who doesn't know the answers to these questions.

Bonnie McEachern
McGill University

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Graduate Degrees in Canada—Adult Education and Cognate Subjects

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Graduate degrees awarded by Canadian universities in adult education and cognate subjects in 1987. Compiled by: G. Ambury; M. Blais; B. Brown; M. Gillen; E. McCreary; H. Roberts; G. Selman; A. Thomas; C. Warren; M. Welton.

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

Department of Educational Administration

Master of Education Theses

C. H. Humphries	The training needs of parent educators (Supervisor: A. G. Konrad)
A. D. I. McInnes	Blue quills: A case study in locally controlled Indian education (Supervisor: R. G. McIntosh)
P. E. Zacharko	The charter of rights and freedoms—Implications for education (Supervisor: R. G. McIntosh)

Master of Education Project Papers

S. Bara	Sonographer training in Alberta—An alternative format (Supervisor: C. Montgomerie)
D. A. Fandermeulen	Alberta Vocational Centre (Grouard): Facilities requirements (Supervisor: K. L. Ward)
J. G. Farrar	Clinical evaluation—Faculty information needs at the University of Alberta Hospitals School of Nursing (Supervisor: J. E. Seger)
M. J. Hoffman	Evaluation report of Central Alberta Community Residence Society (Supervisor: A. G. Konrad)
S. A. Shepitka	A communication model for a large private early childhood services operation (Supervisor: C. Montgomerie)
W. G. Snetsinger	Continuing education in northern Saskatchewan (Supervisor: J. M. Small)

M. H. Woodward	Development/evaluation system—An evaluative study (Supervisor: J. E. Seger)
E. J. Wright	Effectiveness of computers in instruction (Supervisor: C. Montgomerie)
A. R. Young	Improving the effectiveness of in-service education (Supervisor: D. M. Richards)

Doctor of Philosophy

J. Faulk	Attitudes of counsellors and policy makers at Alberta Vocational Centres about the unemployed and unemployment (Supervisor: J. E. Seger)
M. F. Gaffney	The Canadian jobs strategy: Selected outcomes and political system characteristics within a recurrent education context (Supervisor: D. A. MacKay)
J. A. Hezekiah	The development of nursing education in Trinidad and Tobago: 1956-1986 (Supervisor: J. E. Seger)
M. E. McHutchion	The family perspective on dying at home (Supervisor: D. A. MacKay)

Department of Industrial & Vocational Education

Master of Education Theses

C. Kibbler	The adult student and anxiety (Supervisor: A. K. Deane)

Department of Educational Psychology

Master of Education Theses

L. Block	The role of depression in the rehabilitation of industrially injured adults (Supervisor: E. E. Fox)
C. Boulter	Body image, visualization, and personality (Supervisor: J. G. Paterson)
R. Bowker	A comparison of work values across church groups (Supervisor: G. W. Fitzsimmons)
H. Campbell	The effect of short term intervention procedures by hearing-aid practitioners on self-esteem of adults with acquired hearing loss (Supervisor: M. A. Bibby)
J. Colbow	Sexually explicit materials and attitudes toward women (Supervisor: R. Frender)

C. Crocker	Transitional services for individuals who have a mental handicap: An Alberta perspective (Supervisor: G. M. Kysela)
C. Cucheran	Self actualization and the perception of time (Supervisor: P. C. Sartoris)
M. Hoover	Suicide and the self as process: A self validation—invalidation (Supervisor: G W. Fitzsimmons)
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Doctor of Education

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The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education

la Revue canadienne pour l'étude de l'éducation des adultes

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The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education is published by the Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education (CASAE). The Journal is committed to the dissemination of knowledge derived from disciplined inquiry in the field of adult and continuing education. It is a refereed journal, subject to the canons of review which determine the quality of the papers to be included for publication.

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ERRATUM

Cette revue est dédiée à l'ouvrage innovateur de Jindra Kulich qui a contribué à étendre notre compréhension de l'éducation des adultes en Europe. Au cours des années, il a publié nombre d'articles et de monographies traitant de l'apport exceptionnel des éducateurs européens spécialistes de l'éducation des adultes.

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Table of Contents/Table des Matières

Articles

Women's Challenge to Adult Education
Angela Miles 1

L'intervention éducative dans le développement de la conscience
Merardo Arriola-Socol 19

1972-Year of Affirmation for Adult Education
Gordon Selman 33

Perspectives

Access to Information on Adult Education Abroad
Jindra Kulich 46

Learning and Mind: A Response to Selman
Stephen Brookfield 64

More on Learning: A Response to Brookfield
Mark Selman 70

Book Reviews/Recensions

Founders: Innovators in Education 1830 - 1980
Ernest Stabler
Reviewed by Gordon Selman 72

Knowledge for the People: The Struggle for Adult Learning in English Speaking Canada, 1828- 1973.
Michael R. Welton, ed.
Reviewed by David W. Stewart 75

This journal is dedicated to the seminal work of Jindra Kulich who has been instrumental in broadening our understanding of European Adult Education. Throughout the years he has published innumerable articles and monographs on the unique contributions of European scholars to the field of Adult Education.

Ce numéro de la Revue est dédié à l'oeuvre de Jindra Kulich qui a contribué beaucoup à notre compréhension de l'éducation des adultes en Europe. Pendant plusieurs années, ses articles et ses rapports nous ont informés concernant les contributions uniques des européans au domaine de l'éducation des adultes.

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May/mai 1989, Vol. III, No. 1

Articles

WOMEN'S CHALLENGE TO ADULT EDUCATION

Angela Miles
Ontario Institute for Studies in Adult Education

Abstract

This paper argues that a creative response to the presence of increasing numbers of women in adult education would strengthen the important and currently embattled social purpose tradition in the field; it would help progressive educators realize more fully many of the pedagogical principles they have developed and worked with to be a potentially powerful resource for educators concerned with preserving the social mission of adult education in a period of ever more insistent pressure for a narrowing professionalization.

Résumé

Cet article vise à démontrer qu'une réponse positive à la présence croissante du nombre de femmes en éducation des adultes renforcerait cette bataille, importante et actuelle, menée pour maintenir la tradition sociale du champ de l'éducation des adultes, et aiderait les éducatrices et les éducateurs progressistes à réaliser pleinement plusieurs principes pédagogiques avec lesquels elles/ils ont travaillé depuis des décennies. Certains aspects de la théorie et de la pratique féministes sont vus comme pouvant représenter de puissantes ressources pour les éducatrices et les éducateurs intéressés à préserver la mission sociale de l'éducation des adultes à une époque où les pressions pour réduire le champ professionnel se font davantage sentir.

Introduction

Women today present a challenge to adult education just by being involved in such large and increasing numbers as social conditions and the conditions of our lives change.[1] More importantly, women are also posing an intentional challenge to adult education as we consciously articulate our interests, needs and values in feminism and the women's movement. Women's challenge understood in this way represents an opportunity as well as critique to the progressive adult educator. A creative response to this challenge would strengthen the important and currently embattled social purpose tradition of adult education and help progressive educators realize more fully many of the pedagogical principles they have developed and worked with over decades.

For generations, practitioners of popular education have been advocating and attempting to facilitate the learners' control and definition of the learning process and educational resources. However, their success has been partial. Despite many practitioners' desires to the contrary, adult educators generally have played the defining role in the educational encounters in which they have been involved. The challenge to adult educators with a commitment to empowering the disadvantaged and contributing to social change is to welcome the opportunity provided by women's new activism and to participate actively with them in creating new educational forms that reflect the emerging possibilities for a learning partnership.

It is a challenge as well as an opportunity because whatever one's commitments and values, relinquishing a controlling role is always difficult. Whether or not this challenge is met and a political/educational alliance develops between feminists and progressive adult educators remains to be seen. This must be a central question for both parties; but it is not the purpose of this article to explore the concrete and strategic 'hows' of such a process or to offer any assessment of its likelihood. The much more modest intention here is simply to outline the strengths (and therefore the opportunities) that feminist practice potentially brings to education for social change.

It has been obvious to progressive adult educators for some time that an active population or group which is contesting established social relationshiips in an attempt to take more control of their own lives and to influence the shape of history is far more receptive to a critical education process than are isolated individuals or inactive groups.[2] Social movements provide a congenial ground for an educational practice which:

> encourages the spirit of equality and the realization of full human potential in an anti-elitist communal process;

provides the students with the skills, resources and intellectual tools to understand and to confront the structures and practices which perpetuate inequality;

integrates vocational training, personal enlightenment/empowerment, and social action;

challenges the separation between the world of knowledge production and daily life;

refuses the artificial divisions of subject matter by discipline in an interdisciplinary approach to real world problems;

and breaks down the monopoly on knowledge by recognizing the learners as knowledge creators.

Historically in Canada and elsewhere adult educators have played important roles in movements for social justice and reform. Examples include: the initiators and shapers of the Antigonish Movement; the educational arm of trade unions; co-operative, farmers' and other similar movements; educational resources for community struggles; and the black movement.[3]

Educators have taken their skills and resources to struggling communities of Third World peasants, workers, farmers, fisherman, blacks, native and poor people. Educators have tried in these struggles to listen to and to learn from the people, to recognize the people's needs and wisdom and to create a learning process which serves those needs as it empowers the people individually and collectively: that is, they have tried to encourage an educational process rooted firmly in social commitment and action. The women's movement is obviously not alone in providing a context for such an educational practice; but the challenge and opportunity it poses for "the field" and for adult educators is in some ways unique. There are a number of reasons why this is so.

The Unique Nature of Women and Its Implications

The group "women" is not clearly located in any single place to which educators can travel, such as a peasant village or native, black, working class or rural community. Many adult educators are themselves members of the group "women". When they teach women as women[4] they are teaching members of their own group with a potentially closer relationship to the learners than is generally possible for educators/organizers/facilitators.

In modern urban contexts women are not a homogeneous group who are scattered throughout society with no single social location and no clearly defined space of their own. Until recently, they have been invisible as a social category. In more traditional societies women remain a clearly recognized group but one often ignored or presumed to be insignificant in social terms. Therefore, in both contexts, the mere claiming/recognition of group membership and significance by educators and learners together is itself deeply political and transforms the potential relationship between the two in ways that have yet to be fully explored.

Educational theory and theories of knowledge and learning are central to the women's movement and to feminists in ways that are not true of other social movements. For feminists, personal change and growth are not the guaranteed bi-products of struggle that many Marxists and other radicals have tended to presume. Feminists, instead, consciously structure their practice to maximize personal transformation as both means and end of a struggle which explicitly refuses the separation of process and product. The depth and centrality of this integration of the personal and political, individual and collective, emotional and rational is unique to feminism and distinguishes it even from Freirian and other popular education traditions which pay particular attention to personal change.

The Development of New Epistemologies and Practices

Women's intentional healing of themselves and simultaneous affirmation of their own value and strength is essential to their development of an alternative system of values and vision in a patriarchy which denigrates and trivializes women and leaves them and their work and worth invisible. The renaming of the world so that women become visible and valuable to themselves and each other is necessarily an active and collective process. The conscious reflection on women's experience and practice in the world, which lies at the heart of this process, is leading to nothing less than a re-examination of the very structures of knowledge and the development of new epistemologies.[5]

Movement activists/participants are developing new and exciting forms of educational practice by and for women which facilitate this process of collective rediscovery/renaming of the world and the self.[6] These include: consciousness-raising groups;[7] kitchen table meetings; support groups for women with shared situations and needs;[8] public panels of women "experts" who are recognized by virtue of their experience rather than any paper or professional qualifications; cross country caravans and buses; action research; theatre performances; conferences; public forums; and as well, new modes of practice in the classroom in the widely varied credit and non-credit courses provided for diverse groups of women.[9]

The new knowledge emerging from movement activity and the self-organization/self-education of women provides important opportunities and poses important challenges for adult educators. The challenge is all the more insistent because, unlike most other constituencies of social purpose adult education, women are bringing their concerns to adult educators in their own space. They are challenging adult educators to counter women's invisibility, to recognize a gendered world and gendered subjects, and to refuse the deficiency model of women;[10] furthermore, they are challenging adult educators to question established definitions affecting not only women, the world and humanity but such central concepts as work and leisure, progress, development, politics, the personal and the natural.

Adult educators are challenged, too, by a feminist practice which, at its best, has been able to realize the principles of progressive and critical education more fully than has been possible before even in social movement contexts.[11] Feminists, for instance, open the education and social justice mandate to half of the population which, up until now, largely has been excluded or restricted to a subordinate role. In doing so, they increase access enormously to a genuinely affirmative education. They also broaden and transform the critical agenda and the field of critical enquiry and education, throwing everything into question, including all that has been presumed natural and inevitable.

The notion that the 'personal is political,' and the recognition that naming and reflecting on experience is the key to understanding, brings politics, education and daily life convincingly together. It demystifies theory without denying it as an essential aspect of a collective practice by and for women themselves.[12] And it connects theory and education firmly with practice. The following quotation clearly illustrates the explicit integration of theory and practice, learning and action in the consciousness-raising (C.R.) process:

> C.R. is our term for the process by which women begin to discover ourselves against the effects of male supremacy on us. It happens when we describe and share our individual problems so that we can understand the universality of our oppression and analyze its social roots. It is learning to take pride and delight in our femaleness, rejecting the need to follow the feminine mystique or to copy men as our models; it is learning to trust and love each other as sisters, not competitors for male approval. It is deciding and re-deciding each day, individually and together, that we will take control of our lives, create and support each other in alternative ways of living, and struggle together for the liberation of all women.[13]

Jane Thompson points out that education and action are inseparable in feminist classroom learning as well:

> The learning experience within the women's movement has never been a purely intellectual or educational affair, but directly related to personal and collective growth, development and change, and to a whole range of campaigns and political activities concerned to challenge and alter women's subordinate position in society. That same link between action, continually developed and interpreted through interaction with theory, and described by Paulo Freire as a kind of personal praxis, also serves as a model for feminist studies. It is inconceivable to imagine courses which value women's personal experience, which develop an alternative version of women's lives to one which legitimises their oppression, and which encourage women to stop denying their own interests in the service of patriarchy, as courses bound by the usual liberal reluctance to be 'where the action is' when students decide to take their learning out of the classroom and into the home, the picket line or the political arena.[14]

This articulation of a political ground for education has enabled feminists around the world to share experience and insights across wide divisions of culture, race, wealth and social system; it also has allowed us to develop our understanding and practice together through international links and networks that reflect genuinely equal, reciprocal and supportive relationships among Third and First World groups.[15] This is a unique achievement which represents an enviable alternative to the much more common paternalistic or charitable mode of education/training relationship that seems inescapable in other contexts even for the most progressive educators.

The Challenge for Adult Education

The most direct and difficult challenge posed for adult educators (both male and female) by the new knowledge and new practice of feminism and the women's movement is the possibility (requirement) it represents for achieving the genuinely reciprocal learning relationship between educators and learner/activists that has long been a goal of progressive educators. Effective social purpose education with women today requires that adult educators learn from the new insights and analyses of the women's movement. This exciting prospect opens the way for a much fuller and more genuinely equal and mutual learning experience for teacher and student than is possible for middle class urban teachers of peasants or intellectual teachers of workers.[16]

However, realizing the potential for a true partnership of learning necessarily will involve adult educators in some hard self-questioning. The alternatives that feminists are developing throw into question many established ways of teaching and learning, the content of much of that learning can be questioned as well as the role that even much social purpose education/training has played in serving rather than contesting structures that limit our lives.[17] Michel Jean notes:

> It has not been enough to open up the trades and professions to women in order to desex these fields of activity and learning. Little by little we have come to realize that the entire educational and social structure has to be reviewed, in addition to the means by which knowledge is acquired.[18]

The following poem which appeared on a women's poster from Papua, New Guinea, is just one example of the kind of challenge being posed to women all over the world and, through them, to the adult educators who are concerned to listen:

Determining New Directions for Women's Education

Women
Don't let the changing times
the changing technology

mean changing hands
Don't lose your ground in the game
they call "development"

Dare to demand education that is real
employment that has rewards
engagement in life ·
effective voices in the future

Take hold of what you have
of what you know and do already
keep it
caress it
cultivate it
Call improvements to your corner
Put progress in your part

Capture innovations and invent

Crush ways of learning
and strategies of work
which cut your options

Beware the tricks of "training for women"
special projects
deception education
token extension
illusive equality
that starts and ends at home...
as housewives
"having little or no opportunity
to actively engage
enthusiastically participate
in all forms of social and economic life"

Don't be trained, taught, educated...
to occupy yourself with trivia
the "toy" development
of household trappings
and the things they call "women's work"
yet ridicule and dismiss in the analysis of "real" work
of man-hours
and man-made definitions of development

Be cautioned against contrivances
(in the hand craft, needle craft...

mothercraft, childcraft)
claiming to refine your competence
crown your role while actually
crippling your potential

Go forward
not backward
Be bold
not building
Seize time
Seize training opportunities
Teach yourselves
and set your own horizons

Take note
Take care
Take Courage
Take hold firmly
of tools
and technology
Take part fiercely in the future
Take stock of changing times
and take on a stake in training

Be all that you can
and all that you want
A decade that you want
our decade has begun.[19]

The field of Adult Education is not alone in being challenged by women's developing organization and consciousness. Churches, trade unions, social agencies, political parties, governments, the professions and the media are all facing pressure. Unfortunately, there is little sign, yet, that the long history of concern for social justice and the commitment to work towards its realization represented by the social purpose tradition in education has made the field any more responsive to women's challenge than have been these other institutions. A study conducted in 1977 by the Canadian Congress for Learning Opportunities for Women (CCLOW) found that:

> Nothing has changed. In spite of years of active concern for women's equality, in spite of the enormous efforts of thousands of women educators (and some male educators) in this country concerned about the status of women in

> continuing education, and in spite of the proliferation of really excellent educational programmes for women... speaking globally, nothing has changed.[20]

A 1988 report, prepared for the same organization eleven years later, found that this state of affairs still persists.[21] A study undertaken in 1986 for the Social Science Federation of Canada reported that women's influence in each academic discipline varied proportionately with their numbers. The more women there are in a field the larger the role they play. The single exception to this general rule was the field of education where women's influence is much less than would be expected given their relatively large numbers.[22] A recent survey of Canadian academic journals found that The Canadian Journal of Education in the 1980's published fewer articles on women then the leading journals in other fields such as history, sociology and psychology, disciplines which have relatively fewer women.[23]

Women's access to adult education continues to be limited by a number of factors: low personal incomes; lack of decision-making power over family income; low employer support for their training;[24] poor provision of child care and public transportation; lack of recognition for the knowledge and skills women acquire in their unpaid family and volunteer work; and timetabling of classes which takes no account of the domestic demands on women and the particular structure of their working day.

Adult education courses and curriculum continue to make 'ungendered' assumptions which ignore women, devalue their activities, and remain impervious to women's different learning styles.[25] Guidance counsellors continue to push women toward the low pay/low status areas in which traditionally they have been employed.[26] Women are under-represented in vocationally related training courses and are still heavily concentrated in traditional areas.[27] The few programmes which cater to women's particular educational needs tend to be ghettoized and to lack secure institutional support. The administration and teaching of adult education remains largely in the hands of men.[28]

Conclusions

It is important for progressive adult educators to work toward expanding women's (and all people's) access to all forms of training by reducing the economic and social barriers to formal education, developing effective means of outreach, and finding ways in which to participate and to contribute to community organizing and popular education programmes -- to go where women (the people) are.

But for the social change tradition of adult education to gain real strength from feminism, adult educators also will have to join feminists in working toward the very transformation of knowledge through the incorporation of the female point of view and experience; undertaking, on the basis of this transformation, a radical rethinking of curriculum, course content, and teaching and evaluation methods to ensure a feminist dimension in all education as well as altering the power structures in education.[29]

This is a tall order and there are significant forces of resistance within the field which, as we have seen, have so far prevailed. But for those educators concerned to strengthen the social purpose/social mission of adult education and to preserve the pluralism of the field in a period of ever more insistent pressure for a narrowing professionalization,[30] the women's movement can be a powerful ally, and the counter pressure of feminists an important resource.[31] In fact, it may be no exaggeration to say, that without the active and conscious constituency represented by women, the cause of social purpose education may be all but lost.

The analyses, insights and suggestions of feminists offer strong support, too, for those educators concerned to ensure that the increasingly important, and necessarily broad and creative role of adult education in post-industrial society is recognized, consciously planned, facilitated, and adequately financed. Feminist analyses of the increasingly global economy, the inadequacy of current concepts of development, the impact of new technologies on work and on the role of labour and information in production, the shifting relations of production and reproduction (including education) activities, manufacturing and services, and the state and the family or private life, are all contributing to the growing awareness that we are witnessing the emergence of a post-industrial socio-economic order: one with very different organizing principles than industrialism in which education, information and human resources are central.[32]

The demands of women for educational access, flexibility, and support highlight essential areas of change if adult education is to grow to play the role it must in this period. They strengthen the case for the abandonment of the rigid timetabling and cost-recovery basis of adult education provision. Together, such designs restrict educational opportunities to those with considerable previous education and substantial financial and psychological resources. Consequently, the structural changes necessary to build the new relationship between work, leisure and education required in a post-industrial economy are inhibited.

The particular characteristics of women as learners,[33] if they are taken seriously can also make a potentially large contribution to the new kind of education required today. Women's thirst for knowledge and their willingness to make sacrifices for access to education and to undertake important life changes as a result is exemplary. Research has shown that women have a preference for, and an ability to initiate and participate in, the kind of co-operative inter-active, non-hierarchial and personally empowering education process most appropriate to develop the active and flexible response to the world that is increasingly important for people today.[34] And women are particularly interested in the human and social application of knowledge; they prefer education which is socially relevant.[35] This is, again, the kind of education required to meet the challenges we face today.

Education alone cannot, of course, ensure an adequate and humanity affirming response to the pressures and potentials for social change that we are facing in this period. But the challenges posed by women indicate the necessary direction of movement if the field of adult education is to retain its social purpose tradition and with it, its relevance and its ability to contribute to the development of new ways of being, and a new social order in which the enormously powerful new productive forces are used to enhance our lives and our freedom, rather than to restrict them. This is the historical challenge and potential that women represent for adult education.

Reference Notes

1. Counting formal enrolments only and not group educational activities, in general, women in 1983 made up 56% of adult enrolments in Canada and their participation rate is 21% compared to men's 17%. *One in every five: A survey of adult education in Canada.* 1985. Secretary of State and Statistics Canada, p. 6.

In 1980-1981 women made up 61% of the part-time undergraduate students in Canadian Universities. *From the adult's point of view.* 1982. The Canadian Association for Adult Education.

2. Some educators have concluded that the active collective contest of social struggle provides the only ground for effective popular education practice. Activists take charge of their collective learning, learn for their own self-defined purposes and use their new knowledge in action in ways that individual learners cannot do. Myles Horton of Highlander, for instance, worked closely with the trade union movement in its more radical days and, later, with the civil rights

movement because these two movements provided, at different times, the necessary context for critical education. See *Unearthing seeds of fire: The idea of Highlander*. 1975. Adams, F. and Blair, J.F. (publishers).

Jorge Osorio explores what he considers to be the essential relationship between popular education and popular movements in his article "Popular education in Latin America". In *International journal of university adult education*. 17 (3). November 1988.

3. For information about some of the most important earlier Canadian educational practice see the collection *Knowledge for the people: The struggles for adult learning in English speaking Canada, 1928-1973*. 1987. Welton, M. (ed.). OISE Press.

4. This recognition of women as a significant social group is a hallmark of feminist education which is not, of course, common to all women adult educators, many of whom fail to recognize women as a social group and themselves as part of it, even when they teach all women's groups of health or social workers, welfare mothers, teenagers, prisoners, incest victims or stay at home mothers. Adrienne Rich, one of the most influential theorists of feminist education, describes her own coming to awareness as a woman and the impact of this on her observation of the education process and her practice as a teacher, in the widely cited, and by now classic, article, "Taking women students seriously." In *On lies, secrets and silences*. 1979. Norton.

5. For an account of the development of this epistemological critique and transformation in feminism generally see my *Feminist radicalism in the 1980's*, 1985, New World Perspectives, Culturetexts. Collections of feminist articles which illustrate this radical re-examination/reconstruction of knowledge in a variety of fields include: *Knowledge reconsidered: A feminist overview*. 1987. Franklin, U.M. (ed.). Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women; *Discovering reality: Feminist perspectives on epistemology, metaphysics, methodology, and the philosophy of science*. 1983. Harding, S. (ed.). D. Reidel; *Feminism in Canada: From pressure to politics*. 1982. Miles, A. and Finn, G. (eds.) Black Rose Books. See Elizabeth Minnich, "Toward a feminist transformation of the academy," for an early account of the epistemological shift involved in feminist education. In *Proceedings of the fifth annual GLCA women's studies conference*. 1979. A special issue of the *Journal of moral education* entitled *Feminist perspectives on moral education and development*, 16 (3), October 1987, presents more recent writing on the epistemological transformations involved in feminist education, including, "Do we really want to produce good people?" by Neil Noddings and "Transforming moral education" by Jane Roland Martin. For an article relating this feminist epistemological work to questions of practice in adult education see: Warren, C., "Feminist discourse and the research enterprise: Implications for adult education", *Canadian journal for the study of adult education* 1 (2). 1987.

6. Case studies of feminist educational practice in Canada, the United States, England and the Third World respectively may be found in the following books: Canada: *Women and education: A Canadian perspective*. 1987. Gaskell, J.S. and McLauren, A.T. (eds.) Detselig; *Women's studies in Canada: A discussion*. November 1987. Somer Brodribb. A special publication of Resources for Feminist Research; The United States: *Learning our way: Essays in feminist teaching*. 1983. Bunch, C. and Pollock, S. (eds.) The Crossing Press; *Gendered subjects: The dynamics of feminist teaching*. 1985. Culley, M. and Portugese, C. (eds.) Routledge and Kegan Paul; England: *Learning liberation: Women's response to men's education*. 1983. Jane L. Thompson, Croom Helm; *New*

futures: Changing women's education. 1985. Hughes, M. and Kennedy, M. (eds.) Routledge and Kegan Paul; Third World: *Towards empowerment: report of FAO-FFHC/AD South Asia training for women development workers Oct. - Dec. 1983, Food and agricultural organization of the U.N.*, April 1985. Kamla Bhasin, office of the FAO representative in India; *In search of answers: Indian women's voices from Manushi.* 1984. Kishwar, M. and Vanita, R. (eds.) Zed Books; *Growing together: Women, feminism and popular education.* 1988. Isis International and Network for Women and Popular Education of the Latin American council on Adult Education. Isis International.

7. Consciousness-raising groups emerged in the early days of this phase of the women's liberation movement apparently spontaneously in the thousands all across North America and represent one of the most original and important feminist educational and political contributions. For an early monograph describing and reflecting on the practice of C.R. and its significance see Pamela Allen, *Free space; a perspective on the small group in women's liberation.* 1970. Times Change Press. The following anthologies of early feminist manifestos and articles also include a number of pieces on C.R.: *Voices of the new feminism.* 1970. Thomson, M. (ed.). Beacon Press; *The new woman.* 1970. Bunch-Weeks, C. and Cook, J. (eds.). Bobbs Merrill Co.; *Radical feminism.* 1973. Koedt, A. et al. (eds.). Quadrangle.

8. These include, among many others, groups for young mothers, single mothers, widows, battered women, and incest survivors. They provide a context where the women can support and inspire each other, share and reflect on their experience, and develop new understandings of themselves and the world and new abilities to act in and on it individually and collectively.

9. The enormous range of feminist credit and non-credit classroom teaching can be seen from the diverse case studies presented in the following articles: Loewenstein, A., "Teaching writing in prison." Haywoode, T., "College for neighbourhood women: Innovation and growth." Sands, D. et al., "A feminist chatauqua for a rural state." Gibbs Russell, M., "Black-eyed blues connections: Teaching black women." In *Learning our way*; Hoffman, N.J., "Breaking silences: Life in the feminist classroom." Miller, N.K., "Mastery, identity and the politics of work: a feminist teacher in the graduate classroom." In *Gendered subjects;* Nemiroff, G., "Women's studies in the workplace." In *Canadian women's studies,* 1 (2). Winter 1978; Shteir, A.B., "On teaching 'women and literature' to grade 13 students." In *Canadian women's studies,* 1 (1). Fall 1978; Powell, C., "The bridging program for women: A CCLOW model that works." Cooke, A., "A life skills program for strippers." In *Women's Education,* 5 (1). Fall 1986.

10. The term 'deficiency model of women' refers to the practice which has been prevalent in most disciplines by which if women are noticed in research and if they are found to be different from men they are presumed deficient. For an early description and rebuttal of this practice in psychology see Wine, J., "Gynocentric values and feminist psychology." In *Feminism in Canada.*

11. For a discussion of the remarkable success with which feminists have "made operational the ideas, insights and practices educational philosophers and theorists have engendered and promulgated," see Greenberg, S. "The women's movement: Putting educational theory into practice." In *The journal of curriculum theorizing,* 5 (2): 192-197. 1982. One example of feminist reflection and transformation of established popular and critical education principles is "Feminist pedagogy in education for social change." In *Feminist teacher,* 2 (2).

Jenkins, M.B. and Hooyman, N. A more recent theoretical contribution to feminist critical pedagogy can be found in Weiler, K. *Women teaching for social change: Gender, class and power.* 1988. Bergin and Garvey.

12. For feminist discussions of the role of theory and the teaching of theory and theoretical competence see: Bunch, C., "Not by degrees." In *Learning our way*; Cocks, J., "Suspicious pleasures: on teaching feminist theory." In *Gendered subjects*; Evans, M., "In praise of theory: The case for women's studies." In *Theories of women's studies.* 1983. Bowles, G. and Duelli Klein, R (eds.) Routledge and Kegan Paul.

13. Bunch, C. "A broom of one's own." In *The new woman: A motive anthology on women's liberation.* 1970. Bunch-Weeks, C., Cooke, J. and Morgan, R. (eds.) Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, p. 169.

14. *Learning liberation*, p. 120.

15. The activities of the United Nations Decade for Women from 1975 to 1985, in particular the three international conferences which marked its opening and midway and closing years, played a large role in initiating vibrant international networks of exchange, affirmation and learning among women activists and educators that continue to develop. The publication *Voices rising: A bulletin about women and popular education*, published twice yearly in English, Spanish and French by The Women's Program of the International Council for Adult Education (ICAE), gives ample evidence that this process of exchange and cooperation continues to grow in the years following the close of the decade. The April/May 1988 issue is, for instance, a special report on an international seminar entitled "The Feminist Challenge to Adult Education" held in November 1987 in Montreal and sponsored by the ICAE and the Institute canadien d'education des adults:

> About 100 women took part in the five days of meetings, workshops, and study-visits: 11 women from Africa, 14 from Latin America and the Caribbean, 10 from Asia, 1 from Australia, 13 from Europe, 6 from the U.S., and 21 each from Quebec and Canada...Participants came form popular education groups, women's organizations, adult education institutions, trade unions, and national liberation movements. We're working as grassroots educators, as feminist activists, as coordinators of programs and networks, as researchers and writers, and in different fields of adult education--in literacy, popular theatre, worker education, feminist consciousness raising, and political organizing. p. 3

16. In a respectful popular educational process a lot of mutual learning does go on between those with more and less formal education and higher and lower social status; but the kind of deep, conscious, qualitative challenge that feminism explicitly makes to established analyses and world view and to the presumptions of educators is unique.

17. Thompson, J. calls for "a radical redefinition of subject matter, different lines of enquiry and new ways of learning." In *Learning liberation*, p. 111; and, Cebatorev, N., "Women's action in the third world: Is popular education enough?" In *Worldscape*, 2 (1). Spring 1988.

18. From a keynote speech to the Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women, published as "Creating and communication knowledge from a feminist perspective: The risks and challenges for women." In

Knowledge reconsidered. Michel Jean was head of the "Commission d'etude sur la formation des adultes in Quebec" whose influential report appeared in 1982.

19. Reprinted in the introduction of the module *How do we liberate ourselves, understanding our oppression, working for emancipation.* 1987. The Philippines: The Centre for Women's Resources; and, also in *Voices rising: A bulletin about women and popular education.* April/May 1988.

20. Willis, J., co-ordinator CCLOW. *Learning opportunities for women.* 1977. Report on a survey conducted under contract to the Women's Programme, Secretary of State.

21. *Women's education and training in Canada,* prepared by Susan Wismer for the Canadian Congress for Learning Opportunities for Women. 1988.

22. *Sex bias in research: Current awareness and strategies to eliminate bias within Canadian social science.* 1986. Report of The Task Force on the Elimination of Sexist Bias in Research. Linda Christiansen-Ruffman, Chair to the Social Science Federation of Canada. Ottawa.

23. Maciejko, B., mimeo. "Feminism and Canadian academic journals: A sample survey." 1987. Vancouver: Department of Social and Educational Studies.

24. A higher proportion of men than women in adult education receive support from their employers, *Women's participation in adult training in Canada and British Columbia: A profile.* March 1988. Report to the Ministry for Advanced Education and Training. Province of British Columbia. Prepared by the Canadian Association of Adult Education.

25. For recent influential research on women's ways of learning and knowing see: *Women's ways of knowing: The development of self, voice, and views.* 1986. Belenky, M.F., et al. Basic Books.

26. *Who turns the Wheel?* Part 5. 1981. Science Council of Canada.

27. Women in 1980-81 made up only 31% of those enroled in Canada Manpower Training Programs. They made up 93% of those receiving training in clerical occupations, for instance, while they received only 1.3% of the instruction in construction trades. *From the adult's point of view.* 1982. Canadian Association for Adult Education, p. 13.

28. See an unpublished study by Thomas Guinsberg and Jacequelyn Wolf, conducted for the Canadian Association of University Continuing Education and reported at the 1988 Annual General Meeting of the Association; also *Adult education studies in Canada - 1984.* Report of a study conducted by Patrick Keane on behalf of the Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education, specifically "Faculty listing" and "Liaison persons."

29. If the knowledge base and power relations of education are not transformed as women's access is enhanced, the involvement of increasing numbers of women and feminists in the field, as students and teachers, may do more to limit and co-opt the women's movement than to strengthen adult education as a movement. The impact of adult education and feminism is mutual; and institutional adult education is a danger as well as a resource to any social movement.

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Hayden Roberts recognized this danger in his article "The Socio-Politics of adult education in Canada' when he noted what he calls "counter cultural" education, (education that seeks alternative socio-political philosophies, or ideologies or...paradigms...and is willing to question the most fundamental values, purposes, and objectives of any system) that: "Practically none of this kind of education is being offered by the adult education arms of the formal educational institutions. But a fair amount of it is going on in church groups, cross-cultural learner centres, energy and ecology groups, holistic health groups, futurist groups." He goes on to say that "as an adult educationist interested in social change, I am interested in this movement. But even as an adult educationist, I hope we don't get our hands on it, and co-opt and formalize it." *Canadian issues, special issue: Reaching out: Canadian studies, women's studies and adult education.* 1984. 6:117-118.

30. Gordon Selman has traced the social movement roots and increasing professionalization of Adult Education as a field in Canada in a number of articles: "The adult educator: change agent or program technician." In *Canadian journal of university continuing education,* 11 (2). 1985; and with J. Kulich, "Between social movement and profession -- a historical perspective on Canadian adult education." In *Studies in adult education,* 11 (2). 1980.

31. Associations of women and feminist educators are key potential allies for those concerned to protect and enhance the aspect of adult education which presumes to have something to say about social justice and social change. The commitment of even mainstream women's educational groups to social purpose and social mission education is absolutely clear and unapologetic. The following examples of policy and purpose statements leave no doubt of this:

(1) Excerpt from the Mission Statement of the Canadian Congress of Learning Opportunities for Women:

The Canadian Congress for Learning Opportunities for Women (CCLOW) recognizes that most women in Canada live in a society where systemic discrimination, especially against women, prevails. Women are poorer than men, and have access to significantly fewer educational, training and job options than do men. As well as being economically disadvantaged, women lack adequate support services necessary for them to have access to the full range of learning opportunities available to men. CCLOW addresses the causes of these inequities and makes recommendations for their redress.

We strive for the empowerment of women on the personal, social and political levels of our lives.

(2) Excerpt, The Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women:

PURPOSE

CRIAW's purpose is to encourage and coordinate and disseminate research into women's experience and to ensure an equal place for women and women's experience in the body of knowledge and research about Canada, its people, culture, economy and politics. The Institute also encourages the participation of women in all facets of the research process.

OBJECTIVES

* To promote the advancement of women through feminist and women-centred research

* To encourage and facilitate communication and information exchange among academic women, community workers and activists, women's groups, and concerned individuals

* To disseminate results through publications...

* To sponsor and assist research of interest to and by women in Canada.

(3) Excerpts from the Constitution of the National Women's Studies Association (USA):

Women's Studies owes its existence to the movement for the liberation of women; the feminist movement exists because women are oppressed. Women's Studies, as diverse as its components are, has at its best shared a vision of a world free from sexism and racism...The development of Women's Studies in the past decade, the remarkable proliferation of programs that necessitated this Association, is a history of creative struggle to evolve knowledge, theory, pedagogy, and organizational models appropriate to that vision.

Women's Studies is the educational strategy of a breakthrough in consciousness and knowledge. The uniqueness of Women's Studies has been and remains its refusal to accept the sterile divisions between academy and community, between the growth of the mind and the health of the body, between intellect and passion, between the individual and society.

Women's Studies is equipping women not only to enter society as whole and productive human beings, but to transform the world to one that will be free of all oppression.

32. I examine the impact of post-industrial changes on women and the important role that feminist analysis and the women's movement can be expected to play in the shaping of a creative progressive response to the pressures and potential of this period in an unpublished paper: "The changing relation of production and reproduction in post-industrial society: A class and gender analysis."

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L'INTERVENTION ÉDUCATIVE DANS LE DÉVELOPPEMENT DE LA CONSCIENCE

Merardo Arriola-Socol
Université Laval

Résumé

Dans le cadre d'une recherche-intervention dont la philosophie de P. Freire, W. Smith et J. Bailey est la toile de fond, l'auteur étudie le processus de développement de la conscience d'un groupe de "femmes seules" du comté de Lotbinière Québec et évalue les effets de l'intervention éducative sur le développement de la conscience des participants. Parmi les éléments abordés dans cette recherche plus vaste, l'auteur, dans cet article, choisit de se pencher plus précisément sur le programme d'intervention et ses effets sur le développement de la conscience.

Abstract

Through a participatory research, having as its background the philosophy of P. Freire, W. Smith and J. Bailey, the author studies the process of consciousness raising among a group of women living on their own, in the county of Lotbinière (Québec); he also evaluates the effects of the educative intervention on the development of their consciousness. In this article, the author chooses to focus on one aspect of that research: the educative programme and its effects on the raising of consciousness.

L'intervention éducative dans le développement de la conscience

Les interventions éducatives inspirées de la méthode psychosociale de l'éducateur brésilien Paulo Freire ne cessent de croître, mais les recherches sur le processus de développement de la conscience ainsi que sur l'impact de ces interventions sur la conscience sont encore rares.

Pour ces raisons, nous nous sommes proposé dans le cadre de cette recherche-intervention de comprendre le phénomène de développement de la conscience d'un groupe de femmes du comté de Lotbinière (Québec) (l'aspect recherche), à partir d'une intervention éducative qui vise le développement de la conscience critique (l'aspect intervention). Ainsi recherche et intervention éducative maintiennent, tout en conservant leur autonomie, des liens très étroits.

Parmi les éléments abordés dans le cadre de cette recherche réalisée de 1982 à 1986, nous désirons nous pencher plus précisément ici sur une intervention éducative et sur ses effets.

Philosophie de l'intervention

Les idées et la philosophie de Friere (1974, 1982) forment le corps et l'encadrement général de cette recherche-intervention. Sur cette base, nous avons aussi utilisé les travaux de Jaggar et Rothenberg (1978) pour rendre compte des recherches sur l'oppression spécifique des femmes, ainsi que l'étude de Smith et Alschuler (1976) pour préciser le concept de "conscientizaçao". Les travaux de Janet Bailey (1977) ont permis de spécifier l'étude des niveaux de conscience de certains groupes de femmes.

L'oppression et la conscientisation.

L'oppression se concrétise par l'exploitation de l'opprimé par l'oppresseur, nous dit Freire. Mais il ne reconnaît cette réalité qu'en y incluant la possibilité de libération de l'opprimé, et en la plaçant dans un contexte socio-économique et politique.

La conscientisation est une notion primordiale pour Freire. Il la décrit comme "l'approfondissement de la prise de conscience" et comme un processus social qui non seulement permet à des sujets actifs d'acquérir une connaissance plus vaste de la réalité socio-culturelle qui les influence et structure leur vie, mais aussi d'initier des activités pour transformer la société. La croissance de la conscientisation change la critique des institutions en action concrète, et permet de prendre conscience de la dignité de l'être humain.

Pour décrire le processus de conscientisation, Freire a déterminé trois façons de percevoir le problème (nommer la situation), de l'analyser (réfléchir sur la situation) et d'agir (agir sur la situation). Ces différentes façons de "nommer", de "réfléchir" et "d'agir" correspondent à trois niveaux de conscience: la conscience magique, la conscience naïve et la conscience critique.

Au niveau de la conscience magique la perception des gens est basée sur la fatalisme vis-à-vis de leur situation d'oppression. Au niveau de la conscience naïve le problème d'oppression est compris comme étant un problème avec les individus et non avec un système. Les gens au niveau de la conscience critique identifient l'oppresseur comme acteur collectif.

Nous présentons, dans les pages suivantes, les tableaux synthèses des niveaux de conscience, élaborés à partir du travail de Smith et Alschuler (1976), qui ont essayé de rendre la théorie de Freire opérationnelle et d'en faire un cadre de référence plus clair et plus précis.

CONSCIENCE MAGIQUE

NOMMER	1. LA NÉGATION DES PROBLEMES a) La négation ouverte b) L'évitement du problème 2. LES PROBLEMES DE SURVIE a) Le mauvais état physique/santé b) La pauvreté c) Le manque de travail d) Le travail insuffisant e) Le but est l'argent comme tel
RÉFLÉCHIR	1. L'ANALYSE SUPERFICIELLE DES CAUSES a) Le blâme de l'état physique b) Le blâme des objets 2. LES FAITS DE L'EXISTENCE SONT ATTRIBUÉS AUX SUPER-PUISSANCES a) Les facteurs non contrôlables b) La peur de l'oppresseur c) La victoire inévitable de l'oppresseur d) L'empathie pour l'oppresseur
AGIR	1. LE FATALISME a) La résignation b) L'acceptation 2. LA COLLABORATION PASSIVE AVEC L'OPPRESSEUR a) L'attente b) L'action dépendante de l'oppresseur

CONSCIENCE NAIVE

NOMMER

1. L'OPPRIMÉ DÉVIE DES ATTENTES IDÉALES
   - a) L'opprimé ne ressemble pas à l'oppresseur
   - b) L'agressivité horizontale
2. L'OPPRESSEUR DÉVIE DES ATTENTES IDÉALES DE SON RÔLE
   - a) L'oppresseur individuel viole les lois
   - b) L'oppresseur individuel viole les normes

RÉFLÉCHIR

1. L'ADOPTION DE L'IDÉOLOGIE DE L'OPPRESSEUR
   - a) L'opprimé accepte les attentes de l'oppresseur et ses explications
   - b) La dépréciation de soi et de ses semblables
   - c) Le blâme des ancêtres
   - d) L'apitoiement sur son sort
2. LA COMPRÉHENSION DE LA VIOLATION DES NORMES PAR L'OPPRESSEUR
   - a) L'opprimé perçoit les intentions malveillantes de la part de l'oppresseur individuel
   - b) L'opprimé voit le rapport entre l'oppresseur individuel et ses agents
   - c) L'opprimé généralise d'un oppresseur individuel à l'autre

AGIR

1. LA COLLABORATION ACTIVE AVEC L'OPPRESSEUR
   - a) L'acceptation de l'oppresseur comme modèle
   - b) L'agressivité mal orientée
   - c) Le paternalisme envers ses semblables
   - d) La conformité aux attentes de l'oppresseur
2. LA DÉFENSE
   - a) Les réunions sans fins politiques
   - b) Les efforts pour aider le fonctionnement du système
   - c) L'évitement du contact avec l'oppresseur
   - d) L'opposition à l'oppresseur individuel
   - e) La transformation de l'environnement

CONSCIENCE CRITIQUE

NOMMER

1. LE REJET DE L'OPPRESSEUR ET L'AUTO-AFFIRMATION
   - a) Le rejet des groupes d'oppresseurs
   - b) L'affirmation de son identité ethnique
2. LA TRANSFORMATION DU SYSTÈME
   - a) La transformation des procédures
   - b) Le rejet du système d'oppression

RÉFLCHIR

1. LA COMPRÉHENSION ET LE REJET DE L'IDÉOLOGIE DE L'OPPRESSEUR
   - a) La sympathie
   - b) L'auto-critique
   - c) Le rejet de l'agressivité horizontale et l'auto-punition
   - d) Les groupes d'oppresseurs sont vus comme faibles et victimes du système
   - e) Le rejet des groupes d'oppresseurs ou leur idéologie
2. LA COMPRÉHENSION DU FONCTIONNEMENT DU SYSTÈME
   - a) Le système est analysé comme cause des problèmes
   - b) Les contradictions entre les discours politiques et la réalité
   - c) L'analyse macro-économique
   - d) La généralisation d'un système d'oppression à un autre

AGIR

1. LA RÉALISATION DE SOI
   - a) La recherche de modèles de rôles appropriés
   - b) Les actions indiquant auto-estime personnelle et ethnique
   - c) La connaissance de soi et la connaissance ethnique
   - d) La prise de décisions importantes
   - e) La confiance en ses semblables
   - f) Le courage de courir des risques
   - g) L'auto-suffisance au niveau de la communauté
   - h) Les oppositions aux groupes d'oppresseurs
2. LA TRANSFORMATION DU SYSTEME
   - a) Le dialogue
   - b) La solidarité
   - c) L'approche scientifique

L'intervention éducative ou l'investigation de l'univers thématique

Démarches préalables

L'intervention éducative a été précidée de plusieurs étapes. Nous avons d'abord rencontré un groupe d'intervenantes et de responsables du CLSC "Arthur-Caux" (Lotbinière Est) à qui nous avons expliqué, dans ses grandes lignes, les objectifs et la méthodologie de la recherche. Ensuite, nous avons formé une équipe de recherche et d'intervention composée de deux intervenantes du CSLC et de l'auteur.

Après publicité dans les médias locaux, 14 femmes se sont présentées à une première rencontre et 12 de ces femmes ont accepté de former le groupe avec lequel l'expérience s'est réalisée. Il s'agissait de femmes seules (veuves, séparées, divorcées, célibataires), âgées de 45 à 63 ans.

Programme d'intervention

Nous avons choisi, pour la réalisation de l'intervention éducative, la méthodologie proposée par Paulo Freire (1974).

Ce programme d'intervention consiste en une exploration en groupe de l'univers thématique. Ce prgramme vise le développement de la conscience critique à partir de problèmes significatifs pour les participantes. Plus concrètement, cette investigation de l'univers thématique et l'investigation de l'ensemble des "thèmes générateurs" (Freire, 1974). Les thèmes sont la représentation concrète des idées, des valeurs, des conceptions et des expériences des personnes. Ils sont aussi des obstacles au plus-être des personnes. Les thèmes supposent l'existence d'autres thèmes qui leur sont contraires, et parfois antagonistes; par example le thème "domination" suppose l'existence du thème "libération". Les thèmes générateurs sont des thèmes qui contiennent en eux-mêmes la possibilité de se dédoubler en d'autres thèmes qui, à leur tour, suscitent d'autres tâches à accomplir.

Pour permettre la reconnaissance des "thèmes générateurs" et atteindre par ces thèmes à la conscience critique, il faut utiliser une méthode conscientisante. Cette méthode se réalise en deux moments: le **codage existentiel** et le **décodage** et utilise les techniques de **codages** et **décodages**. Les "codages" sont des dessins, des phrases, ou d'autres formes d'expression, élaborés par les intervenantes et qui visent à refléter aux membres du groupe leur problématique existentielle. Le "décodage" est la réflexion critique sur la situation codée.

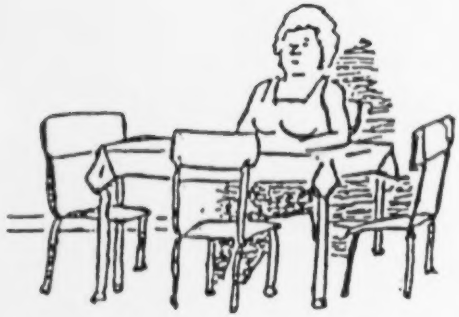
Premier moment: le codage existentiel

Ce moment est centré sur une première approche de la réalité, où nous cherchons les situations existentielles des "femmes seules" de Lotbinière afin d'élaborer les **codages.**

A partir de données recueillies antérieurement par les intervenantes du CLSC, ainsi que de celles obtenues dans des sessions de formation de groupes de "femmes seules" des années 1981 et 1982, nous avons fait ressortir des situations existentieles des femmes, Ces situations ont été codées, sous forme de dessins, de phrases, ou autres.

Ces codages représentent nécessairement des situations connues par les femmes participantes et donc reconnaissables par elles, ce qui leur permet de se situer elles-mêmes dans les codages présentés. Les dessins sont ni trop explicites ni trop énigmatiques; ils sont sobres, mais complexes, et offrent diverses possibilités d'analyse, les tableaux codés doivent être une sorte d'"éventail thématique."

Le premier codage marque le point de départ du precessus de codage-décodage. Ainsi, comme premier codage, nous proposons un dessin où apparaît une femme seule devant une table (voir page suivante). D'autres codages et outils pédagogiques sont utilisés lors de cette session: phrases écrites au tableau comme "on se sent inférieures, dévalorisées"; dessins du "réparateur", de "l'homme en haut de l'escalier...", d'"une femme écrasée", d"une femme épanouie" disant: "depuis que je suis seule, j'ai plus de cran"; dessins représentant différents types d'occupations exercées par les femmes de Lotbinière: serveuse, ménagère, enseignante, vendeuse de produits Avon, travailleuse de la ferme; dessins cherchant à évoquer un groupe de personnes assises comme dans une classe traditionnelle et un autre représentant un groupe de personnes assises en cercle; série de diapositives sur les activités de la vie quotidienne d'une famille, le vidéo "pense à ton désir; questionnaire élaboré à partir des phrases d'un article de la revue Notre-Dame (RND); questionnnaire avec des phrases sur la sexualité énoncées par les participantes la semaine précédente.



Deuxième moment: le décodage

Dans ce deuxième moment de l'intervention, nous cherchons, à partir de l'observation attentive des codages, à nommer les problèmes. Ensuite nous amorçons la réflexion sur les situations existentielles codées afin de proposer des actions transformatrices du quotidien des femmes seules.

Pour le décodage ou la réflexion, la coordonnatrice utilise les questions posées dans le questionnaire TAT (Smith et Alschuler, 1976). La première activité du décodage, "l'observation du codage", est très importante afin d'éviter les généralités dans la réflexion et afin de mieux saisir le problème projeté.

Le rôle de la coordonnatrice est primordial. Ainsi, les résumés et les synthèses faits par la coordonnatrice tout au long d'une rencontre sont tres utiles et ils aident faire démarrer ou à poursuivre la réflexion du groupe.

Elle aide les participantes à concrétiser un problème exposé et à identifier les personnes qui ont ce problème. Elle relie les réflexions actuelles aux réflexions antérieures. Ces liens permettent de réaliser que chaque rencontre n'est qu'un moment dans tout le processus de développement de la conscience. Ils permettent aussi d'établir des relations entre les diverses réflexions faites sur la conditions des femmes tout au long des rencontres.

Une période d'évaluation de 15 à 20 minutes, à la fin de chaque rencontre, permet à la coordonnatrice de recevoir les commentaires des participantes, afin qu'ensemble elles puissent poursuivre leur cheminement.

Illustration

4ième rencontre, le 23 février.

Lors de cette rencontre, trois points importants sont explorés. D'abord, le thème: "C'est la mentalité; l'homme est supérieur". Nous croyons qu'il faut affronter ce point pour pouvoir avancer. L'autre thème traite de deux perceptions de la femme seule: la femme écrasée, "pas capable", et la femme valorisée, "qui fonce."

Lors de la présentation du 1er thème, sur la supériorité de l'homme, plusieurs femmes évoquent Dieu ou le destin pour justifier leur impuissance face à la situation. Quelques-unes admettent l'existence de ce problème mais une réaction de négation, "c'est plus pareil" est en même temps formulée. La plupart des femmes présentes nient ce problème de supériorité quand il est question du mari ou du père.

Toutefois, une ouverture se produit au moment de parler de la relation au travail homme-femme. Nous analysons deux situations présentées: la femme écrasée, et la femme épanouie qui dit: "Depuis que je suis seule, j'ai plus de cran." La coordonnatrice pose les questions suivantes: "Dans quelles situations ne peut-on pas se défendre, et que pourrait-on faire?" Les femmes nomment le problème en racontant une série d'histoires vécues au travail, dans la famille, à la maison, etc. Bien que certaines participantes fassent porter une partie du blâme sur les femmes, ("C'est à cause des femmes sur le marché du travail, qu'il y a divorce, délinquance, chômage"), la plupart des participantes rejettent cette approche, et certaines mêmes, font part avec fierté de situations où elles ont dû faire preuve d'initiative. Enfin, dans une série d'actions qu'elles proposent pour résoudre le problème, la problématique de l'oppression des femmes en tant que femmes apparaît et des actions appropriées sont suggérées: "monter au gouvernement et faire changer les lois"; "Etant femmes, former un groupe de femmes"; "Créer des groupes féminins."

Pour terminer la rencontre, la coordonnatrice demande aux participantes de continuer à penser à des situations "où on n'a pas été capable de se défendre, et à ce qu'on pourrait faire".

Quatorzième et dernière rencontre, le 16 mai.

Il est proposé par les intervenantes, pour la dernière rencontre, que la coordonnatrice et les participantes fassent une synthèse et une évaluation de la session afin d'en prévoir les suites.

La synthèse est faite par la coordonnatrice et les participantes, ce qui permet à celles-ci de voir la session comme un processus complexe et dynamique, et de prendre conscience de la fin des rencontres et de leur séparation.

La coordonnatrice présente ensuite sa propre synthèse en rappelant aux participantes les objectifs de la session et la méthodologie. Elle rappelle les thèmes analysés, ainsi que le vécu des participantes lors des rencontres. Puis elle demande aux participantes de résumer ce qu'elles ont vécu lors de la session. Les participantes travaillent en groupe de deux et exposent et commentent en plénière les phrases-synthèses élaborées par elles. "Ce que j'ai vécu, c'est de pouvoir me libérer pour rencontrer des amies et toutes nous libérer ensemble", "Les problèmes que j'ai vus, maintenant je ne les vois pas comme je les ai vus au début"; "Nous avons vécu une session de solidarité, d'unité d'idées exprimées chacune à notre manière"; "Nous avons ressenti une force de valorisation chez les femmes qui, peut-être jusqu'ici, n'était pas dévoilée"; "il y a des choses que je peux faire maintenant que je ne faisais pas. Ça m'a aidée beaucoup à parler avec les autres et en public. Je me sens plus sûre de moi"; "J'ai appris à émettre mes idées, même si elles arrivaient en opposition avec celles des autres. Jamais j'aurais pu faire ça avant. J'avais l'audace de le dire."

Après avoir évalué la session, les participantes prennent conscience non seulement de l'évolution qui s'est produite en elles, mais aussi du fait que ce processus d'évolution n'est pas terminé. "C'est pas fini". "On a du travail à faire." Elles croient que la prochaine étape à réaliser serait celle de l'action de groupe; "elles veulent" se regrouper pour améliorer leur condition de femme.

Les effets de l'intervention éducative

Pour étudier les effets de l'intervention éducative sur la conscience, nous utilisons un schéma "quasi-expérimental" de recherche. (Selltiz 1977: 146) et le "Critical Consciousness Inventory" (CCI) élaboré par Smith et Alschuler (1976) qui sert à mesurer les niveaux de conscience tels que définis par Freire.

La vérification quantitative des hypothèses concerne la probabilité d'observer des différences significatives entre deux groupes de "femmes seules": le groupe experimental ayant vécu la démarche de développement de la conscience, et un groupe contrôle.

La technique statistique qui nous a semblé la plus appropriée est l'analyse de la variance multivariée, le test étant le plus puissant pour permettre le rejet des hypothèses nulles.

L'hypothèse 1 affirmait que les femmes ayant participé à l'expérience éducative obtiendraient des résultats plus élevés, au niveau de la conscience critique, pour l'ensemble des aspects mesurés par le CCI, que les femmes n'y ayant pas participé. Cette hypothèse a été confirmée dans notre recherche et il est possible d'affirmer que la participation à ce type d'expérience développe effectivement la conscience critique dans des conditions semblables et auprès de sujets similaires (voir tableau suivant).

TABLEAU: Comparaison entre le groupe expérimental et le groupe contrôle partir du "Critical Consciousness Inventory" (CCI)

Echelles	n=12 Experimental moyennes	écart-type	n=12 Contrôle moyennes	écart-type	valeur F	prob.
total CCI	246,05	47,15	168,36	27,61	24.26	.0001
total nommer	224,18	56,79	148,65	26,50	17.43	.0004
total réfléchir	237,52	47,40	165,49	56,60	11.42	.0027
total agir	248,18	83,87	154,43	67,58	9.35	.0050
Les quatre variables dépendantes ensemble (MANOVA)	Wilk's Lambda=.408		dl=4&19		6.86	.0013

L'hypothèse 2A prédisait que le score total moyen au CCI du groupe expérimental serait significativement supérieur à celui du groupe contrôle. Les hypothèses 2B, 2C et 2D prédisaient que la performance du groupe expérimental serait significativement supérieure à celle du groupe contrôle sur chacun des aspects qui consistent à nommer, à réfléchir et à agir, ainsi qu'au total. L'hypothèse deux a été confirmée dans son ensemble et dans chacune de ses parties (A, B, C, D) (voir tableau ci-haut).

Limites, retombées et conclusions

L'analyse des données indique que l'expérience éducative, réalisée avec un groupe de "femmes seules", a développé la conscience critique des participantes. Cependant, nous ne prétendons pas qu'il soit possible de généraliser les résultats obtenus, lors de cette seule expérience. Une telle généralisation exige que d'autres expériences similaires soient réalisées et que **les limites** de cette recherche soient contournées ou surmontées. Ainsi, la session de 14 semaines (1984) s'est avérée riche en données se rapportant au niveau de la conscience magique et de la conscience naïve. Cependant, nous avons recueilli très peu de données pour le sous-niveau de la conscience critique "la transformation du système".

Nous avons choisi un nombre restreint de participantes pour réaliser cette expérience. Nous ne prétendons pas cependant, que les participantes représentaient la population des "femmes seules" du comté de Lotbinière.

Nous n'avions ni la quantité suffisante de codages-dessins, ni une variété suffisante de codages (films, cassettes vidéo, phrases) pour animer la réflexion des participantes sur certains thèmes. En conséquence, certains thèmes ont à peine été nommés.

L'équipe de recherche, même si ce n'était pas prévu dans les objectifs de la recherche, aurait eu avantage à vivre, en même temps que les participantes ou antérieurement, un processus de développement de la conscience.

Malgré ses limites, la présente recherche peut avoir des **retombées** intéressantes, tant au plan de la recherche qu'au plan de l'intervention. Plus spécifiquement, sur le plan de l'intervention cette recherche a permis de mettre sur pied d'autres expériences semblables. Le C.L.S.C. "Arthur Caux" de Laurier Station (Lotbinière) utilise maintenant, dans son programme aux "femmes seules", les idées et la méthode que nous avions développées en 1983-84. La réalisation de ce type d'expériences éducatives pourrait se faire dans d'autres C.L.S.C. De plus, il serait possible, à partir de cette étude, d'élaborer des projets d'éducation qui viseraient le développement de la conscience critique chez d'autres groupes de femmes.

Cette expérience nous a permit de contribuer à la formation de deux coordonnatrices qui pourront éventuellement oeuvrer auprès d'autres groupes de femmes. On peut donc se référer à cette expérience pour habiliter d'autres personnes à coordonner des groupes de développement de la conscience. Enfin, des outils pédagogiques ou codages ont été élaborés lors de cette expérience. Ces codages pourraient éventuellement être utilisés pour d'autres expériences éducatives, mais surtout les coordonnatrices pourraient s'inspirer de ces codages pour en élaborer d'autres.

Nous voudrions, en conclusion, retenir quelques points importants à partir de cette expérience éducative et du travail de recherche qui en a découlé: les résultats compilés grâce à l'application du CCI sembleraient confirmer que l'intervention éducative réalisée semble avoir développé la conscience critique des participantes.

Le processus de développement de la conscience apparaît comme un processus complexe et dynamique où les mouvements de la conscience se réalisent à travers des oppositions det des confrontations entre les participantes. L'expérience de développement de la conscience est une expérience de développement personnel et social. Il est important de tenitr compte, lors de ces expériences, des sentiments vécus par les participantes, sentiments qui, selon le cas, sont susceptibles de favoriser ou d'inhiber ce développement.

La coordonnatrice joue un rôle important dans ces expériences de développement de la conscience. Il nous paraît difficile de cerner complètement ce rôle à partir de l'expérience limitée que nous avons rapportée. D'autres expériences enrichiront, sans doute, la compréhension de ce rôle.

Dans la partie intervention de cette étude, nous avons développé une méthode qui fait apparaître la puissance collective comme moyen de développement de la conscience. Par cette reprise du pouvoir, les participantes ont pu combattre la mestime de soi, l'anxiété et le stress engendrés par leur situation de femmes, seules et démunies économiquement.

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1972-YEAR OF AFFIRMATION FOR ADULT EDUCATION

Gordon Selman
University of British Columbia

Abstract

By the early 1970's adult educators had become accustomed to having their field largely ignored by public inquiries into the field of education. Three reports published in 1972--UNESCO's Learning To Be and the Worth (Alberta) and Wright (Ontario) Commission reports in Canada--gave great prominence to adult education and lifelong learning. This article examines the nature of these reports including the origins and background of some of the ideas contained in them. The article also considers several other events of the same period, the effects of which combined to raise the visibility of adult and lifelong education and to move them closer to the mainstream of educational planning.

Résumé

Au début des années 1970, l'éducation des adultes était largement ignorée dans les enquêtes publiques sur l'éducation. Trois rapports publiés en 1972 - le rapport de la Commission Faure à l'UNESCO, Apprendre à être, et les rapports Worth (Alberta) et Wright (Ontario) au Canada - ont accordé une grande importance à l'éducation permanente. Cet article examine la nature de ces rapports et notamment l'origine et le contexte de certaines idées émises. Il retrace aussi plusieurs autres événements qui sont survenus durant la même période et qui ont contribué à augmenter le visibilité de l'éducation permanente et à les introduire comme bases de la planification de l'éducation.

> We therefore offer as our central concern, not education, in its formal and institutional sense, but learning.
>
> Alan Thomas - 1961[1]

The year 1972 was one of startling developments for those in Canada who were involved in the field of adult education and who were concerned about the place of that activity in public policy. For some decades, supporters of adult education in

Canada had been advancing their case through various forms of advocacy, all too frequently with little if any effect.[2] A long sequence of royal commissions and other public inquiries about education had received representations about adult education and their reports either had ignored the field completely or had paid only lip service to it. An extreme example was the Royal Commission on Education in British Columbia which when it reported in 1960 devoted less than half a page to adult education in a 460 page report.[3] Although that commission made several hundred recommendations on some 158 different subjects, none was made on the education of adults. There had been a few other more satisfactory public documents, but adult educators who were active in advocacy activity had become inured to having their point of view largely ignored, at least by those public inquiries which were concerned with an overview of the whole field of education.

The events of the year 1972, seen against this background, were truly startling and tremendously encouraging for adult educators in Canada. In that year the reports of not one, but two high-profile provincial inquiries - in Ontario and Alberta - were published, giving great prominence to adult education and the concept of lifelong learning.[4] At the international level, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) published the report of its International Commission on the Development of Education, a report which espoused the concept of lifelong education and singled out adult education as one area which should be accorded priority treatment.[5] These and other significant events during the same year resulted in adult education gaining an unaccustomed prominence of place in public discussion about educational policy, and more broadly, in national development strategy. The phrase "triumphal affirmation" which Alan Thomas used with reference to the Ontario report[6] conveys something of the reaction of informed adult educators at the time.

While it is reasonable to single out a particular year - in this case 1972 - as one in which a number of significant events took place, such an eventful year was not, of course, an isolated period. The closer one looks at the developments during that year, the more one becomes conscious of the background which led up to these occurrences. It is justifiable to state, however, that the events of 1972 broke with dramatic impact on many adult educators in Canada, many of whom were not aware of the previous events which were stirring in educational circles.

Three Major Reports

The three major reports identified above - two originating in Canada and the third at UNESCO - adopted the concept of lifelong learning (although this was restricted in the case of the Ontario report as the terms of reference of that report focused on post-secondary education). All three reports put particular stress on the fact that the educational influences in society should not be viewed as confined to what traditionally had been termed educational institutions but were much more broadly pervasive in various economic, social, and cultural aspects of society. In other words, education should be considered as not only lifelong but lifewide. The concept of the "learning society" was not only central to all three reports but was adopted as the title of the Ontario document.

The three commissions were operating in very different circumstances. The UNESCO document, Learning To Be,[7] addressed the international community and of necessity had to express its analysis and recommendations in very general terms, leaving their application to the various member states. The international panel of seven experts, chaired by Edgar Faure of France, was doing its work in an atmosphere of urgency. The alliance which had been forged in the early years of decolonization between economic planners and educators, and the "educational euphoria" of the sixties, had given way in the minds of many, to what P. H. Coombs termed in his landmark study published in 1968, "the world educational crisis."[8] It was being discovered that huge expenditures on education in both the developing and the more industrialized countries, based on what Coombs called "the linear expansion of existing or inherited systems," simply was not working. The costs were rising beyond what many nations could afford to put into education and it was becoming increasingly clear that the strategy, however expensive, was not achieving the desired results.[9]

The recommendations of the UNESCO panel, as expressed in Learning To Be,[10] were provided as general guidelines and based on three main themes: the widening gulf between the developed and the developing countries; the need to find a wider concept of education, one which was both lifelong and lifewide; and the need to break through some of the traditional pedagogical notions and to develop "democratic systems and methods more appropriate to the education of the mass of the people."[11] This 'learning society' as described by the report was to result in the individual playing a more active part in his/her education. "Responsibility will replace obligation" it stated.[12] The emphasis on adult learning infused the whole document as did the potential role of non-formal as well as formal education.

In an analysis of several reports which appeared in the early seventies, Alan Thomas developed a continuum upon which he placed the various documents in terms of the breadth of the reports' concerns.[13] The UNESCO report was placed at one end of the scale, concerned as it was with the whole world and with the entire life span. Next to the UNESCO report he placed A Choice of Futures, the report of the commission chaired by Dr. Walter Worth in Alberta.[14] This latter report, too, took as its major focus the concept of lifelong learning, but in keeping with its mandate, explored the application to a single jurisdiction, the province of Alberta. The Worth Commission, in developing the application of lifelong learning in Alberta, did so from a philosophically liberal point of view, with an emphasis upon pragmatism, individualism, rewards based upon individual achievement, an optimistic view of society's capacity for reform, and a belief in a progress through technological advance.[15]

The achievement of maximum opportunity for lifelong learning on the part of Albertans was seen to require strong development in two previously neglected areas, early childhood education and adult education (referred to by Worth as "further education"). It was recommended that both these areas be given equal status with the K-12 and higher education sectors. Opportunities for adult education and support for adult learning were to come from various agencies in society, both educational and "non-educational" (e.g., employers) and from a new agency which was to be created called the "Alberta Academy". The latter agency was to facilitate adult learning by various and flexible means, with an emphasis upon the use of the media and non-formal approaches.[16]

The Worth Commission clearly was influenced by the concept of recurrent education (described later) as well as by the concept of lifelong education. An examination of the report indicates the espousal of a humanistic, lifelong learning concept and a belief that these goals could be reached largely by the enlightened utilization of the institutions already in place. Priority was placed on the democratization of education but there was little indication of how this goal was to be realized.

The Ontario report, The Learning Society, frequently referred to as the Wright Report after the Chairman of the Commission was a more limited document in the sense that its focus was upon the post-secondary sector. Nevertheless, there was frequent reference to "lifetime learning" and to what was termed "continuing education". Post-secondary education was described as "not an activity confined within the walls of the familiar institutions of teaching and learning" and education was to be seen as "a continuous, lifelong process."[17]

Post-secondary education in Ontario was to have four major sectors, each with its governing council: the universities; the colleges; the creative and performing arts; and the Open Education Sector. The latter sector was to foster a range of flexible and non-formal learning activities provided by many agencies, including a new institution, the "Open Academy of Ontario". The report referred to continuing education as "a transforming concept whose time has come"[18] and the ideal of "The Learning Society" infused all sections of the report. As with the Alberta report, a great deal of stress was placed on access to post-secondary and continuing education on the part of any citizen who wished to make use of them. Major provision was recommended for information and counselling services.

How the world had changed in one year! Adult educators, accustomed to having their field and their concerns practically ignored by such public documents, now found their proposals and aspirations in the limelight and the subject of widespread public discussion. As is usually the case with such public documents, the presentation of the reports carried with them no assurance that corresponding action would follow. The nature of these reports and the prominence given to many matters of interest to adult educators also resulted in the dramatic widening of the forum within which these ideas were discussed. Adult educators, used to talking mainly to each other, now were faced with the challenge of moving out of their comfortable professional circles and taking part in a wider forum. The basic point, however, is that such concepts as adult education, lifelong learning and the learning society had 'arrived' and were on the public agenda. It is easy almost two decades later to forget that the changed context within which we function today was brought about through the impact of these reports.

A Historical Background to the Three Reports

Although some of the concepts which informed these three reports (and others of the period) burst with considerable impact upon the world of education, they were not entirely new. As Denis Kallen has reminded us "Every major idea can with some goodwill and much artisanship be traced back to antiquity."[19] Leaving aside consideration of such long-range ancestry, we should note that in the decade or so leading up to the early seventies, many of the key ideas embraced by the three reports were under active discussion and development.

In the case of recurrent education, which was such a prominent feature of both the language and the structure of the Worth Commission report, the idea had emerged in Sweden in the late 1960's. It was brought to increased prominence when Olaf Palme of that country presented the idea to the Conference of European Ministers of Education in 1969. The idea was subsequently taken by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) which published a report on it as early as 1971.[20]

Recurrent education was basically a strategy or administrative device which allowed alternating periods of work and study for adults throughout their working lives. The scheme appeared to hold promise by assisting governments to cope with current challenges common to many of the industrialized countries: high levels of unemployment (especially among youth); soaring costs of formal education; and the need to upgrade the skills of the workforce. Recurrent education was accepted in varying degrees by many OECD members in a remarkably short period of time.[21]

The concepts of lifelong education, the learning society, and the related idea of "education permanente", also had been under active development in the preceding years. "Education permanente" was the terminology adopted by the Council of Europe and placed particular emphasis upon lifelong education and the importance of the connection between the individual's development and his/her role in the social, cultural and political life of the community. Much of the experience with the development and implementation of the idea was reflected in J. A. Simpson's Today and Tomorrow in European Adult Education[22] which appeared shortly before the publication of the UNESCO report.

The concepts of lifelong education and lifelong learning undoubtedly have as long a lineage as that suggested by Kallen.[23] In this century, the idea found eloquent expression in the language of the well known 1919 Report[24] in the United Kingdom, was coin-of-the-realm in adult education circles in subsequent decades, and found a prominent place in the final declaration of the UNESCO (second) World Conference on Adult Education which was held in Montreal in the summer of 1960.[25] As documented by Parkyn and Alenen in their studies,[26] lifelong education was the subject of particularly active development in UNESCO committees from 1965 onwards with Paul Lengrand of the secretariat being undoubtedly the key figure.

Lengrand produced a working document for UNESCO's International Committee for the Advancement of Adult Education in 1965 and at that time urged that UNESCO endorse the concept of lifelong education. The first version of his book, An Introduction to Lifelong Education,[27] was published by UNESCO in 1970 and contained many of the basic ideas subsequently adopted by the Faure panel and reflected in Learning To Be. A remarkable document, Lengrand's small book reflects both the analytical detachment of social science and a passionate commitment to human values. Learning To Be also reflected the critique of educational systems which emerged from student unrest in the late sixties and from the work of contemporary authors such as Freire, Illich and Coombs.[28]

These developments at the international level were well known in certain circles in Canada and certainly among those engaged in the Worth and Wright studies. Additional voices at work within Canada most certainly had an impact. Dr. Roby Kidd emerged from the Montreal World Conference of 1960 as a prominent world figure in educational circles. During the sixties he published several volumes in which he developed the idea of lifelong learning.[29] Dr. Alan Thomas was the Director of the Canadian Association for Adult Education for most of the sixties and in a series of statements and briefs to the Worth and Wright Commissions developed the implications of the concept of lifelong learning.[30] Of particular importance with respect to the work of both Kidd and Thomas was the fact that they had been stressing for at least a decade before the reports of 1972 the point which all three reports endorsed and indeed made central to their recommendations: that what is most essential is learning, rather than education, and that learning takes place throughout society, not just in the traditional educational institutions.

The Tokyo Conference of 1972

Another event of the year 1972 which was less surprising to adult educators but which added to the overall impact of the year's events was the UNESCO (Third) World Conference on Adult Education held in Tokyo in the summer of that year. By far the largest of the three World Conferences which had been held since the War, the Tokyo meeting was distinguished from its predecessors by the fact that many countries sent as delegates not adult educators, but senior officials of government and of ministries of education. Adult education was no longer the concern of only adult educators; it had now become the concern of educators and national planners as well, and a part of national development strategies.[31] Kidd has described the Tokyo meeting as more professional than its predecessor,[32] an indication that the adult education field was strengthening its position in formal educational structures.

The dominant theme of the conference was the need for the increasing democratization of adult education, both in the sense that the field should serve a broader spectrum of society, and that adult learners should have an effective voice in the choice of educational goals, methods and content. Lifelong learning was widely accepted and referred to as a master planning concept at the conference.[33]

Other Developments in Canada

There were other developments taking place at this time which added cumulatively to Canadian adult educators' sense that fresh winds were blowing. The publication in the United States in 1970 of Malcolm Knowles' The Modern Practice of Adult Education[34] with its exposition of the concept of andragogy provided many Canadian practitioners with a stronger sense of the uniqueness and significance of their field. The suggestion that increased attention should be paid to learning, as distinct from education, encouraged in the previous decade by the work of Kidd and Thomas was further enhanced by the publication in 1971 of Allen Tough's major study of adults' self-directed learning efforts.[35] A sense of both the accumulation of significant experience in Canadian adult education and of emerging expertise and professionalism was re-enforced by substantial volumes about community development (1971) and adult basic education (1972) which also were published at this time.[36]

Following the Tokyo conference, the Canadian Commission for UNESCO established a task force, the purpose of which was to communicate to adult educators across Canada some of the insights which had emerged from the conference. While the working group was engaged in this task, Learning To Be was published by UNESCO four months after the Tokyo Conference. It was decided to incorporate that publication into the Canadian task force's work. The Commission published a summary of the UNESCO report for use in Canada.[37] It also contracted with the two national adult education organizations, the Canadian Association for Adult Education and the Institut canadien d'education des adultes, to organize conferences in several cities across Canada (held in 1973) through which the ideas contained in the UNESCO report could be publicized.

Another important event of the year 1972 in Canada was the publication of a report on community colleges in the province of Saskatchewan.[38] At the heart of the position and its recommendations was that the focus should be upon the individual learner in his/her community and that community resources should be mobilized in support of learning needs. It was very much a lifelong learning model with an emphasis placed upon information and counselling services and on the use of non-formal as well as formal educational approaches. As such it was to a high degree consistent with the main elements of the Worth, Wright and UNESCO reports.

Canada as Part of a World Community of Ideas

It is significant that adult educators in Canada not only drew inspiration from the prominence given to adult education in the several developments discussed, but it is also clear that at the same time Canada was taking its place in an international community of ideas about adult education. The Worth Commission in Alberta had drawn considerably upon the OECD thinking about recurrent education, and its report makes repeated reference to the concept of lifelong learning. The Ontario report drew its title and a great deal of its language and thinking from the literature of lifelong education which was emerging in Europe. In Learning To Be, the UNESCO panel quoted at some length from the discussion paper issued by the Worth Commission which focused upon the nature of lifelong learning. Reference is also made in the Faure report to the Quebec TEVEC project, the multi-media adult basic education project, and to Tough's research on self-directed learning.[39]

Following the Tokyo Conference, UNESCO commissioned John Lowe of England who had prepared much of the documentation for Tokyo to write a book which examined "the state of the art" internationally.[40] In his book, Lowe made reference to a number of features of adult education in Canada, singling out for particular praise the report of the Wright Commission in Ontario.

Canada's relationship with the international community of ideas concerning lifelong learning was further enhanced at this time by the central role played by Roby Kidd with his discussions leading to the formation of the International Council for Adult Education (ICAE). Kidd was the leading figure in consultations about the ICAE before and during the Tokyo Conference. Based in Toronto, the ICAE was established in 1973 with Kidd serving as its first Secretary-General.

In his examination of the Worth Commission report in 1973, Barry Moore made an observation which adds a dimension to the significance of these events of 1972.[41] He pointed out that as of approximately 1970, the "second generation" of educational planning began. He attributed the development of this new approach to the OECD, UNESCO and other planners at the international level such as P. H. Coombs. Rather than seeing educational systems as separate entities, and instead of concentrating almost exclusively on formal education, the newer approach called for educational planning to be both "comprehensive" (including both non-formal and informal aspects of the field) and "integrated" (that is, developed as an integral part of broader social and economic planning processes). In 1985, Coombs referred to the former as the comprehensive "learning network" of the society in question.[42] He also pointed to what he saw as a prolific increase in "human learning needs" in the 1980's, an increase brought about by development, in the sense that the term is used in international planning circles.

This kind of educational planning of necessity brings non-formal, adult and lifelong education into a central role in planning strategy. The authors of the Worth, Wright and UNESCO reports realized the importance of these matters and framed documents which accorded a new and unaccustomed prominence and priority to adult education as part of a larger strategy. Adult educators found themselves catapulted from the margin into the mainstream of educational thought and debate.

Conclusions

The publication of Learning To Be by UNESCO and of the Worth and Wright reports in Canada did not by any means bring about an immediate or spectacular series of revisions in public policy. Nor can it be claimed that the other events of 1972 which are described here had any such major effect. However, these developments, taken together, may now be seen to have been important in at least two ways. First, they encouraged and spurred on to renewed effort many adult educators who had been attempting to promote the advancement of educational opportunities for adults in our society. It was indeed an important time of affirmation for many of us. Second, the concepts related to the future development of education. They concerned the place of learning in adult life which found expression in the three reports and in the other concomitant developments described earlier which seem to have influenced the direction of future events.

Within Canada there has been in the last two decades an increasing acceptance of continuing and lifelong education as one of the bases for educational planning. A number of major new institutions and educational services have been established in order to make educational opportunities for adults more accessible and effective. Examples include several provincial educational television networks, the creation of distance education institutions such as Athabasca University (Alberta) and the Open Learning Agency (British Columbia), and the expansion of opportunities for part-time degree study. At the international level, organizations such as UNESCO, OECD and the World Bank have broadened their roles in education, and more particularly within the field of adult education. For instance, one can note the OECD's promotion of the concept of recurrent education and the World Bank's decision in the 1970's to broaden its loan policy so as to include education or human resource development projects. Development planning increasingly has been influenced by ideas such as "the learning society", lifelong learning and the importance of non-formal and informal educational influences, all of them concepts and strategies which were given fresh impetus by the events of 1972.

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PERSPECTIVES

ACCESS TO INFORMATION ON ADULT EDUCATION ABROAD

Comparative Content Analysis of Selected Adult Education Journals

Jindra Kulich
University of British Columbia

Abstract

This study deals with the extent to which adult educators in a number of countries have access to information about adult education in other countries through the pages of their national adult education journals. It is based on a conviction that adult educators in any country can benefit from being informed about developments abroad. The study covers a 15 year period, 1972-1986. Fifteen journals from eleven countries were subject of the analysis. The study revealed that in terms of frequency and volume adult educators in Poland had the most access to information about adult education abroad, while colleagues in New Zealand had the least access, with Canadians being next to last in access.

Résumé

Cette étude traite de l'accès des éducateurs d'adultes aux travaux de leurs collègues oeuvrant dans d'autres pays. Pour celà, les revues spécialisées en éducation des adultes d'un certain nombre de pays ont été examinées. L'étude s'appuie sur la conviction que les éducateurs d'adultes peuvent tirer profit d'une meilleure connaissance de ce qui se fait ailleurs dans le monde. Elle couvre une période de 15 ans, de 1972 à 1986. Quinze revues spécialisées, publiées dans onze pays, ont été analysées. L'étude révèle qu'en termes de fréquence et de volume d'information, les éducateurs d'adultes polonais ont le meilleur accès à ce qui se fait

à l'étranger; les collègues néo-zélandais ont le plus faible accès et les Canadiens les précèdent de peu.

Rationale for the Study

This study deals with the extent to which adult educators in a number of countries have access to information about adult education organization, development, situations and trends outside their own country through the pages of their national journals.

It is based on the author's conviction that the theoretical basis as well as the practice of adult educators in any country can benefit from information and reflection upon adult education theory and practice elsewhere.

Adult educators obtain information about adult education abroad principally from four sources: periodicals; books; conferences; and travel. The number of sessions and themes dealing with adult education abroad in programs of national and regional conferences increased markedly during the last few years, while professional travel abroad by adult educators, both individually and in groups, also is growing steadily. Nevertheless, even a cursory observation of these phenomena shows that only a small number of adult educators obtain their information in these ways. Yearlong observation by the author, and discussions with colleagues in Canada and abroad, indicate that more adult educators (especially the practitioners among them) read periodical articles than read entire books on adult education abroad. With these factors in mind, content analysis of national journals was selected as the best indicator of access to information on adult education abroad.

Study Design

The Third World Conference on Adult Education, held in Tokyo in 1972, underscored the need for international exchange of information and for comparative study of adult education. The year of this conference was chosen as a benchmark for the start of the study and the content analysis was then carried on for the next fifteen years, through 1986.

Western industrialized countries, with widespread distribution of periodicals, were the target of the comparative analysis. The existence of national adult education journal(s), their comparability, and the logistic capabilities of the author largely determined the countries and journals chosen. Fifteen journals from eleven countries were finally selected. Four of these were published in three countries in Eastern Europe, five in four countries in Western Europe, two each in Canada and the United States (Adult Leadership and its successor Lifelong Learning were considered as one journal for the purposes of this study), and one each in Australia and New Zealand. The list of journals subject to this study are located at the end of the article.

The content analysis dealt with the following: number of pages given to articles dealing with domestic and foreign themes; number of articles on domestic and foreign themes; classification of content of articles on adult education abroad; and number of book reviews dealing with domestic and foreign themes.

Based on their content, the articles were classified into twelve categories:

(1) philosophy and goals of adult education
(2) theory of adult education
(3) research design and techniques
(4) history of adult education
(5) comparative and international studies
(6) legislation and policies on adult education
(7) financing and economics of adult education
(8) organization of adult education
(9) methods and techniques
(10) content areas
(11) clientele/participants
(12) adult educators

All articles dealing with any aspect of adult education in any other country or countries, articles on international themes, and comparative studies were logged in the category of adult education abroad for all journals analyzed. Theoretical articles and research reports by foreign authors were included automatically in this category, except for the four North American journals where such articles were included only if the article dealt specifically with differences in theoretical aspects of adult education in the other country. This decision was based on the author's judgment that in North America there is a very similar approach to research and theoretical writing between Canadian and U.S. authors, and that what differences there are, were not significant for the purposes of this study. Furthermore, since a significant number of articles published in the two U.S. journals are written by Canadian authors, counting all of these articles would have created an artificially inflated high percentage of à l'étranger; les collègues néo-zélandais ont le plus faible accès et les Canadiens les précèdent de peu.

Rationale for the Study

This study deals with the extent to which adult educators in a number of countries have access to information about adult education organization, development, situations and trends outside their own country through the pages of their national journals.

It is based on the author's conviction that the theoretical basis as well as the practice of adult educators in any country can benefit from information and reflection upon adult education theory and practice elsewhere.

Adult educators obtain information about adult education abroad principally from four sources: periodicals; books; conferences; and travel. The number of sessions and themes dealing with adult education abroad in programs of national and regional conferences increased markedly during the last few years, while professional travel abroad by adult educators, both individually and in groups, also is growing steadily. Nevertheless, even a cursory observation of these phenomena shows that only a small number of adult educators obtain their information in these ways. Yearlong observation by the author, and discussions with colleagues in Canada and abroad, indicate that more adult educators (especially the practitioners among them) read periodical articles than read entire books on adult education abroad. With these factors in mind, content analysis of national journals was selected as the best indicator of access to information on adult education abroad.

Study Design

The Third World Conference on Adult Education, held in Tokyo in 1972, underscored the need for international exchange of information and for comparative study of adult education. The year of this conference was chosen as a benchmark for the start of the study and the content analysis was then carried on for the next fifteen years, through 1986.

Western industrialized countries, with widespread distribution of periodicals, were the target of the comparative analysis. The existence of national adult education journal(s), their comparability, and the logistic capabilities of the author largely determined the countries and journals chosen. Fifteen journals from eleven countries were finally selected. Four of these were published in three countries in Eastern Europe, five in four countries in Western Europe, two each in Canada and the United States (Adult Leadership and its successor Lifelong Learning were considered as one journal for the purposes of this study), and one each in Australia and New Zealand. The list of journals subject to this study are located at the end of the article.

The content analysis dealt with the following: number of pages given to articles dealing with domestic and foreign themes; number of articles on domestic and foreign themes; classification of content of articles on adult education abroad; and number of book reviews dealing with domestic and foreign themes.

Based on their content, the articles were classified into twelve categories:

(1) philosophy and goals of adult education
(2) theory of adult education
(3) research design and techniques
(4) history of adult education
(5) comparative and international studies
(6) legislation and policies on adult education
(7) financing and economics of adult education
(8) organization of adult education
(9) methods and techniques
(10) content areas
(11) clientele/participants
(12) adult educators

All articles dealing with any aspect of adult education in any other country or countries, articles on international themes, and comparative studies were logged in the category of adult education abroad for all journals analyzed. Theoretical articles and research reports by foreign authors were included automatically in this category, except for the four North American journals where such articles were included only if the article dealt specifically with differences in theoretical aspects of adult education in the other country. This decision was based on the author's judgment that in North America there is a very similar approach to research and theoretical writing between Canadian and U.S. authors, and that what differences there are, were not significant for the purposes of this study. Furthermore, since a significant number of articles published in the two U.S. journals are written by Canadian authors, counting all of these articles would have created an artificially inflated high percentage of articles about adult education abroad in the case of the U.S. journals. Given the much lower frequency of German authors published in Austria and Switzerland, and of Australians published in New Zealand and vice versa, and having taken into consideration the more marked differences in adult education among these countries, the procedure adopted for analysis of North American journals was not deemed necessary in the case of these countries.

Analysis of the Number of Pages and Articles

Only 'substantial' articles were counted, while brief notes, notices, news and reports were not.[1] Results of this analysis are shown in Table 1 and Table 2.

It is interesting to note that although all the fifteen journals analyzed did carry information on adult education abroad, only two of them, Andragogija and Oświata dorosłych, had a regular feature "Adult Education Abroad." Volkshochschule im Westen had a category "International Adult Education" in its annual table of contents for 1972 through 1978, and for 1980 (however, this did include only accounts of international themes and events, and not articles on adult education in individual foreign countries).

Conference reports were not included in this study unless their relative length qualified as 'substantial'. However, it is worth noting that several of the journals analyzed did carry brief reports on international meetings and conferences held in their own country and on meetings and conferences held abroad. The most prolific among the journals in this respect was Adult Education (U.K.), while such conference reports also were located in Andragogija, Erwachsenenbildung in Österreich, Oświata dorosłych and Volkshochschule im Westen.

In terms of the actual number of articles on adult education abroad and on comparative/worldwide themes (see Table 1), the journal which carried the most articles in these areas was Oświata dorosłych (293), while the lowest number appeared in the Canadian Journal of University Continuing Education (12). In between these two poles the journals ranked as follows: Osvetová práca (127), Education permanente (99), Osveta (96), Erwachsenenbildung in Österreich (95), Volkshochschule im Westen (76), Andragogija (73), Adult Education (U.K.) (72), Lifelong Learning (57), Australian Journal of Adult Education (50), New Zealand Journal of Adult Learning (37), Learning (35), Studies in Adult Education (26), Adult Education Quarterly (14).

TABLE 1: Number of Articles by Country by Journal, 1972 - 1986

Country	Journal	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1972-1986			
																	A=N	A=%	D=N	D=%
AUSTRALIA	Australian Jrl. of Adult Education	2/10	4/11	2/11	3/8	10/2	6/13	2/11	1/[illegible]	3/9	3/9	1/11	2/8	2/15	2/12	7/9	50	24.75	152	75.25
AUSTRIA	Erwachsenenbildung in Osterreich	14/16	7/33	8/29	16/33	7/34	7/23	8/19	[illegible]/20	5/36	1/43	2/32	4/31	0/38	3/25	4/47	95	17.15	459	82.85
CANADA	Canadian Jrl. of Univ. Cont. Ed.		0/13	0/11	0/3	0/8	0/7	4/13	4/15	1/17	2/18	0/17	0/9	0/16	1/16	0/16	12	6.28	179	93.72
	Learning					2/9	2/12	4/16	5/28	3/5	3/7	0/0	7/4	2/10	4/6	3/6	35	25.36	103	74.64
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	Osveta	11/36	6/43	10/62	16/44	20/37	16/34	17/41									96	24.43	297	75.57
	Osvetová práca								15/88	25/78	12/82	21/75	14/75	11/78	14/75	15/70	127	16.98	621	83.02
NEW ZEALAND	New Zealand Jrl. of Adult Learning	4/8	3/11	4/8	0/14	5/13	2/13	5/18	3/18	1/23	2/15	0/7	0/9	2/12	3/16	3/10	37	15.95	195	84.05
POLAND	Oświata dorosłych	10/84	18/82	25/75	16/71	26/86	22/69	25/72	15/92	23/84	19/92	17/95	19/91	18/88	24/82	16/88	293	18.98	1251	81.02
SWITZERLAND	Education permanente	4/13	9/9	5/11	5/13	5/9	8/5	9/5	10/7	9/6	11/7	8/6	4/7	6/7	2/29	4/40	99	36.26	174	63.74
UNITED KINGDOM	Adult Education (UK)	5/27	3/27	0/28	3/29	13/24	4/33	3/33	4/41	3/37	5/35	5/29	5/34	7/30	6/30	6/30	72	13.36	467	86.64
	Studies in Adult Education	2/7	3/7	0/10	1/8	0/10	2/9	1/10	2/11	2/10	3/6	3/8	1/8	1/5	2/10	3/7	26	17.11	126	82.89
U.S.A.	Adult Education Quarterly	2/14	1/11	0/17	1/10	3/11	0/11	0/14	0/14	1/13	0/11	2/13	2/13	1/15	0/14	1/13	14	6.73	194	93.27
	Lifelong Learning	5/72	5/68	3/76	10/79	3/71	8/76	4/58	5/57	2/52	3/63	4/62	2/56	2/45	0/46	1/43	57	5.81	924	94.10
WEST GERMANY	Volkshochschule im Westen	7/44	1/49	2/52	7/46	8/36	5/50	4/52	3/74	12/61	8/89	1/85	6/61	3/62	5/63	4/72	76	7.82	896	92.18
YUGOSLAVIA	Andragogija	5/73	29/57	6/62	3/73	4/75	3/90	2/44	3/35	2/37	0/35	2/44	4/31	4/22	5/48	1/25	73	8.86	751	91.14

A/D

A = articles about adult education abroad
D = articles about domestic adult education

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TABLE 2: Number of Article Pages by Country by Journal, 1972 - 1986

Country	Journal	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
AUSTRALIA	Australian Jrl. of Adult Education	8/56	22/67	11/51	23/52	69/12	35/70	18/77	5/80	31/62	20/64	6/78	22/51	13/103	14/90	35/59
AUSTRIA	Erwachsenenbildung in Osterreich	187/184	72/340	69/224	115/302	43/269	57/267	86/255	136/250	65/262	4/86	5/77	11/82	0/104	11/55	11/119
CANADA	Canadian Jrl. of Univ. Cont. Ed.		0/149	0/168	0/37	0/116	0/35	16/57	21/66	4/69	9/83	0/77	0/68	0/152	31/159	0/176
	Learning					4/24	5/28	10/22	11/57	6/26	5/17	0/0	3/16	3/15	14/2	0/14
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	Osveta	57/247	27/253	70/416	134/292	182/303	109/316	122/324								
	Osvetová práca								60/344	82/320	55/366	71/364	68/344	40/353	52/363	59/350
NEW ZEALAND	New Zealand Jrl. of Adult Learning	27/50	36/65	37/50	0/108	46/79	23/99	71/124	20/158	8/197	20/141	0/64	0/87	39/130	34/138	20/118
POLAND	Oświata dorosłych	44/344	87/337	120/283	80/311	86/334	76/245	77/287	49/313	85/322	77/346	60/378	83/417	85/358	99/386	58/381
SWITZERLAND	Education permanente	16/48	27/36	12/46	22/43	20/46	30/30	36/33	32/26	36/28	37/28	27/37	16/52	35/24	11/87	3/79
UNITED KINGDOM	Adult Education (UK)	53/140	17/152	0/157	12/169	75/130	24/173	13/178	28/184	14/195	36/173	31/167	21/170	38/145	40/164	36/156
	Studies in Adult Education	32/87	41/89	0/143	16/116	0/133	21/134	14/122	35/109	24/80	34/70	23/77	11/90	7/70	23/138	30/76
U.S.A.	Adult Education Quarterly	29/178	16/197	0/249	12/147	33/188	0/181	0/195	0/195	21/173	0/160	27/184	16/153	16/197	0/169	15/156
	Lifelong Learning	17/215	14/218	15/223	20/250	11/220	26/183	16/185	30/178	8/175	8/180	15/165	6/163	8/152	0/158	3/151
WEST GERMANY	Volkshochschule im Westen	24/128	5/137	6/158	22/130	20/106	9/160	9/133	7/193	29/164	20/244	2/195	20/168	5/181	16/190	8/222
YUGOSLAVIA	Andragogija	36/556	185/373	31/478	84/445	24/429	12/515	19/330	32/299	8/333	0/482	19/393	31/285	40/227	88/296	10/227

A/D

A = articles about adult education abroad
D = articles about domestic adult education

When the relationship between domestic and foreign themes was analyzed, the journal which showed the highest percentage of information about adult education abroad was Education permanente (36.26% articles, 35.89% pages). The two journals with the lowest percentage of content on foreign adult education were Lifelong Learning (5.81% articles, 6.54% pages) and Canadian Journal of University Continuing Education (6.28% articles, 5.43% pages). Three of the journals devoted around one quarter of their articles to foreign themes: Learning (25.36%), Australian Journal of Adult Education (24.75%) and Osveta (24.43%). In terms of space given, the ranking was slightly different: Australian Journal of Adult Education (25.46%), Osveta (24.58%), and Erwachsenenbildung in Österreich (23.27%), with Learning having dropped to fifth place (21.63%). (On the other hand, in terms of articles, Erwachsenenbildung in Österreich was in sixth place with 17.15%.)

For number of articles six journals fell in the 10-20% category: Oświata dorosłych (18.98%), Erwachsenenbildung in Österreich (17.15%), Studies in Adult Education (17.11%), Osvetová práca (16.98%), New Zealand Journal of Adult Learning (15.95%), and Adult Education (U.K.) (13.36%). Again, the configuration was slightly different for number of pages, with five journals falling in the 10-20% category: New Zealand Journal of Adult Learning (19.15%), Oświata dorosłych (18.78%), Studies in Adult Education (16.24%), Adult Education (U.K.) (15.15%), and Osvetová pracá (14.80%). Five journals were below 10% in terms of number of articles: Andragogija (8.86%), Volkshochschule im Westen (7.82%), Adult Education Quarterly (6.73%), Canadian Journal of University Continuing Education (6.28%), and Lifelong Learning (5.81%). In terms of number of pages the list changes very slightly to: Andragogija (9.85%), Volkshochschule im Westen (8.66%), Adult Education Quarterly (7.68%), Lifelong Learning (6.54%), and Canadian Journal of University Continuing Education (5.43%).

When the percentages for the article and page counts for the fifteen journals were tabulated by the eleven countries in which the journals were published, the following ranking emerged. For number of articles (see Table 1): Switzerland (36.26%), Australia (24.75%), Czechoslovakia (19.54%), Poland (18.98%), Austria (17.15%), New Zealand (15.95%), Canada (14.29%), United Kingdom (14.18%), Yugoslavia (8.86%), West Germany (7.82%), and U.S.A. (5.97%). For percentage of pages (see Table 2): Switzerland (35.89%), Australia (25.46%), Austria (23.27%), Czechoslovakia (19.39%), New Zealand (19.15%), Poland (18.78%), United Kingdom (15.58%), Yugoslavia (9.85%), West Germany (8.66%), Canada (8.0%), and U.S.A. (7.05%).

Analysis of the Content of Articles on Adult Education Abroad

The content of the articles on adult education abroad was classified in the twelve categories listed in the Study Design section. The results are shown in Table 3.

Overall, the largest number of articles (299) dealt with the international aspects of adult education or were comparative studies. This was followed closely by articles on the organizational forms of adult education (247). Methods and techniques (178) and theory of adult education (160) were the next two sizeable categories. Philosophy and goals (61) were a distant fifth. Several of the categories were grouped around the 30-40 article mark: research design and techniques (40), content areas (40), adult educators (37), clientele/participants (35), legislation and policies (34), and history of adult education (31). The lowest number of articles (13) dealt with financing and economics of adult education.

However, the overall ranking of the twelve categories is not replicated in the journal to journal analysis.

In Australian Journal of Adult Education, the highest count was in theory of adult education (11), followed very closely by methods and techniques (10). Comparative and international studies (7) and organization of adult education (7) were next. Clientele/participants (4), research design and techniques (3), adult educators (3), legislation and policies (1) and content areas (1) were at the lower end. No articles were classified in the categories of philosophy and goals, history, and financing and economics of adult education.

In Erwachsenenbildung in Österreich, comparative and international studies (49) were far ahead of any other category, with organization of adult education (17) a distant second. At the lower end were methods and techniques (8), theory of adult education (7), legislation and policies (6), adult educators (5), history (4), content areas (3), clientele/participants (2), and philosophy and goals (1). Research design and techniques, and financing and economics of adult education were not represented.

TABLE 3: Number of Articles by Content Category by Journal, 1972 - 1986

Category / Journal	Philosophy/goals	Theory of AE	Research design/tech.	History of AE	Comparative/internat.	Legislation/policies	Financing/economics	Organization of AE	Methods/techniques	Content areas	Clientele/participants	Adult educators
Australian Journal of Adult Education		11	3		7	1		7	10	1	4	3
Erwachsenenbildung in Osterreich	1	7		4	49	6		17	8	3	2	5
Canadian Journal of University Continuing Educ.					5			2	3	1	1	
Learning	6		2	1	7	1		6				
Osveta	23	20	6	3	11		4	23	4		1	1
Osvetova praca	17	28	5	8	22		5	17	14	8		2
New Zealand Journal of Adult Learning	1	8	2	2	6	2		5	7	1	2	1
Oswiata doroslych	1	30	11	2	74	4	1	105	41	11	9	6
Education permanente		25	4		19	5		7	29	3	4	6
Adult Education (U.K.)	6	[illegible]	1	1	7	6	2	15	13	7	4	4
Studies in Adult Education	1	2	3	5	4	1	1		4	1	1	1
Adult Education Quarterly		3	1	2	1	2		2	1		2	
Lifelong Learning	4	7	2		13	4		13	14		2	
Volkshochschule im Westen	1			2	44	2		11	11	3	2	1
Andragogija		11		1	25			17	19	1	1	7
TOTALS	61	160	40	31	299	34	13	247	178	40	35	37

In Canadian Journal of University Continuing Education, more than half of the twelve categories were not represented: philosophy and goals, theory, research design and techniques, history, legislation and policies, financing and economics, and adult educators. Of the categories represented, comparative and international studies (5) was the largest, followed by methods and techniques (3), organization (2), content areas (1), and clientele/participants (1).

Learning also had only half the categories in evidence. Comparative and international studies (7) again was the largest, followed closely by philosophy and goals (6), and organization (6). The lowest were research design and techniques (2), history (1), and legislation and policies (1). Not represented were theory, financing and economics, methods and techniques, content areas, clientele/participants, and adult educators.

The highest number of articles in Osveta was found in philosophy and goals (23) and in organization (23), followed by theory (20). Comparative and international studies (11) was in the middle. At the low end were research design and techniques (6), financing and economics (4) methods and techniques (4), history (3), clientele/participants (1) and adult educators (1). Missing were legislation and policies, and content areas.

Osvetová práca produced most articles in theory (28), followed by comparative and international studies (22). At the mid-range were philosophy and goals (17), organization (17), and methods and techniques (14). At the low end were history (8), content areas (8), research design and techniques (5), financing and economics (5), and adult educators (2). The two blank categories were legislation and policies, and clientele/participants.

In New Zealand Journal of Adult Learning, theory (8) was the top category, followed by methods and techniques (7), comparative and international studies (6), and organization (5). The remaining few articles were scattered among several categories: research design and techniques (2), history (2), legislation and policies (2), clientele/participants (2), philosophy and goals (1), content areas (1), and adult educators (1). Financing and economics came out blank.

Oświata dorosłych was one of the two journals with articles found in all twelve categories. Organization (105) was by far the strongest, with comparative and international studies (74) next, methods and techniques (41) and theory (30) a distant third and fourth. At the lower end were research design and techniques (11), content areas (11), clientele/participants (9), adult educators (6), legislation and policies (4), history (2), philosophy and goals (1), and finance and economics (1).

The top category in Education permanente was found to be methods and techniques (29), followed closely by theory (25) and by comparative and international studies (19). The low categories were organization (7), adult educators (6), legislation and policies (5), research design and techniques (4), clientele/participants (4), and content areas (3). Not represented were philosophy and goals, history, and financing and economics.

Adult Education (U.K.) was the other journal with articles in all categories. The highest in this journal was organization (15), followed by methods and techniques (13). At the mid-point were theory (8), comparative and international studies (7), content areas (7), philosophy and goals (6), legislation and policies (6), clientele/participants (4), and adult educators (4). The three lowest categories were financing and economics (2), theory (1), and history (1).

In Studies in Adult Education, the top category was history (5), followed by comparative and international studies (4), methods and techniques (4), research design and techniques (3), and theory (2). Half the categories showed only one article each: philosophy and goals; legislation and policies; financing and economics; content areas; clientele/participants; and adult educators. Organization was the only category not represented.

In Adult Education Quarterly, the articles were more evenly spread among the categories: theory (3); history (2); legislation and policies (2); organization (2); clientele/participants (2); research design and techniques (1); comparative and international studies (1); and methods and techniques (1). Not represented were philosophy and goals, financing and economics, content areas and adult educators.

Lifelong Learning had three high categories: methods and techniques (14), comparative and international studies (13), and organization (13). At the mid-point was theory (7). The low categories were philosophy and goals (4), legislation and policies (4), research design and techniques (2), and clientele/participants (2). The blanks were history, financing and economics, content areas, and adult educators.

The comparative and international studies category (44) in Volkshochschule im Westen was out of all proportion to the remaining categories. Next but very distant were organization (11) and methods and techniques (11). At the low end were content areas (3), history (2), legislation and policies (2), clientele/participants (2), philosophy and goals (1), and adult educators (1). Theory, research design and techniques, and financing and economics were not covered.

Finally, in Andragogija, the most represented category was comparative and international studies (25); methods and techniques (19) was next, followed by organization (17), theory (11), and adult educators (7). The lowest were history (1), content areas (1), and clientele/participants (1). No entries were shown for philosophy and goals, research design and techniques, legislation and policies, and financing and economics.

The geographic region coverage is documented in Table 4. In the overall count, adult education in Europe (665) took more than half of all the articles. Comparative and international studies (272) were next, with North America (119) a distant third. In comparison, coverage of the remaining geographic regions was very low: Australia/New Zealand/South Pacific (46); Africa (38); Latin America (31); and Asia (20).

Not surprisingly, journals published in continental Europe showed by far the largest number of articles about adult education abroad dealing with European countries, with the next category being comparative and international studies. Articles on countries in the other continents were far and few between. The one outstanding exception was the Swiss Education permanente, which showed almost an equal number of articles on North America (38) and on Europe (40).

The two journals published in the United Kingdom differed from their continental counterparts. Adult Education, although it showed the largest number of articles on Europe (21), also showed a large number of articles on North America (17); furthermore, the number of articles on Africa (8) was equal to that on comparative and international studies (8). Studies in Adult Education had the largest number of articles on North America (11), while the number of articles on Europe (5) equalled the number of articles on Australia/New Zealand/South Pacific (5).

TABLE 4: Number of Articles by Geographic Region by Journal, 1972 - 1986

Geographic Region / Journal	Comparative/International	Africa	Latin America	North America	Asia	Australia/New Zealand/ South Pacific	Europe
Australian Journal of Adult Education	14	4		7	5	8	3
Erwachsenenbildung in Österreich	27	1		3			72
Canadian Journal of University CE	3						9
Learning	13	1	1	1	2	2	4
Osveta	7		1	2			87
Osvetová práca	23		2	2	1	1	96
New Zealand Journal of Adult Learning	10		2	8		7	9
Oświata dorosłych	72	9	4	7	1	2	207
Education permanente	17	1	2	38		4	40
Adult Education (U.K.)	8	8	1	17	3		21
Studies in Adult Education	2	1		11		5	5
Adult Education Quarterly	2		1	3	1	14	8
Lifelong Learning	14	6	3	7	6	2	25
Volkshochschule im Westen	30	1	6	5	1		43
Andragogija	30	6	8	8		1	36
TOTALS	272	38	31	119	20	46	665

There were wide differences among the North American journals. The Canadian Journal of University Continuing Education had articles in only two of the geographic region categories: Europe (9) and comparative and international (3). Learning, on the other hand, showed articles in all the geographic regions, with by far the largest number in the comparative and international category (13). Lifelong Learning also covered all the seven categories, but with the largest number of articles for Europe (25), followed by comparative and international (14). Adult Education Quarterly showed almost half the articles on Australia/New Zealand/South Pacific (14), followed by articles on Europe (8), with the rest sprinkled across the other categories except for Africa.

The Australian Journal of Adult Education had the largest number of articles on comparative and international studies (14), followed by New Zealand/South Pacific (8), with North America (7) close behind; interest in Asia (5) and Africa (4) also was evident, with Europe (3) trailing behind. The New Zealand Journal of Adult Learning also had the largest number of articles in the comparative and international studies category (10), but this was followed closely by Europe (9) and North America (8), with Australia/South Pacific (7) in fourth place, and Latin America (2) far behind in last place.

Book Review Analysis

Following an assumption that book reviews do motivate journal readers to seek out information which is beyond the scope of journal articles, an analysis of book reviews in the fifteen journals also was conducted.

Again, only 'substantive' reviews were included in this analysis. Although many of the journals also carry short book notices, lists of recent publications, and annotated thematic bibliographies, these were not included in this study.

As can be seen from Table 5, there were considerable differences among the fifteen journals with regard to the number of book reviews on adult education abroad. The journal with by far the largest number of such reviews was Erwachsenenbildung in Österreich (275), while the Canadian Journal of University Continuing Education (12) had the lowest. In between, in rank order, were Oświata dorosłych (229), Lifelong Learning (204), Adult Education (U.K.) (188), Australian Journal of Adult Education (90), Osveta (82), Education permanente (78), Studies

TABLE 5: Number of Book Reviews by Country by Journal, 1972 - 1986

Country	Journal	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1972-1986			
																	A=N	A=%	D=N	D=%
AUSTRALIA	Australian Jrl. of Adult Education	13/8	18/13	18/10	15/3	7/3	0/1	0/0	0/0	0/0	1/0	0/0	0/0	5/3	2/3	11/3	90	65.70	47	34.30
AUSTRIA	Erwachsenenbildung in Österreich	20/3	23/7	30/4	31/11	27/6	32/5	38/2	7/4	5/5	7/8	6/5	11/4	7/3	6/5	5/8	275	77.46	80	22.54
CANADA	Canadian Jrl. of Univ. Cont. Ed.		0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	1/1	4/5	1/5	3/12	1/12	1/6	0/0	0/7	1/4	0/3	12	17.91	55	82.09
	Learning					2/3	3/7	2/8	9/12	3/4	3/7	0/0	7/3	2/10	5/7	3/6	39	36.79	67	63.21
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	Osveta	3/13	12/5	14/13	15/5	11/9	13/6	14/24									82	52.23	75	47.77
	Osvetová práca								2/25	10/26	3/33	9/25	2/36	3/45	4/35	5/44	38	12.38	269	87.62
NEW ZEALAND	New Zealand Jrl. of Adult Learning	2/1	7/1	1/2	9/2	7/2	6/2	5/5	5/4	5/1	4/3	3/2	0/3	5/4	5/1	2/0	66	66.67	33	33.33
POLAND	Oświata dorosłych	18/33	21/31	17/23	13/19	18/35	23/26	18/18	19/21	14/29	12/22	19/23	11/20	9/20	8/23	9/15	229	39.01	358	60.99
SWITZERLAND	Education permanente	6/15	4/8	6/6	9/10	9/6	8/2	4/3	6/4	5/2	4/1	5/0	0/1	8/1	2/1	2/1	78	56.12	61	43.88
UNITED KINGDOM	Adult Education (UK)	2/26	9/21	7/19	4/28	15/15	11/28	12/29	13/31	13/24	19/30	20/40	17/34	10/39	20/28	16/31	188	29.33	453	70.67
	Studies in Adult Education	12/15	9/6	5/6	3/10	6/6	0/11	3/5	6/8	3/6	5/6	4/8	4/4	1/10	4/16	10/8	75	37.13	127	62.87
U.S.A.	Adult Education Quarterly	1/15	1/15	4/9	3/11	2/11	6/8	6/7	1/7	1/4	0/4	4/1	0/6	1/5	1/4	1/9	32	21.62	116	78.38
	Lifelong Learning	12/26	12/30	7/38	11/27	16/32	17/28	18/14	15/27	19/22	22/36	13/34	15/22	8/16	10/13	9/8	204	35.35	373	64.65
WEST GERMANY	Volkshochschule im Westen	3/24	3/28	0/11	3/16	1/6	1/3	3/3	1/5	4/12	2/21	8/20	2/23	2/42	2/24	2/42	37	15.81	197	84.18
YUGOSLAVIA	Andragogija	9/6	5/7	0/2	2/6	4/7	1/6	4/8	2/6	5/6	2/11	0/4	2/8	1/7	1/0	1/3	39	30.95	87	69.05

A/D

A = book reviews about adult education abroad
D = book reviews about domestic adult education

in Adult Education (75), New Zealand Journal of Adult Learning (66), Andragogija (39), Learning (39), Osvetová pracá (38), Volkshochschule im Westen (37), and Adult Education Quarterly (32).

When book reviews on foreign themes are considered as a percentage of all book reviews published in a journal, this order changes slightly. Erwachsenenbildung in Österreich (77.46%) remains on top, but the lowest place is taken by Osvetová pracá (12.38%). In between are New Zealand Journal of Adult Learning (66.67%), Australian Journal of Adult Education (65.70), Education permanente (56.12%), Osveta (52.23%), Oświata dorosłych (39.01%), Studies in Adult Education (37.13%), Learning (36.79%), Lifelong Learning (35.35%), Andragogija (30.95%), Adult Education (U.K.) (29.33%), Adult Education Quarterly (21.62%), Canadian Journal of University Continuing Education (17.91%), and Volkshochschule im Westen (15.81%).

The ranking of the eleven countries in which the journals analyzed were published, in terms of book reviews dealing with adult education abroad, is as follows. For number of reviews: Austria (275), United Kingdom (263), U.S.A. (236), Poland (229), Czechoslovakia (120), Australia (90), Switzerland (78), New Zealand (66), Canada (51), Yugoslavia (39), and West Germany (37). For percentage of reviews on foreign themes: Austria (77.46%), New Zealand (66.67%), Australia (65.70%), Switzerland (56.12%), Poland (39.01%), U.S.A. (32.55%), United Kingdom (31.20%), Yugoslavia (30.95%), Canada (29.48%), Czechoslovakia (25.86%), and West Germany (15.81%).

Concluding Remarks

It was assumed for this study that adult educators still learn about adult education abroad mostly from reading their national adult education journals. If this assumption is accepted, it can be deduced from the analysis of the fifteen journals that, in general and for the period 1972-1986, adult educators in Poland had the most access to information about adult education abroad, while adult educators in New Zealand had the least access. The other nine countries, in rank order from most to least were: Czechoslovakia; Switzerland; United Kingdom; Austria; West Germany; Yugoslavia; U.S.A.; Australia and Canada.

It is interesting to note that two of the three East European countries are at the top of the list, which on the face of it may be taken as an indication of a more outward looking attitude in these countries. However, this is significantly tempered by the fact that many of the articles logged for this study in the Polish, and even more so in the Czechoslovak journals, deal with adult education in the Soviet Union and the other East European countries. On the other hand, the still too evident dearth of information on other countries in the journals published in the United States, Australia, Canada and New Zealand demonstrates the regrettably still too widespread insular attitude in these large countries towards developments elsewhere. The West European countries occupy the middle ground in this respect.[2]

One of the questions which needs to be asked in considering the findings of this study is whether a considerable amount of information, but constrained to certain geographic regions, provides better information than a more limited number of articles, but covering most areas of the world. At this stage in the development of access to information about adult education abroad, the author would still opt for as wide a coverage as possible, even at the expense of depth in coverage. The Canadian Learning and the U.S. Lifelong Learning, interestingly enough, have the most evenly distributed geographical coverage.

The content frequency analysis, shown in Table 3, has borne out some expected but also some surprising results. Articles on international/comparative themes (299) and on organizational aspects (247) were the most frequent, followed by methods/techniques (178) and by theory of adult education (160). However, only very few (31) historical articles were located; this was the case even in the European journals, which was unexpected given the general European proclivity towards historical research and writing. Only one category, financing/economics (13) scored lower; it is noteworthy in this respect that ten of the thirteen articles in this category were published in East Europe while the remaining three were published in the U.K.

This study has dealt only with the frequency, number, ratio and content categorization of articles, and numbers of book reviews on adult education abroad published in the journals examined. It did not deal with an analysis of the depth and quality of the information published. This important second step in the study is yet to be carried out. It is hoped that the publishing of this analysis will spur on interest among Canadian colleagues in the developments in adult education abroad so that we can broaden our horizons and benefit our own work.

List of Journals Subject to this Study

Australia
Australian Journal of Adult Education. Published three times per year.

Austria
Erwachsenenbildung in Österreich. Published twelve times per year through 1979, then changed to quarterly.

Canada
Canadian Journal of University Continuing Education. Published twice per year since 1973, first under the title Dialogue (1973-74).
Learning. Published since 1976 with varying regularity, most often with one number per year (none published in 1982).

Czechoslovakia
Osveta. Published six times per year through 1973, then ten times per year through 1978 when it ceased publication.
Osvetová pracá. Published fortnightly. Took over to a considerable extent the function of Osveta.

New Zealand
New Zealand Journal of Adult Learning. Published twice per year, through 1982 under the title Continuing Education in New Zealand.

Poland
Oświata dorosłych. Published ten times per year. (No. 10, 1986, was not available at the time the analysis was carried out in April 1987.)

Switzerland
Education permanente. Published quarterly.

United Kingdom
Adult Education. Published six times per year through 1980, then changed to quarterly.
Studies in Adult Education. Published twice per year through 1981, once per year 1982-84, and again twice per year since 1985.

U.S.A.
Adult Education Quarterly. Published quarterly, through 1982 under the title Adult Education.
Lifelong Learning: Omnibus of Practice and Research. (Short title Lifelong Learning used in this paper.) Superseded Adult Leadership in 1977, under the title Lifelong Learning: The Adult Years. Adult Leadership published ten times per year, Lifelong Learning published eight times per year.

West Germany
Volkshochschule im Westen. Published six times per year.

Yugoslavia
Andragogija. Published with twelve numbers per year, often in multiple number issues. (Nos. 10-12, 1986, were not available at the time the analysis was carried out in April 1987.)

Reference Notes

1. This posed some problem as the standard of 'substantial' had to be varied from journal to journal due to varying editorial policies and style. Since the aim of the study was to establish the ratio of domestic and foreign information in any of the journals examined, the internal consistency within the journal was seen as more important than a uniform standard of 'substantial' applied to all the journals.

2. These conclusions might not be totally accurate, especially for Austria and West Germany, as not all of the adult education journals published there were included in the study. This decision was based on an informed judgment that the excluded journals were not sufficiently representative or widespread to be comparable to journals in the other countries included in this study. The same decision was made with respect to the United States.

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LEARNING AND MIND: A RESPONSE TO SELMAN

Stephen Brookfield
Teachers College, Columbia University, New York

Abstract

This paper responds to Mark Selman's analysis of my work which appeared in the Vol. II, No. 2 (November 1988) issue of this journal. Selman states that I propose an overly psychologized conception of learning, which is representative of some mainstream ideas in adult education. I respond that Selman has misinterpreted my work by confusing my summary of one perspective on learning (Verner and Little's) with my own ideas. I provide selected excerpts from Understanding and Facilitating Adult Learning (1986)[1] in which I argue for a more transactional, interactive, sociological conceptualization of learning.

Résumé

Je réponds à l'analyse que Mark Selman a fait de mes travaux, et qui a été publiée dans le numéro 2, volume 2, (novembre 1988) de cette revue. Selman affirme que je propose une conception beaucoup trop psychologisante de l'apprentissage, ce qui représenterait une des tendances en éducation des adultes. A cela, je réponds que Selman a mal interprété mes travaux; il a confondu mon résumé d'une des perspectives de l'apprentissage (celle de Verner et Little) avec mes propres idées. Je soumets des extraits de Understanding and Facilitating Adult Learning (1986) dans lesquels je plaide pour une conceptualisation de l'apprentissage qui soit plus transactionelle, interactive et sociale.

I very much enjoyed reading Mark Selman's article, "Learning and Philosophy of Mind."[2] In this piece, Selman undertakes a well developed critique of the overly psychologistic concept of learning. As he points out, this views learning purely as an internal process involving consciousness change which is manifest in permanently altered behaviour. He argues for a more social conception of learning, along somewhat similar lines to those advanced in Peter Jarvis' recent work on Adult Learning in the Social Context (1987).[3] "What is required," Selman writes, "is the acceptance of a revised conception of learning, one which recognizes the importance of the public, social world, in contrast to one which is situated primarily within the workings of inner, 'mental' space."[4] To which, as I read it, I murmured (internally!) 'Amen.'

What was disturbing to me about Selman's article was to read further and find that he cites my book Understanding and Facilitating Adult Learning (1986)[5] as exemplifying the dominant, psychologizing tendency in mainstream adult education which he is criticizing. When in fact it was written as a counterpoint to this trend with the explicit intention of encouraging greater attention to the socio-political dimensions of learning! He states that he is using what he describes as my description of learning as a description which embodies several ideas representative of a dominant approach (an overly psychological one) to adult education in North America. Since my book was an attempt to propose a more social analysis of learning as an alternative to several psychologistic mainstream conceptions, it was surprising to read that Selman was citing it as representative of the very orthodoxy I was seeking to challenge.

Of course, just because I set out to write a book exploring more social conceptions of learning which were alternative to mainstream psychologized notions, does not mean that I succeeded in the attempt. And Selman may well have been accurate in identifying biases, assumptions and misunderstandings in my work of which I was unaware. However, on close reading it is my contention that his analysis is based on a major misinterpretation or misreading of my work. I do not know why such a misreading took place and I accept that it may well lie in my own muddled prose style; but I do know that what Selman claims to be the conceptual core of my work is neither what I actually believe, nor what I thought I had written. This misinterpretation is most vividly seen in Selman's quoting what he claims is my definition of learning. The definition he quotes appears in the chapter in my book on self-directed learning as I talk about the conceptual and semantic confusion surrounding the term 'learning.' Selman discusses the point I make in this chapter that the gerundive nature of the word 'learning' (the fact that it functions both as a noun and verb) has caused considerable misunderstanding. He then refers to my discussion of Verner and Little's idea that learning is a purely internal process while education is a purely external one (though Little may not wish to be held to this idea a decade after its publication).

What is disturbing about Selman's analysis is that he represents my summary of one viewpoint in an intellectual debate as equivalent to my own views. He cites Verner and Little's concept of learning as an internal mental change of consciousness as if this was my own idea. In fact, as I tried to make evident both in the chapter on self-directed learning, and throughout the whole book, Verner and Little's idea that learning as an internal process should be distinguished from education as an external process is only one of several approaches that have been taken with respect to defining learning. In summarizing their approach for the reader, I pointed out that if their idea were accepted, then "the term learning would be reserved for the phenomenon of internal mental change whether that be characterized as a flash of gestalt insight, double-loop learning, or a rearrangement of neural paths. Such internal phenomena would be discernible externally in the form of permanent behaviourial change, and it would be by observing such change that we would reason that learning had occurred."[6]

My words were a paraphrasing of Verner and Little's ideas and an extension of what their ideas would mean for how we view learning if we took them as our working definition. They were a summary of someone else's views that were quoted as part of a ground-clearing exercise, a mapping of the intellectual terrain informing the discussion of the concept of self-directed learning. But Selman takes my paraphrasing of Verner and Little's views on this point as my own belief, despite the fact that in this chapter and throughout the book I continually stress the need to attend to the social dimensions of learning. He writes of the passage in which I quote Verner and Little's idea that "citing Verner and Little, he (Brookfield) suggests that learning be used as a noun only."[7] In fact I don't believe it should be used as a noun only at all. What I say is that if you take this approach, then it inevitably leads you to focus entirely on inner mental processes. I do believe that attention to internal mental processes frequently receives short shrift in adult educational discussions of learning, which are often discussions of education rather than of learning. But pointing out this semantic confusion is very far from arguing that all learning be considered an inaccessible, internal, mental phenomenon. It appears that my paraphrasing of Verner and Little's view of learning is being used as something of a straw man, which Selman can demolish as he makes his point with undoubted elegance and style. In fact I believe that learning is far too complex a set of phenomena and processes to have its fullness rendered meaningfully in any simple definition.

What is necessary to begin to understand something as complex as learning is to employ as many diverse theoretical and empirical perspectives as possible in its exploration.

Let me give some quotes from other parts of Understanding and Facilitating Adult Learning[8] which will, I hope, illustrate why I was so perturbed at being represented as arguing for a psychologized concept of learning. And of how I tried to redress this balance in the book by stressing the need for attention to the social context of learning and its interactional dimensions. At the beginning of the book I give several examples of adult learning processes and argue for a transactional analysis approach toward understanding learning through which "we regard adult learning as resulting from a transaction among adults in which experiences are interpreted, skills and knowledge acquired, and actions taken."[9] At the end of the chapter on self-directed learning (the one in which the discussion of Verner and Little's ideas are discussed) I finish my analysis by saying that:

> the most fully adult form of self-directed learning...is one in which critical reflection on the contingent aspects of reality, the exploration of alternative perspectives and meaning systems, and the alteration of personal and social circumstances are all present. The external technical and internal reflective dimensions of self-directed learning are fused when adults come to appreciate the culturally constructed nature of knowledge and values and when they act on the basis of that appreciation to reinterpret and recreate their personal and social worlds. In such a praxis of thought and action is manifested a fully adult form of self-directed learning.[10]

As I hope this quote makes clear, I was not advocating that learning be considered as an isolated contemplative mental act, but that it needs to be understood as both a psychological and sociological phenomenon.

Finally, let me return to the contention quoted at the outset of Selman's article that "what is required is the acceptance of a revised conception of learning, one which recognizes the importance of the public, social world, in contrast to one which is situated primarily within the workings of inner, 'mental' space."[11] I couldn't agree more. Which is why, on page 7 of Understanding and Facilitating Adult Learning,[12] I use C. Wright Mills' concept of linking private troubles and public issues developed in The Sociological Imagination (1959)[13] as an organizing theme for the facilitation of adult learning. Specifically, I write "as C.W. Mills (1959) observed, personal troubles such as unemployment or divorce occur within an adult's immediate milieu and are often perceived as private matters generated by biographical circumstances. The individual adult may make no causal connection between a personal trauma and broader socio-economic trends or political changes. He or she will see such tragedies as the result of personal inadequacy or individual fecklessness. In reality, it is evident that individual biographies are social products and that private troubles frequently reflect broader structural conditions. Those adults who come to this realization will perceive that their problems are shared by others. A consequence of this awareness is likely to be an understanding that alterations in individual destinies are inextricably linked to alterations in social structures. At some point, enough adults will realize that their 'private' troubles are reflections of some broader structural contradiction and will come together in collective action to create more congenial structures. To Mills, the reestablishment of the severed connection between individual biography and social structures was the task of the sociologist. It also serves as a mission statement for a critical philosophical vision of facilitating learning."[14] I still believe that Mills' analysis of the connection between private troubles and public issues provides an accessible and meaningful guide for adult educational practice. In fact, in a more recent work on Developing Critical Thinkers (1987),[15] I have tried to take this analysis one step further.

Understanding and Facilitating Adult Learning[16] is a book full of contradictions, simplified reasoning and ambiguity, and when I get around to stating some of its central ideas again, I hope to do a better job. But one thing I had never thought it was, was an exemplification of an overly psychologistic conceptualization of learning emphasizing inner mental space over the public, social world. It may be that despite my best efforts my ideas were not communicated clearly. If so, I hope that this after-word goes some way toward setting the record straight and I thank Mark Selman for prompting me to do this.

Reference Notes

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4. *CJSAE* 2 (2):29.
5. *Understanding and facilitating.*
6. *Ibid.*, 46.
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MORE ON LEARNING: A RESPONSE TO BROOKFIELD

Mark Selman
Simon Fraser University, Burnaby

I would like to thank Stephen Brookfield for his kind words about my article and apologize if through misunderstanding or imprecise language I have misrepresented his views as expressed in Understanding and Facilitating Adult Learning.[1] His expressions of support for my call for the adoption of a social conception of learning are also heartening. However, from his further remarks it appears that he does not accept some of the significant implications of the argument I have advanced.

If one accepts the sort of conception I have tried to elucidate, then Brookfield's suggestion that "learning is far too complex a set of phenomena and processes to have its fullness rendered meaningfully in any simple definition"[2] is seen to be misleading. Learning, at least in its most common usage, expresses a dispositional change - the fact that an animal or person would, under certain sorts of conditions, given certain intentions, act differently than previously, as the result of experience. If one tries to define learning in terms of the possible sorts of processes which produce it, the problem to be faced is not one of complexity, but one of coherence. There is nothing except the result which differentiates 'learning experiences' or 'processes of learning' from other sorts of experience and processes which can be undergone.

More obviously, Brookfield's comment that "attention to internal mental processes frequently receives surprisingly short shrift in adult educational discussions of learning"[3] runs counter to my conclusion that description at the level of internal processes is largely irrelevant to the purposes of educators.

Undeniably, Brookfield develops the notion of "the most fully adult form of self-directed learning,"[4] which he holds to be critical and transformative in terms of both conceptual systems and social realities. His use of Mills' analysis of the relation between what are perceived to be private troubles and the public realm seems eminently sensible given the tendency to blame the victim which is widespread in our society. But I wish to point out that this point is significantly different from my central thesis about a social conception of learning. What I sought to draw to attention is the fact that all attributions of learning are grounded in agreement about shared human purposes and practices. This is trivially true in the sense that the meaning of any word, including learning, is dependent on agreement in use amongst language users. It is also true in the deeper realization that our use of 'learning' is closely tied to judgments about rationality and human purposes.

Especially given the importance of Brookfield's project of developing a strong normative sense of 'self-directed learning' to be used as a guide for the practice of adult education, it seems essential to be as clear as possible about the concept of learning itself. I am pleased to have this opportunity to engage with Stephen Brookfield in this very attempt.

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The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education/
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Book Reviews/Recensions

FOUNDERS: INNOVATORS IN EDUCATION 1830 - 1980

Ernest Stabler, 1987. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press.

This is a thoroughly interesting book about the founders of six educational institutions or movements and about the fortunes and significance of the projects they created. Consistent perhaps with the idea of lifelong learning, the author has selected for discussion a wide range of institutions, including: the public school system of Massachusetts (Horace Mann); the international schools and colleges and the Outward Bound School (Kurt Hahn); Mount Holyoke, the first liberal arts college for women in the United State (Mary Lyon); the Danish Folk High School (N.S.F. Grundtvig); the Antigonish Movement of Nova Scotia (J. Tompkins and M. M. Coady); and the British Open University (H. Wilson, J. Lee, W. Perry and P. Venables). In each case, the story focuses on the careers and contributions of the founding figures of the enterprise, but considerable effort is made as well to describe the economic, social and cultural situation in which the institutions were functioning, and to which in varying degrees they were a response. Within the limitations of the space which could be allotted to each institution, this latter aspect of the book (which is too often largely ignored in such studies) is well handled, at least as seen from the point of view of one who shares the author's liberal philosophical views.

Most readers, like this reviewer, will start out with varying degrees of interest in the personalities and projects involved. As an adult educator, I found myself somewhat informed about, and pleased to learn more about, the Danish Folk High Schools, the Antigonish Movement and the Open University. I knew about Horace Mann and valued the opportunity to learn more about his efforts towards the establishment of the public educational system in his home state and beyond. I am not sure I had ever heard of Mary Lyon or Kurt Hahn, though I knew abut the institutions they founded. It is a test of the author's skill that one finds oneself interested in each and every person and project after reading about them. Stabler has an excellent eye for what is important and relevant, and for what will be of interest to the reader. The writing is economical and effective; each section begins with a dramatic, attention-getting incident, but this is not overdone.

One significant test for this reviewer was how I felt about Stabler's treatment of the projects I already knew a fair amount about. In the case of the Antigonish Movement, for instance, there are at least two ways in which the author's account makes a significant contribution. The first is the enrichment of the information about the movement which Stabler makes more widely available. I found particularly useful: the considerable additional information about the history of St. Francis Xavier University and its relationship to its region; the integration into the account of the influence of key figures besides the well known Father Moses Coady - most notably Father Jimmy Tompkins; and the drawing upon and citation of a variety of local and internal documents which are significant to the story. A second useful contribution of Stabler's account consists of his pursuing the Antigonish story beyond its glory days, which are fairly well documented in Coady's book and in the two by A.F. Laidlaw, and some others, and into the decades beyond -- up to the present time. A few revisionist historians have given us views about the more recent decades, but Stabler provides a useful addition to what has been available, and places it in a comprehensive account. I have found that students of the field of adult education in Canada area are greatly interested in the Antigonish story but tend to be frustrated by the relative lack of accounts of the more recent decades. (It is also helpful to have a chapter-length overall account available.)

Founders is very helpful in somewhat parallel terms with respect to the two other famous projects of particular interest to adult educators, the Danish Folk High School movement and the British Open University. Concerning the former, we are provided with useful historical (especially economic and cultural) background, information about the distinctive contributions of several figures in addition to Grundtvig himself, and again useful information about the folk schools subsequent to the first few decades of development. In the case of the Open University, we are, again, grateful for the perspective over time (a much shorter time than in the case of the folk schools, of course). Two of the most memorable parts of the Open University story as presented here have to do with the political in-fighting in the Labour Party as the project took shape and with the strategies adopted for course development. As with Antigonish, it is helpful to have these reasonably comprehensive chapter length treatments of the two projects.

Each of the remaining three projects presented its own problems or challenges to the author. In the case of Horace Mann and the struggle for the establishment of a public educational system in Massachusetts and beyond, Stabler skilfully combines the biographical approach with the story of institutional development. In some respects he had less to work with in the case of Mary Lyon and the founding of the first liberal arts college for women in the United States, Mount Holyoke College, and he has usefully augmented that story with information about the further development of colleges and universities for women in that country. The chapter about Kurt Hahn and his contributions is markedly different from the others, being to a large extent an interesting tale of an educational entrepreneur or "wheeler dealer" and his adventures among the titled and wealthy in promoting the development of several distinctive and significant educational institutions.

Two minor reservations to note. Although Stabler tells us in some detail about the politics within the Labour Party as they affected the development of the Open University, he, oddly it seems, omits the threat posed and excitement generated by the victory of the Conservatives at the polls in the final stages of development. Secondly, especially in the Grundtvig chapter, although the dates of some of his quotations are fairly important to the story, his footnotes tell us only the date of the secondary sources from which he took them, thus reducing their utility to the reader.

Founders is a most helpful and interesting addition to the literature of the field of education, most notably adult education. The several chapters, each some 40 to 50 pages, are lively reading, well documented and in a different manner in each case, usefully comprehensive. In the case of the adult education projects, this book is a useful place to start for students or the general reader, the footnotes and bibliography providing a guide for further research. A concluding chapter on "The Dynamics of Innovation" is brief, and somewhat disappointing, but there are many other rewards for the reader in this sound and lively volume.

Gordon Selman
University of British Columbia

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KNOWLEDGE FOR THE PEOPLE: THE STRUGGLE FOR ADULT LEARNING IN ENGLISH-SPEAKING CANADA, 1828-1973.

Michael R. Welton (ed.) 1987. Symposium Series/18. Toronto: OISE Press, The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.

What a delight -- and a rarity, too -- a scholarly book in adult education that is intelligently and carefully edited!

Has Dalhousie University professor Michael Welton assembled ten authors including himself who just happen to get it together so that their joint book, Knowledge for the People, sends out a well-integrated, clear, and cogent message? Not likely. What is more likely is that editor Welton had to bite the bullet and risk the ire of his authors by getting them to rewrite, alter, and otherwise shape up their work here and there. That's what good editors do -- and Michael Welton seems to qualify as one of these in an era when editing is widely and wrongly considered a mere frill in the process of producing a sound academic volume. Sloppy presentation even of sound research and analysis has too often been the result.

But editing is not the only virtue here. Welton and his colleagues have an eye for content and talents for analysis that make this an essential book for any Canadian wanting to understand (from a revisionist historian perspective) "the struggle for adult learning in English-speaking Canada."

Welton gets Knowledge for the People off to a running start with an often biting introduction. His intentions are those of grappling with the problem of the "invisibility of adult educational thought and practice within mainstream Canadian historical writing" and the "historical amnesia of the Canadian adult education community." These problems unfortunately bedevil adult educators in more southerly North American latitudes as well.

Welton selected essays written by persons he considers "sensitive to the need to contextualize educational history and to break from our romantic historiography." He chose case studies from English-speaking Canada that "examine, implicitly or explicitly, the complex question of how adults in a range of learning sites develop their own understandings and skills to control their life situation within a particular set of constraints..."

The history of the Montreal Mechanics' Institute is taken on by Nora Robins. George L. Cook examines Alfred Fitzpatrick and the founding of Frontier College -- a fascinating educational endeavour aimed at alleviating wretched conditions facing "campmen" in mining, lumber, and railway camps of the Canadian frontier. In "Housekeepers of the Community," Carol J. Dennison takes a feminist look at the British Columbia Women's Institutes. The Workers' Educational Association in Ontario is the focus of the essay by Ian Radforth and Joan Sangster. Sandra Souchotte's article takes on drama as used as adult education by the Workers' theatre to expose and ridicule what they believed to be an exploitive bourgeois society. Juliet Pollard's "Propaganda for Democracy: John Grierson and Adult Education During the Second World War" is the most insightful examination of the relationship between adult education and propaganda since the pioneering work of Eduard Lindeman in the United States in the late 1930's. Ian MacPherson describes and analyzes the rather intricate history of a cooperative college in western Canada between 1951 and 1973. Welton himself writes about an episode in the politics of adult education in Saskatchewan when Watson Thomson in 1944 and 1945 was called in for the purpose of "mobilizing the people for socialism" -- a cause that seems close to Welton's own heart. Welton also, with Jim Lotz, writes about the Antigonish Movement which was based in the Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish, Nova Scotia.

How do essentially revisionist historians view Antigonish, the movement generally recognized as a unique and significant Canadian contribution to adult education and community development theory and practice? Because of its worldwide visibility and Pollyanna image, Antigonish is perhaps the best window in which to view the historical approach used in Welton's book. Interestingly, not too many balloons get punctured. Still, the approach is appropriately critical -- if a shade less hard-nosed than is typical in some of the other essays.

Antigonish emerges as "moderately successful as a social movement" oriented toward reform rather than revolution. It may not have toppled "monopoly capitalism" but it "achieved limited but significant reforms within capitalist political and economic structures." Its methods were "nothing new, startling, or radical." It did, however, result in "development of a network that linked together scattered individuals and groups with common goals, and provided them with access to the information and resources they needed."

There is a refreshing lack of the usual palaver and syrup in describing the principal leaders of the Antigonish Movement -- though Lotz and Welton believe that one of them, Father Jimmy Tompkins, was "a typical prophet, a truly holy man." They are careful also to point out that he could be "extremely abrasive... forever prodding people to read a book, discuss a pamphlet, take some action."

The charismatic Father Moses Michael Coady was a kind of irresistible force who, like Father Tompkins, was unexcelled at stimulating, inspiring, talking, and teaching. Neither of them, however, was much good at organizing -- a function delegated by Coady to A. B. MacDonald.

Father Coady, as a Roman Catholic, was not a socialist in any Marxist sense. Lotz and Welton say he was strongly influenced in this view by its "perversion in practice." Instead, he offered a "vision of a participatory democracy which confronted the anti-democratic currents in the communist movement and strategy of education for economic co-operation."

Nonetheless, Coady dreamed of a transformed society. He didn't succeed in creating one. Still, the Antigonish Movement as Alexander Laidlaw pointed out, achieved economic uplift of the poor, implementation of a philosophy of adult education that focused on ordinary people in group action, improved labour organization, greater relevance for the university in relating to everyday life, and support for the social teachings of the Catholic Church. Lotz and Welton add that the Movement created a new opportunity structure for people with ability. All of this was "no small achievement," according to the authors. Canadians and the rest of the world, it seems, can rest easily in their admiration of the Antigonish Movement.

Is anything wrong with this book? Not much. Revisionist historians, especially those with a socialist orientation, are sometimes insufferably arrogant and holier than thou. Welton occasionally sounds a bit arrogant but never insufferably so. Even the methods of the revisionists aren't quite good enough for him. He says, for example, that the essayists in Knowledge for the People "have learned from the social control paradigm (developed by revisionists) without becoming its captive." Well maybe. Welton seems to have a few of his own doubts.

He declares himself aware that in identifying with the struggles of the "common people," against those perceived as oppressors, the historian may move "inside the protagonist's world view and [take] over the blindnesses!" Accordingly, in his "Introduction," he questions his own co-authors about "silences and significances in their texts" that he believes might hinder "rigorous analysis of the forces opposing human redemption through educational practice." He does it well, too -- very systematically.

Professor Welton is a literate man, and his writing shows it. The language is occasionally taxing (I could do without "hive" used as a verb). Still, he has the art of good -- sometimes elegant -- writing and somehow even with occasionally exotic word selections, the effect is seldom muddled or ostentatious.

Each essay in the book is strong, clearly-written, and has excellent bibliographic documentation. A few photographs spice up an already spicy text. An index would be helpful but is not included.

Canadians who are trying to become adult educators or who have any claim to being called adult educators should certainly buy and read this book -- and then behave as if they have read it. Adult educators in the United States, Latin America, Europe, Africa, Asia, Australia, the Pacific Islands, and for that matter on the Antarctic ice pack could improve their professional understandings by reading it too. It is good enough that it ought to cross international boundaries.

David W. Stewart
Consultant in Adult and Higher Education
Washington D.C.

A NOTE OF THANKS

The past four issues of the Journal have been produced (typed, processed, organized, etc.) by Pat Anagnos of the Department of Adult Education, The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.

With altered responsibilities, the Journal is now being produced by Jeanie Stewart, also associated with the Department of Adult Education, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.

We are grateful to Pat for her original work and thank Jeanie for producing this issue.

Don Brundage
Managing Editor

REMERCIEMENTS

Les quatre derniers numéros de la Revue ont été produits dactylographiés, organisés, etc.) par Pat Anagnos du Département d'éducation des adultes de l'Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.

A la suite de modifications dans les responsabilités, la Revue est maintenant produite par Jeanie Stewart, aussi associée au Département d'éducation des adultes, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.

Nous apprécions grandement le travail fait par Pat et remercions Jeanie pour avoir produit ce numéro.

Don Brundage
Rédacteur adjoint

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Submissions address: Dr. Catharine Warren, Faculty of Continuing Education, The University of Calgary, 2500 University Drive N.W., Calgary, Alberta T2N 1N4

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Table of Contents/Table des Matières

Articles

Adult Education and Public Funding Policies: The "Whiskey-Money" in Britain and its Implications for Adult Education in Canada
Patrick Keane 1

Connaissance de soi et autonomie personnelle: deux importants préalables à l'autodidaxie
René Bédard 21

Research Reports/Rapports de recherche

A Survey of Adult Education Research in Canada
D.R. Garrison and H.K. Baskett 32

International Studies in Graduate Programs in Adult Education in Canada
James A. Draper 47

Book Reviews/Recensions

Class, Ideology and Community Education
Will Cowburn
Reviewed by Shauna Butterwick 61

Learning for Life: Politics and Progress in Recurrent Education
F. Molyneux, G. Low, and G. Fowler, eds.
Reviewed by Andrea Kastner 63

Strategic Planning and Leadership in Continuing Education
Robert G. Simerly and Associates
Reviewed by Jim Sharpe 66

Agricultural Extension Worldwide
William M. Rivera and Susan G. Schram, eds.
Reviewed by Mark Waldron 71

Graduate Degrees in Canada—Adult Education and Cognate Subjects/Diplôme d'études supérieures au Canada—éducation des adultes et sujets cognitifs 73

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ARTICLES

ADULT EDUCATION AND PUBLIC FUNDING POLICIES: THE "WHISKEY-MONEY" IN BRITAIN AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR ADULT EDUCATION IN CANADA

Patrick Keane
Dalhousie University

Abstract

The article begins by considering some of the motives for a study of early experiments in education. It then explores the financial limitations associated with the voluntary educational agencies of Victorian times. Middle class support and philanthropy are shown to have developed an uneasy partnership with working class aspirations in the mechanics' institutes. This partnership was evident in Britain, Canada, and the United States, and its limitations were highlighted by conflicts over the nature of the education provided. The working classes accordingly made efforts to determine and finance their own adult educational programs, free from the prevailing utilitarian ethic. Early public funding of adult education in Britain is shown to have developed from diverse reform agendas, and to have progressed from a centralized and essentially utilitarian policy to locally administered and more holistic policies. Windfall revenues, termed the "Whiskey money", then made possible a decade of unparalleled educational development. That opponents of such expenditures were almost universally defeated is noted in a period when the (male) working classes were being enfranchised, and were increasingly conscious of their educational deprivation. That public funding policies inherited from voluntarism the notion of an education appropriate to one's social class is also noted. In a period of large scale migration to Canada and some pioneer studies of comparative adult education, comfortable Old World precedents of public funding jostled with shared attitudes toward an education "appropriate" to the working classes. It is thus suggested that some residual influences of these developments were experienced in Canada.

Résumé

Dans cet article on examine d'abord la motivation à étudier les premières expériences passées en éducation. On explore ensuite les limites financières des agences d'éducation de l'époque victorienne. On voit que dans les instituts techniques (mechanics' institute) l'appui de la classe bourgeoise et des philantropes a développé un partenariat qui s'accommodait difficilement avec les aspirations de la classe ouvrière. Ce partenariat qui était évident en Grande-Bretagne, au Canada et aux Etats-Unis, et ses limites furent mises en évidence par les conflits sur la nature de l'éducation offerte. La classe ouvrière a donc fait des efforts pour déterminer et financer ses propres programmes d'éducation des adultes, dégagés de l'éthique utilitariste qui prévalait. On démontre qu'à l'origine, le financement public de l'éducation des adultes en Grande-Bretagne s'est développé à la suite de divers programmes de réforme, et a progressé d'une politique centralisée et essentiellement utilitariste vers des politiques d'administration locale et des approches plus holistiques. Des revenus inattendus dits "whiskey money", on permis une décennie de développement sans pareil en éducation. On remarque que durant la période où la classe ouvrière (les hommes) obtenait le droit de suffrage et où celle-ci était de plus en plus consciente qu'elle était privée d'éducation, les opposants à de telles dépenses en éducation ont presque tous été défaits. On note aussi que les politiques de financement public ont hérité du volontarisme l'idée d'une éducation appropriée à sa classe sociale. A l'époque des grandes migrations vers le Canada, et de quelques études d'avant-garde en éducation des adultes comparée, les précédents de l'Ancien monde sur le financement public ont côtoyé les conceptions partagées sur une éducation "appropriée" à la classe ouvrière. On suggère que des éléments résiduels de ce type de développement se sont fait sentir au Canada.

Introduction

Canadians new to the field of adult education are often regaled with stories of the affluent 1960s as the one period when funds almost seemed to exceed the imagination of programmers. This perception is shared in countries with a parallel heritage in adult education, notably the United States and Britain. However, despite the similarly shared blight of the Great Depression of the 1930s and the alienation and exploitation of the last century, it is important to note that education has enjoyed earlier periods of relative prosperity.

Thus, by the standards of the time, largesse was apparent in the occasional public but largely private funding of mechanics' institutes in Canada, the United States and Britain from the 1830s. Certainly the convictions of many contemporary adult educators then reflected a belief in a golden future, with innovation and expansion as inevitable. After a period of disillusionment, hopes were raised again in all three countries later in the nineteenth century when some public responsibility was accepted for libraries, museums and evening classes. To a slender social conscience were then added growing economic and political considerations, as each of these countries sought to maximize its human resources with appropriate educational programs. In this process, the largely informal contacts and comparisons made by their adult educators were to be expanded with such formal government inquiries as by our Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education. Established in 1910, its inquiries ranged over Canada, the United States and Europe, and its substantial report was published three years later.[1]

If there was some naiveté in many early comparative studies, in a belief that educational borrowing was both desirable and feasible, they often provided an impetus for change and growth while Canada matured as nation. Even today, a study of some of the experiments that attracted attention may serve several purposes. These experiments may identify specifics of time and place which are clearly not transferrable but invite comparisons deepening our insights into current provision. For newcomers to our field, they may emphasize that financial constraints are cyclical, not inherent in adult education. The 1960s may then be viewed from a broader perspective of "feast and famine," rather than as a fleeting abberation from the norm. The studies may also identify some of the formative influences on our present government funding policies toward adult education, particularly their tendency to promote utilitarian market oriented training rather than a holistic form of adult education.[2] Conversely, one needs to be aware of the limitations of such research. Establishing precise patterns to teach us lessons may suggest the need for a quantification of computerized data manipulations, an elusive process in view of the seemingly unreliable scientific factor of the individual.[3] Perhaps the least one may expect is that in interpreting a previous policy one may challenge adult educators to re-examine their basic assumptions about current policies.[4]

This article will examine one such policy that excited attention in North America -- the British system of public funding for adult education from the mid nineteenth century. Canada, the United States and Britain shared the middle class ideology associated with the classic adult education agency of that period from northern Scotland to Cornwall, England, from St. John's, Newfoundland to Victoria, B.C.; and from Boston, Mass., to San Francisco, Ca. Indeed, its popularity contributed to proposals for an international adult education agency as early as 1837, and to growing contacts between the adult educators of these countries.[5]

Despite the continued foundation of new institutes after mid century, many older institutes perished. The fundamental problem was that the institutes were experiencing an expansion of learners' needs and interests that often outstripped their traditional human and material resources. Their income had been derived from student fees, donations, community fund raising, and occasional government grants. Their human resources, as instructors, librarians, museum curators and administrators, were typically untrained but dedicated volunteers, although some degree of payment had crept in. Often onerous expenses for accommodation and furnishings had to be met in addition to ongoing expenditures for instructional materials and library holdings. In a period of widespread immigration and a growing official preoccupation with public school education, adult educators tended to look with favour on any precedents seeming to offer more and better resources.

In Ontario, which established over three hundred mechanics' institutes in the nineteenth century, Dr. S.D. May, the responsible government inspector, frequently instanced the merits of the British government funding system. Indeed, by 1868, he was to conclude that his province's adoption of the same principle was even more generous, since it did not impose "such stringent rules".[6] Disinclined to believe local policies were generous, some institute officials travelled to see the British system in operation. Thus, Andrew S. Hallidie, famed as the inventor of the San Francisco cable car system, and president of San Francisco Mechanics' Institute, reported on one such visit in 1876.[7] His itinerary had included a meeting with the secretary of the government's Science and Art Department which dispensed the grants, and visits to agencies receiving the grants. He returned impressed with the scope and quality of the work being promoted, and with the products of the system, some of whom he encountered teaching in the United States.

Admiration for the system was by no means an unquestioning one. Thus Otto Klotz, President of Preston Mechanics' Institute, Ontario, was in 1881 to judge the British system as favouring major urban areas rather than the "small towns and villages where by far the larger number of (our) institutes are established.[8] Nevertheless, comfortable Old World precedents were useful ammunition in this marginal field, even if they were subject to differing interpretations. Indeed, the fullest expression of this model was yet to come, and by the 1890s a case study identifies some of its British beneficiaries finding employment in North and South America, Australia, South Africa, Spain, India and China.[9] Reliance on such imported talent could however be a controversial political factor. In Canada there were fears that Macdonald's National Policy was now being jeopardized by lack of an adequately educated workforce. This led to a strong advocacy for a comparable government commitment to the kind of education being promoted in Britain and elsewhere.[10]

Accordingly, we shall examine the nature of the precedents established in Britain and seek to identify any residual influences on Canadian policies. Consideration will be devoted first to the middle class ideology that led to often impressive support for the classic Victorian adult education agency, the mechanics' institute. This will entail an examination of the education deemed "appropriate" for working class adults. Next, attention will be focused on the criteria proposed for any public support of adult education, and the mechanisms adopted from the mid nineteenth century to implement such policies. Lastly, we shall explore the fortuitous circumstances leading to a golden age of adult education and identify its aftermath. The golden age occurred between 1890 and 1902 and was funded largely by resources popularly termed as the "whiskey money."

Voluntarism and Useful Knowledge

As the growing concern with bible literacy in the eighteenth century was to be chronicled in a History of Adult Schools in 1814,[11] so was the early nineteenth century concern with secular "useful knowledge" to be chronicled in The History of Adult Education in 1851.[12] The impressive scope and innovation associated with these developments were to be emulated in other English-speaking countries. They were derived from voluntary societies whose foundation owed much to human and material resources provided largely by middle class philanthropy. The institutes were intended to provide essentially prescriptive and utilitarian form of adult education for the skilled workers and apprentices. In this sense, their ideology reflected the antithesis between culture and utility formulated by Plato and Aristotle and continued in the apprenticeship system. This assumed that a real education was a liberal education, suited only for the leisured governing classes, while a limited form of technical training was appropriate for skilled workers and slaves.[13] This social distinction rested on assumptions of merit, and allowed for some class mobility, although Plato also acknowledged the influence of heredity. The governing classes were assumed to possess all the intelligence in the state, while workers were assumed to lack either the inclination or aptitude for intellectual study. Manual workers were thus held in low esteem, although some of the architects and engineers who conceived the Greek and Roman building masterpieces were to be accorded a professional status.

In time, such other professionalizing occupations as medicine and law were also to be associated with a liberal education, whereas the generality of skilled workers depended largely on the training provided by the apprenticeship system. This system prospered from Roman times through the Middle Ages to the Industrial Revolution, and it took root in North America also. It varied from a sometimes nominal instruction to a demanding form of vocational education. Traditional skills were transmitted under the moral religious supervision of employers, and were often supplemented by instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic. Apart from the professionalizing occupations, this system remained separate from the liberal education dispensed in grammar schools, lycees, colleges and universities. Indeed, with the tradition of children inheriting their parents' occupation, the system had been an integral part of the status quo. The impact of democracy and the technological changes of the Industrial Revolution were however to influence a rethinking of educational needs and responsibilities. With the early nineteenth century ebbing of the state paternalism which had long supported apprenticeship privileges, a host of voluntary agencies blossomed to address these needs and responsibilities.

The Mechanics' Institutes

The mechanics' institutes were conceived as a viable compromise response to workers' aspirations, employers' needs and society's expectations. They proposed to offer more than the basic education of the religious ventures, but less than the education for social, economic and political change sought by some working class leaders. Resting on assumptions of a community of interest between capital and labor, they intended to provide an essentially vocational education for skilled workers and apprentices. This was to incorporate the new scientific and technical discoveries, often neglected in apprenticeship training but of demonstrated interest to many workers.[14]

The attempted compromise needs to be viewed against a background of numerous independent workers' initiatives in adult education from the late eighteenth century. Largely excluded from the flourishing middle class literary and philosophical societies, the literate skilled workers read avidly the flood of cheap publications and newspapers, participated in independent study, formed clubs and societies of their own, and joined a variety of political reform movements and embryonic trade unions. Thus, research shows that by the onset of the nineteenth century,

> there was certainly a leaven of amongst the northern weavers of self educated and articulate men of considerable attainments. Every weaving district had its weaver-poets, biologists, mathematicians, musicians, geologists, botanists.[15]

While skilled workers were a relatively privileged group in contrast with the mass of unskilled and illiterate workers, the general tenor of the period 1790-1840 has been characterized as one of "intensified exploitation, greater insecurity, and increasing human misery."[16] Indeed, the more the middle class promoted this new educational venture, the more suspicious did some labor leaders become. Some continued to support the independent educational projects associated with the cooperative socialism of Robert Owen or the political demands of the People's Charter advocated by William Lovett.[17] Yet others participated in ephemeral mutual improvement societies, or managed to secure control of a few mechanics' institutes.

As early as 1823, the editors of the Mechanics Magazine concluded that "men had better be without education than be educated by their rulers."[18] Such self educated workers as Rowland Detrosier, a Lancashire cotton operative, condemned the middle class initiatives in 1831 as offering "an education which is the veriest mockery that ever insulted the human understanding." Instead, he proposed that workers establish their own reading rooms, coffee house, and mechanics' institutes, in order to obtain a political and moral knowledge necessary for their emancipation.[19] John Doherty, one of the most influential trade union leaders of this period, similarly urged independent working class initiatives in education and condemned the utilitarian emphasis of the institutes. He wrote in 1832:

> Let the huxtering owners of the misnamed mechanics' institutes, and would-be rulers of mechanics' minds, see that the day is gone when the millions will be satisfied with the puny morsel of mental food which aristocratic pride and pampered cunning have been wont to deal out to them.[20]

While independent working class initiatives continued in adult education, they incurred the powerful hostility of the middle class, and they also tended to suffer from a chronic shortage of human and material resources. Conversely, the traditional mechanics' institute laid claim to such resources because it purported to serve broad community, and ultimately, national purposes.[21] It was argued that its mission of disseminating "useful knowledge" would promote industrial and commercial efficiency. It would produce a skilled, sober, and law-abiding workforce accepting society's social, economic, and political norms, rather than one intent on overturning them. The novelty of the experiment attracted substantial middle class support and despite misgivings, workers' participation. It attracted also conservative opposition to any educational advances for workers as well as the radical opposition to its utilitarian emphasis.

As the initial middle class support and philanthropy ebbed and these voluntary bodies became more dependent on members' fees, the inherent problems of the compromise became apparent. At one extreme. the original scientific emphasis was sustained and developed until, as in the Franklin Institute, Philadelphia, worker participation ceased altogether and the institute became a research body for professionals. At the other extreme, varying degrees of working and lower middle class support were retained in Britain and North America by meeting demands for a more general and even recreational program.[22] Unwilling or unable to make such adjustments, many institutes perished. Yet others began to explore the possibility of obtaining sustained and substantial government grants in the hope of continuing with their original objectives. An ongoing transition from essentially paternalistic conservative administrations dominated by landowning interests to administrations more representative of middle class commercial and industrial interests seemed to auger well for such hopes in Britain.

Liberal Adult Education

These hopes were to be influenced more by the original utilitarian objectives of the mechanics' institutes rather than by an ideal of liberal adult education. The latter gained specific recognition following the establishment of Sheffield Peoples' College by the Rev. R.S. Bayley in 1842 and the London Working Men's College by the Rev. John F.D. Maurice in 1854.[23] Bayley, a promoter of Louth Mechanics' Institute, Scotland, in 1835, was well aware of the transition under way in mechanics' institutes, and encouraged his working class college students to determine both the curriculum and the instructional methods. The resulting program ranged from the three R's of reading, writing and arithmetic to English Literature and Composition, Ethics, History, Geography, Philosophy, Logic, Latin, Greek, Science, and Natural History. Maurice, a Christian socialist influenced by the political reform movement of Chartism, was equally committed to providing liberal adult education for manual workers. Unlike Bayley, he was not prepared to allow them to dictate the program. Nevertheless, the experiment prospered, attracting the support of such personalities as Charles Kingsley, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, and John Ruskin, and leading to the foundation of other similar colleges. Indeed, one may speculate what might have ensued when Hugo Reid of Nottingham Peoples' College was appointed dean of Dalhousie College, Nova Scotia, in 1856.

The temporary demise of this college a year later ended any immediate prospects for some comparable work in adult education. Nevertheless, the liberal ideal was now established "for men and women engaged during the daytime in the duties of the workshop, the office, or the home."[24] It was an ideal intended "not to enable bright young men from the working class to get on in the world, but rather to provide opportunities for the enrichment of personal life."[25] It was clearly in reaction to the utilitarianism of the age. Its promoters sought to avoid "the mistakes of the mechanics' institutes, and tried not merely to inform but to educate their students."[26] While this objective was to influence the work of the Young Men's/Women's Christian Association and the university extension movement, it was to prove less persuasive where early government funding of working class adult education was involved.

The Question of Public Funding

Even the middle class administrators of the institutes, who at least had the franchise, were divided on the propriety of seeking government funding with its likely inspection and direction. Thus Dr. James Hudson of Manchester contended that government involvement "would be universally viewed as a disturbance and encroachment,"[27] while James Hole of Leeds argued that government had a responsibility to finance some forms of adult education. Hole distinguished between education "of a personal interest," properly the responsibility of the individual, and "those arts and sciences which have a great industrial and social importance" and merit public funding.[28] In effect Hole acknowledged political realities in seeking funding. He did not expect government grants for a truly emancipatory education intended for his unenfranchised students. Hudson was equally realistic in fearing the kind of regimentation and controversy that characterized state supported elementary schooling. Rather quixotically Hudson was a strong protagonist of that "useful knowledge" which voluntarism now had difficulty in sustaining, whereas Hole recognized a more embracing education responding also to the increasing interest in nonvocational studies. The latter view was championed not only by radicals, but by such conservative reformers as Dr. Thomas Arnold and John Henry Newman.[29]

Early Central Policies

Successive parliaments had displayed little interest in financing the burgeoning adult education movement, whether on liberal or vocational grounds. In 1843, the minority of institutes fortunate enough to own their own premises were excused payment of local property taxes. While this was a piece of central government legislation,[30] it was the local governments which were to lose the revenue. By mid-century, however, government interest was increasing, stimulated by the Great Exhibition (1851), by the advocacy of the influential Prince Albert, husband of Queen Victoria, and by a national conference convened in London in 1852 by the Society of Arts. The emphasis now was on a return to the utilitarian goals of the mechanics' institutes. Apart from a system of grants made to evening elementary schools by the Education Department in 1851, it was an offshoot of the Board of Trade, the Science and Art Department which was to exercise formative government influence on the education of adults. This department was to concentrate on supporting specific programs, rather than adult education as such, thereby influencing the direction and nature of the education available to those who depended on its assistance. The department established a Normal School of Design in London, and between 1842 and 1852, sixteen branch schools of design.[31] Not only did the latter often compete directly with mechanics' institute drawing classes, but the schools' narrow vocational programs antagonized many prominent art educators and led to student protests because of the exclusion of aesthetics of "high art."[32] Official policy had decreed that "the study of the figure was not necessary to the mechanic," leading to criticism that artisans were thereby denied the opportunity "to enjoy a full education."[33] Indeed, Henry Cole, who was to administer the schools after 1852, had already concluded that the government policy rendered this inevitable, saying: "The age is so essentially commercial that it hardly looks to promoting anything ... except for commercial purposes."[34] When middle class students later balked at the same policy, the department was to condemn "the capricious wishes of the middle classes who at present resist sound instruction."[35] "Sound instruction" here was to be interpreted as the preparation of industrial designers, and the exclusion of instruction suited to intending painters and sculptors.

Even more influential in shaping the development of adult education was a system of incentive grants introduced by the Department in 1953. These were intended to stimulate the growth of a body of qualified instructors, but in the sciences only. Furthermore, the department disclaimed any ongoing policy, saying it intended to offer only a temporary and limited support of a continuing voluntary system.[36] The grants depended on examination successes by defined working class students in a defined scientific and technical curriculum. While recognizing a growing differentiation between the theory and practice of trades, the policymakers ignored workers' criticisms that the essential practical training of good apprenticeships was not supported; neither were subjects of great local importance such as textiles in Leeds or boot and show manufacture in Northampton.

Nevertheless, such was the attraction of the grants that the "system" blossomed into a growing and seemingly permanent factor in shaping adult education. By the 1880s it was apparent that it had produced a jungle of ever increasing ad hoc local bodies enmeshed in often onerous and restrictive central regulations. The grants shaped the nature of programs, determined the eligibility of students, created a bureaucratic nightmare, and allowed little modification for local needs and aspirations.[37] While thus meeting some of the program objectives identified by James Hole, they had certainly led to the encroachments on voluntarism feared by James Hudson. Government funding was promoting what many regarded as an inferior education for an inferior class of people. Britain's evident industrial supremacy was such after the Great Exhibition of 1851 that many remained unconvinced of the need for government funding of even this limited commodity. As noted earlier, Henry Cole had concluded that few indeed contemplated public funding of an enlarged and less utilitarian education determined by democratically elected local authorities.

The Reform Agendas

However, by the 1880s, the establishment of an expanded and locally administered system with its own assigned revenues fitted in with several reform agendas. The economic arguments were becoming more compelling as Britain's industrial supremacy increasingly now was being challenged with invidious comparisons being made with other nations' educational policies. In 1881-84, the (Samuelson) Royal Commission[38] reported on the excellent provision of higher technical education in Germany. It also noted Britain's continuing lack of appreciation for such facilities and the British workman's traditional habit of neglecting theoretical instruction. Not only was British culture as a whole regarded as more empirical and pragmatic than some of its European neighbors,[39] but many of its newly qualified engineers and, increasingly, its investment capital, were to be attracted to more lucrative prospects abroad. The commissioners responded by recommending an expanded British system of technical education, locally administered and financed. Two years later, a Royal Commission on the Depression[40] noted increased educational investment in countries then providing much of the commercial competition. It repeated earlier criticism of British deficiencies in education for commerce and technology. Sufficient concern now was felt for the establishment in 1887 of the National Association for the Promotion of Technical Education. It soon launched a public campaign for educational reforms to remedy these deficiencies.

As the economic arguments gathered force, those of administrative reformers came into play. While municipal government had been reformed as early as 1835, ending a long regime of corruption and incompetence, working men -- and women generally -- were still denied the vote. in 1867, town workmen received the suffrage, but rural inhabitants continued to be denied an efficient and representative administration down to the 1880s. Among the multiplicity of county bodies with varying powers, differing electorial bases and overlapping areas, were the popularly elected school boards instituted in 1870. However, their association with radical nonconformity was sufficient to deter many from wishing to expand their powers beyond elementary schooling. Similarly, while rural laborers obtained the (national) franchise in 1884, county government still remained in the hands of nominated magistrates. It was not until 1888 that reformers finally saw this almost feudal arrangement replaced by popularly elected county councils and county borough councils.[41] The new bodies inherited the defined administrative responsibilities of the magistrates, and lacked any educational powers. However, to the Conservative government then in office they seemed a more suitable agency for the delegation of any new powers, educational and otherwise.

In July 1887, the first of a series of five "technical instruction" bills was introduced into parliament.[42] Three of these were proposed by the Conservative administration of Lord Salisbury and two by Henry E. Roscoe, a chemistry professor at Owens College, Manchester, and a radical M.P. for that city. That it was August 1889 before success attended the fifth attempt at legislation was not attributable to a lack of political support for educational expansion. Rather it was fundamentally because the first four bills assigned responsibility to the controversial schoolboards. The fortuitous establishment of new local authorities facilitated the drafting and passage of the fifth bill.[43] It enabled the county councils and the urban sanitary authorities to levy a penny rate in support of "the principles of science and art applicable to industries." Being only permissive legislation, similar to powers given earlier to municipalities to establish libraries and museums, a corresponding cautious implementation was predicted.

Indeed, by 1890, only thirteen of the 124 new county authorities had decided to use any of these taxing powers, whereas the Science and Art Department's "system" continued to expand substantially.[44] However the 1889 Technical Instruction Act conveyed broader powers than its title suggested. Beyond the support of defined scientific and technical studies, it permitted:

> Any other form of instruction which may for the time being be sanctioned by that (Science and Art) Department, by a minute laid before parliament, and made on the representation of a local authority that such form of instruction is required by the circumstances of its district.[45]

In effect, the legislation excluded aid to applied workshop instruction, religion, the classics, and English, while leaving open to discussion the "technical" nature of such other studies as local authorities cared to propose. With its lower age limit of 13 years, the legislation served part-time students who had left school to begin work, as well as full-time students continuing their education beyond the elementary school. Unlike earlier Science and Art Department regulations, the new act was not limited to assisting working class students. Amid the tortuous social and religious bigotries then confounding debates on the education of schoolchildren, this circumspect piece of legislation seemed to need only assigned revenues in order to realize its potential for adult learners.

The "Whiskey Money"

A growing public concern with drunkenness in the late 1880s now resulted in temperance reformers playing a crucial role in this interrelated drama. In transferring the public house or tavern licensing powers of the quarter sessions to the new county authorities, the government proposed allowing the latter to compensate anyone whose license they cancelled. Conflict then developed in parliament between brewing interests opposing powers of cancellation and temperance interests opposing powers of compensation. The outcome was that George J. Goschen, Chancellor of the Exchequer, was left with an approved 1890 budget levy on beer and spirits, intended as compensation, but now unappropriated due to a coalition of opposing interests. Accordingly, M.P.s like the industrialists William Mather and A.J. Mundella and the noted chemist Lyon Playfair now combined with Goschen and the temperance advocates to secure passage of legislation assigning the revenues to the new county authorities. The latter were directed to use the funds first to pay police pensions, then either in support of the 1989 Technical Instruction Act or in relief of local rates. Since local pressures were calculated to influence the latter option, again a cautious funding of education was predicted. Nevertheless, the "Whiskey Money" as it was now known soon proved to be a magnet in the field of educational programming.

To administer their windfall revenues, the counties established technical instruction committees or boards. These began by identifying the scope of existing post-elementary education in their areas and by drawing up development plans. Their much publicized wealth soon attracted the attention of a motley of eager and determined citizens all intent on getting the largest possible grant for a variety of projects. Some indeed conjectured that the more inebriated counties would have the funds to develop the more impressive educational programs. In time, this might lead to a moral reformation, thereby depriving these institutions of operating grants and starting again a cycle of drunkenness. Few misgivings were evident with applications. Some were attended by personal and influential deputations, while others came from patently ineligible institutions; and yet others were so hurriedly compiled that no specific sums were requested. Overall, the embryonic science of "grantology" here displayed qualities of creativity and persistence as the "technical" facets of schemes both substantial and ephemeral were portrayed as national assets.[46]

Before any response could be made to such applications, the counties had to assign all or part of the "whiskey money" to education. Substantial opposition was sometimes encountered, particularly in economically depressed farming areas where campaigns might be mounted to assign the revenues to the relief of local property rates. However, within three years, 110 of the 124 county and county borough councils were devoting all the "whiskey money" to education, and 13 were devoting part of it to education. The exception, London, was instead to begin financing its programs from the accumulated wealth of its city guilds.[47] By 1901-02, 83% of public funds being expended in "technical instruction" was coming from the "whiskey money".[48]

Local Policies

There was some initial doubt as to how far the new local authorities would adopt the key legislative provision enabling them to initiate programs to suit particular local needs. The Lancashire county committee began with the premise that "the main object of a technical training is not the cultivation of the mind, but the enabling of the student to acquire knowledge and habits which shall be useful to him, in the industry to which he belongs."[49] This narrow view was clearly not shared by the contiguous city of Manchester, whose committee visited such prestigious European institutions as the Charlottenburg and Zurich polytechnics in the course of formulating its more optimistic goals.[50] The neighbouring city of Liverpool included in its very substantial list of some fifty proposed additional subjects "singing and musical notation, instrumental music, the science and art of teaching, and various commercial subjects."[51]

In time the jostling county committees would expand "technical instruction" to cover subjects as diverse as history and military drill, finding justification eluding them only for English, the classics and scripture. They provided new laboratories and workshops and aided museums and libraries. They awarded scholarships, enabling students to venture as far as graduate studies at British and overseas universities. They supplemented teacher education programs, facilitated the education of women, sponsored research, and provided an impetus for the expansion of university extension and summer school programs. While developing their own direct provision of lectures, classes, and demonstrations, etc., their grants encouraged a variety of other voluntary and public agencies to range over what was probably the broadest field of education ever deemed "technical". Some of the support afforded to other agencies was clearly for "secondary", "higher", or "adult" education. Much of the direct and indirect provision of instruction supportive of such local industries as agriculture, mining, or engineering, might be labeled "adult vocational education." Such labels need to be viewed, however, in the context of the absence of a public system of "secondary", "higher", or "adult" education, and of a field of elementary education blighted by religious and political acrimony.

Conclusions

A mixture of fortuitous circumstances, sincere convictions, and adroit manipulation had seen the "whiskey money" achieve something of an educational revolution in just over a decade. An admittedly slender ladder of opportunity had enabled some gifted products of the elementary school to reach the highest rungs of the educational ladder, while enabling many others to participate in the broadest program of adult education yet to receive public funding.

Thus, from the small rural southwestern county of Somerset, a scholarship ladder enabled some students to go on to college and university, and to achieve distinction in later life.[52] This development was sometimes opposed by fee-paying middle class parents who resented any social mixing. The tenuous nature of such opportunities for the gifted student is illustrated in the case of Arthur S. Eddington. Refused a one-year extension of his school scholarship, he nevertheless demonstrated his potential by later contributions to the theory of relativity. Later scholarships enabled him to attend Manchester and Cambridge universities, subsequently becoming the Plumian Professor of Astronomy at Cambridge. He was knighted and became a fellow of the Royal Society. John Read, son of a tavern owner, attended Finsbury Technical College and went on to become a distinguished chemist, a fellow of the Royal Society, and to hold professorships at Sydney, Australia and St. Andrews, Scotland. John C. Withers, son of a builder, went on from Finsbury Technical College to

Marburg University, Germany, where he became an authority in the chemistry of textiles. Many students, male and female alike, seem to have entered the teaching profession by means of such scholarships, but we may note that the most prestigious awards went to males, and to science students. Fuller inquiries would doubtless unearth many other such success stories in Somerset and in other counties.

While the "whiskey money" came too late to salvage much of the once vigorous voluntary movement for adult education, it did sustain the survivors and develop a healthy new growth alongside them. Indeed, as the county authorities took on responsibility for elementary, secondary and teacher education after 1902, the public funding of adult education, whether "technical" or otherwise, lost its impetus. A long standing public policy of "ad hocery" now gave way to a single local educational authority. In this new public policy environment, the "whiskey money" was to be applied increasingly towards making good some of the deficiencies of secondary education and teacher education. In an educational climate still dominated by social class, this meant a shift of emphasis from promoting the "technical instruction" of the working classes to promoting the liberal education of the middle class. It was thus fortuitous that another phase in the voluntary movement was born in 1903, in the shape of the Workers' Educational Association. This was an effort to overcome working class suspicion of the universities and to promote higher education based on the Extension model.

However, in the public sphere, the education of adults was not to be more stringently compartmentalized along the lines we have noted proposed by James Hole in 1853. The Board of Education established a "Further Education" department in 1903 dealing essentially with vocational studies, while the W.E.A. followed the university extension tradition of identifying "adult education" with liberal studies. The more holistic goals to which the mechanics' institutes had aspired by the mid nineteenth century, and which the "whiskey money" had facilitated incrementally in the last decade, were not abandoned or at best fragmented. Today, the heritage of an essentially middle class Victorian compromise still influences British policy considerations in the education of adults. Despite increased fluidity over the ensuing decades, a notion of "appropriate" local authority provision still reflects the social inhibitions of an earlier and less democratic age. On balance, it provides a basic raison d'être for continuing to support numerous voluntary agencies. This, while reformers worked to end the comparable social and educational distinctions among children --

the grammar schools and the secondary modern/secondary technical schools -- a comprehensive public system for adults remains elusive.

In Canada, we may speculate as to the extent of our inheritance from these events. We began our educational policy making for adults in similar vein. The keynote was "voluntarism" and "appropriate" education for different social classes. The Durham Report was the product of J.G. Lambton, a 'philosophic radical' who had made substantial contributions toward the foundation of several English mechanics' institutes.[53] The later British North America Act recognized provincial responsibility for education and federal responsibility for the economy. Indeed, such provinces as Ontario, that took relatively substantial interest in adult education in the latter half of the nineteenth century, did so more from concern with the economy than with any notions of individual fulfilment.[54] With the development of Sir John A. Macdonald's National Policy, and later federal legislation on agricultural and industrial training, we have seen the growth of substantial educational programs for adults.[55] Our divorce in Canada between federal "training" and provincial "education" might suggest to adults in "have not" provinces, or in periods of "retrenchment" that history indeed repeats itself. Has our legislative and administrative structure indeed succeeded in contriving a system of adult education, propounded by Plato and Aristotle, but condemned by blue collar workers over one and a half centuries ago? Do these fundamental priorities resurface after every period of affluence? Our rhetoric of "equal access" perhaps merits a more critical analysis of the often implicit and very long-standing funding priorities in the education of adults. The alternative is to be beguiled by Statistics Canada into believing that more (of the same) is better.

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CONNAISSANCE DE SOI ET AUTONOMIE PERSONNELLE: DEUX IMPORTANTS PRÉALABLES À L'AUTODIDAXIE

René Bédard
Université d'Ottawa

Résumé

L'autodidaxie prend actuellement, en éducation des adultes, un essor dont les implications sont prometteuses. Cependant, avant de se lancer dans une avenue aux contours encore imprécis, il est important, voire même urgent, de préciser que l'autodidaxie n'est peut-être pas à la portée de tout apprenant adulte. Pour que ce dernier puisse retirer le maximum de cette façon d'apprendre des préafables sont nécessaires. Cet article tente de les mettre en évidence car leur méconnaissance pourrait engendrer plus de frustration que de satisfaction dans l'apprentissage.

Abstract

In adult education, the theory of self-directed learning is well established, with interesting implications for the learner. At this stage, however, it is important to point out that self-directed learning theory needs more precision in its articulation. Not every learner should undertake a self-directed learning project. If we want adults to obtain maximum learning from this approach, preliminary qualities are necessary if we want to avoid unnecessary frustration in a self-directed learning project.

Introduction

Depuis quelques années déjà, l'ampleur qu'a pris le mouvement de l'éducation des adultes dans plusieurs domaines a largement contribué à une articulation plus systématique de l'autodidaxie. Du moins, c'est ce que l'on remarque lorsque l'on se penche attentivement sur les écrits qui tentent de préciser la notion et les implications de l'autodidaxie (Knowles, 1975; Long, 1983, Cross, 1981; Brookfield, 1985, 1986; Pineau, 1983, Tremblay, 1986; Landry, 1986; Oddi, 1987; Brockett, 1985a). Dans une récente recherche sur l'apprentissage en situation d'autodidaxie, Nicole Tremblay (1986) circonscrit le concept d'autonomie dans l'apprentissage à la lumière des nombreuses recherches qui ont abordé cette réalité. Cela a permis à cette auteure de ressaisir le concept de l'autodidaxie et d'en dégager une définition synthèse dont la pertinence est évidente.

> Une série d'épisodes inter-reliés durant lesquels la principale motivation de l'individu est d'acquérir des connaissance ou des habiletés ou de changer des attitudes. Ceci exige un effort délibéré et constant afin de satisfaire les besoins qu'il a lui-même identifiés et le but qu'il poursuit. Pour cela, il assume l'entière responsabilité du choix des contenus, des ressources et de la gestion de son projet ou peu s'en faut. Il y parvient hors des institutions éducatives ou sans agent éducatif. (Tremblay, 1986, p. 27)

Bien que certains dimensions de l'autodidaxie soient encore à explorer, il n'en demeure pas moins que la notion de l'activité autodidactique reçoit un large consensus de la part des chercheurs et des praticiens.

La recherche s'est également appliquée à montrer les multiples implications que peut engendrer la mise en oeuvre d'une activité autodidactique. Ainsi, il est question de "l'autodidaxie comme mode d'apprentissage" (Tremblay, 1986), de "questions et perspectives de développement des projets autodidactes" (Landry, 1986), de "l'appropriation de son procès de formation" (Pineau, 1983). Une certaine importance est également donnée au "Self-Directed Learning and Lifespan Development" (Kasworm, 1983), sur l'"Investigation of Self-Directed Learning" (Brookfield, 1984), sur la "Relationship Between Self-Directed Learning and Life Satisfaction" (Brockett, 1985b) et sur le "Self-Directed Learning Readiness" (Brockett, 1985c). D'autres recherches, dont la nature est davantage théorique, ont voulu cerner le degré d'autonomie dans l'autodidaxie (Chené, 1983) et l'étendue du sens que l'apprenant peut retirer de ses activités autodidactiques (Mezirow, 1985).

Tout compte fait, la recherche sur l'autodidaxie, qu'elle soit théorique ou expérimentale, est bien lancée et il est permis de croire que cette réalité continuera de permettre d'heureuses initiatives dans le monde de l'éducation en général et dans celui de l'éducation des adultes en particulier. Mais cette ouverture vers l'autodidaxie ne signifie nullement que tous les aspects de cette réalité des aient été suffisamment explorés. Nous croyons que le temps est venu de tenter une réflexion sur certains préalables de l'autodidaxie.

Mentionnons immédiatement que cette préoccupation n'est pas totalement absente des écrits et des recherches dans ce domaine. Mais à l'heure actuelle, il nous apparaît opportun de relever certains éléments essentiels qui font partie intégrante de l'autodidaxie et qui n'ont pas, jusqu'à maintenant, retenu suffisamment l'attention.

Le but de cette étude est de présenter quelques éléments qui pourraient, d'une part, servir de paramètres à l'éventuel autodidacte et, d'autre part, faire prendre conscience au conseiller, professeur, animateur, des limites que ce mode de formation pourrait accuser. En effet, même si elles ne le disent pas de façon plus explicite qu'il ne le faut, les recherches suggèrent que ce n'est peut-être pas tout apprenant qui connaît bien les nombreuses exigences de l'autodidaxie. De plus, afin de ne pas s'engager dans des situations d'apprentissage qui s'avéreraient plus frustrantes que significatives, l'apprenant devrait connaître avec plus de précision les difficultés de cette avenue. C'est la raison pour laquelle cette étude se veut une réflexion sur quelques préalables qui, nous le croyons, font partie des connaissances à la base de tout projet autodidactique.

Les éléments dont il sera question sont, d'abord et avant tout, reliés à l'autodidacte lui-même. En effet, nous croyons qu'il est essentiel pour l'éventuel autodidacte de réaliser pleinement, soit la qualité, soit la quantité de ses ressources personnelles, avant d'entreprendre un projet dont il sera, selon les recherches de Tremblay (1986), Penland (1979), Knowles (1975), Brockett (1985a), le maître incontesté des objectifs et des moyens. Il nous apparaît ici important de souligner que l'autodidaxie, au niveau des exigences personnelles qu'elle réclame, est encore une réalité aux contours imprécis et il n'est pas superflu d'insister sur le réalisme et la pertinence de ces exigences personnelles.

Soulignons également que, dans le passé, il n'est pas impossible que la présence de dispositions personnelles ait été présumée sans que la preuve de leur intensité ou de leur ampleur n'ait été suffisamment établie. Cette étude rejoint alors cette préoccupation en tentant d'établir que certaines qualités personnelles doivent être considérées comme des préalables à l'autodidaxie.

Avant de procéder à cette étude il convient d'établir clairement que nous voulons traiter des exigences qui doivent se retrouver à l'intérieur d'un processus d'autodidaxie. Il est certain, et la recherche sur l'apprenant adulte le démontre, que les exigences sur lesquelles nous nous arrêterons doivent se retrouver, dans une certaine mesure, chez tous les adultes en situations d'apprentissage. Cela signifie que tout apprenant adulte qui envisage un projet d'apprentissage de quelqu'importance, doit s'assurer qu'il possède des dispositions, des attitudes, des habiletés qui le conduiront au succès. Malheureusement, cette importante distinction est très rarement mise en relief dans la recherche actuelle et l'étude que nous entreprenons tient à distinguer nettement cette dimension. Ainsi, c'est de cet adulte, c'est-à-dire de celui qui veut entreprendre un projet d'apprentissage sous forme autodidactique, dont il sera question.

La connaissance de soi

Introduire la connaissance de soi comme préalable à l'autodidaxie peut, à première vue, apparaître comme quelque chose qui va de soi et sur lequel il n'est pas nécessaire d'insister. Mais lorsque l'on réalise pleinement qu'à l'intérieur d'un projet d'autodidaxie, l'apprenant "en assume la responsabilité complète et tente de s'autodiriger par essais et erreurs" (Pineau, 1983, p. 57), il devient plus évident que ce dernier ne pourra vraisemblablement se lancer dans une telle aventure sans pouvoir capitaliser sur un ensemble d'éléments qui le définissent, le caractérisent et le façonnent en tant qu'apprenant. Prendre en effet conscience de ses réalités d'apprenant autonome n'est pas un luxe lorsque l'on désire effectuer un projet personnel d'apprentissage dont la réalisation est proportionnelle à ses capacités de planification, d'organisation et d'exécution. Ainsi, on ne peut entreprendre un projet qui si l'on a fait un inventaire sérieux de son potentiel quant à la gestion du projet envisagé. Car c'est vraiment d'une gestion dont il est ici question et les recherches de Smith n'ont pas manqué de le souligner. Lorsque Smith (1982, p. 20) se demande ce dont l'apprenant a besoin s'il veut réussir, il n'hésite pas à souligner que:

> For success in self-directed learning one needs planning skills for deciding what, when, how, and where to learn; for setting realistic goals, for finding learning resources and choosing and implementing learning strategies. (p. 22)

Et parce que l'apprentissage est avant tout un processus éminemment dynamique dont le résultat se traduira par des changements à divers niveaux, il est à prévoir que le succès d'un projet autodidacte exigera de la part de son auteur des habiletés certaines en ce qui regarde la gestion de ce projet. Or, la gestion

437

d'un projet d'apprentissage ne devrait être envisagée qui si son auteur connaît avec une précision plus qu'approximative les différentes étapes que comprend la réalisation de la dite entreprise.

Une saine gestion d'un projet autodidactique peut difficilement devenir satisfaisante à moins de définir les objectifs de ce dernier, d'en établir le parcours, d'en prévoir les phases d'exécution, et d'en évaluer le résultat. Ces différentes composantes d'un projet autodidactique sont rarement l'apanage de l'amateur et la connaissance de ses capacités de "gestionnaire" s'avère ainsi d'une importance que nous qualifions de majeure. Dès lors, la connaissance de soi, quant à ce type de caractéristiques personnelles, prend la forme d'un bilan qui peut éclairer et rassurer l'apprenant adulte sur la pertinence de l'entreprise.

Il n'est pas exclu cependant que la nature de l'éventuel projet autodidactique puisse, à certains moments et selon certaines instances, faire en sorte qu'une connaissance moindre de ses capacités personnelles ne puisse nuire au projet souhaité. Lorsque l'on prend en effet connaissance du grand éventail d'activités autodidactiques entreprises par des adultes (Cross, 1981, p. 188), il est facile de conclure que plusieurs d'entre elles sont, soit de courte durée, soit de nature pratique ou soit un simple exercice en vue de trouver la réponse à une question. C'est d'ailleurs Tough (1971, p. 72) qui souligne que "most adult learning begins because of a problem of responsibility, or at least a question or puzzle, not because of a great desire for a liberal education".

Cross (1981), mentionne également que la recherche montre que les adultes qui entreprennent par eux-mêmes des projets d'apprentissage "do so more in the hope of solving a problem than with the intention of learning a subject" (p. 189). Cette réalité aide à comprendre qu'une connaissance élaborée de ses capacités n'est pas toujours une étape préliminaire indispensable, ni une garantie de succès. À ce propos, c'est maintenant qu'il nous apparaît important d'introduire des recherches sur les autodidactes qui ont réussi (successful independent learners, Brookfield, 1986, p. 45). Il ne faudrait pas croire, rapporte Brookfield (1986), que tous les adultes qui empruntent la voie de l'autodidaxie réussissent en raison de la qualité et de l'ampleur de leurs capacités de gestion d'un projet d'apprentissage. Le succès est quand même possible, soutient Brookfield en citant les recherches de Theil (1984), de Danis et Tremblay (1985), car il existe des adultes qui, d'une part, fonctionnent selon un style cognitif particulier et qui, d'autre part, organisent leurs projets d'apprentissage au fur et à mesure de son évolution. De plus, Mocker and Spear (1982), introduisent le concept d'"Organizing Circumstance" pour montrer que l'espace de vie de l'adulte procure la motivation, les ressources et la direction pour planifier et mener à termes un projet d'apprentissage (p. 21). Ces quelques conclusions conduisent Brookfield à faire preuve de prudence quand il est question de la connaissance de soi, comme prélable à une entreprise autodidactique et cela l'amène à dire: "it is all too easy to presume that such an adult is wholly in control of the learning adventure (1986, p. 48).

Il serait peut-être audacieux d'ignorer, dans une certaine mesure, les recherches mentionnées qui minimisent le fait que l'apprenant adulte, avant de s'engager dans la voie de l'autodidaxie, puisse s'être assuré de la présence en lui d'un ensemble de ressources qui contribueront à la réalisation de son projet. Tout en considérant que ces ressources peuvent être de niveaux différents chez les apprenants adultes, il n'en demeure pas moins qu'un projet d'apprentissage de quelque envergure, qui nécessite une implication temporelle importante et un investissement personnel considérable, risquerait de produire de piètres résultats s'il n'avait été préalablement planifié avec soin, suivi avec attention et conduit avec rigueur. De plus, en tenant également compte de la nature du projet d'apprentissage, il serait illusoire d'entreprendre un tel voyage sans la connaissance d'un itinéraire qui établirait, même de façon imparfaite, les grands moments de son évolution. Ainsi, lorsque les objectifs d'un projet d'apprentissage sont soit d'acquérir de nouvelles connaissances, soit de modifier un ensemble d'attitudes ou de développer de nouvelles habiletés techniques, un diagnostic de ses capacités nous apparaît non seulement approprié mais nécessaire pour parvenir au résultat escompté.

D'ailleurs, lorsque Landry (1986, p. 37) scrute les recherches sur les projets autodidactes, il constate qui "le sujet le plus fréquemment abordé par les autodidactes regarde le domaine professionnel". Suite à cette constatation on réalise qu'un project autodidacte dans un domaine professionnel rencontre davantage cette exigence personnelle qu'est la connaissance de ses capacités de gestion d'un projet d'apprentissage. Il va sans dire que cette suggestion mérite d'être soumise à plus de recherche avant d'en généraliser la portée.

Finalement, l'autodidaxie a davantage été étudiée, comme le rapportrnt Caffarella et Caffarella (1984, p. 32) "outside of the mainstream of formal education practice". Á ce moment, il n'est pas impossible que l'exigence personnelle dont nous faisons état dans cette réflexion n'ait pas retenu toute l'attention qu'elle méritait.

Le degré d'autonomie personnelle

Lorsque l'on tente de circonscrire les caractéristiques de l'apprenant, qu'il soit enfant, adolescent ou adulte, il est difficile de ne pas introduire la question de l'autonintroduitomie personnelle face à l'apprentissage. La question de l'autonomie personnelle face à l'apprentissage demeure cependant complexe et un manque de précision du concept d'autonomie pourrait engendrer une confusion qui irait probablement à l'encontre des intérêts de l'apprenant (Chené, 1983, p. 40). D'ailleurs, l'étendue de cette question déborde largement le cadre de la présente étude et nous n'avons pas l'intention de traiter de la totalité de cette réalité. Comme nous l'avons déjà souligné, c'est l'adulte en situation d'autodidaxie qui nous intéresse et c'est dans ce cadre que nous voulons situer la question de l'autonomie face à l'apprentissage.

En éducation des adultes, le concept d'autonomie face à l'apprentissage est d'une grande actualité et nous croyons que des implications fort importantes découlent des positions préalablement adoptées face à cette dimension. Ainsi, en cernant la signification du concept d'autonomie, Chené (1983, p. 39-40) distingue deux aspects d'autonomie face à l'apprentissage. D'une part, en tenant compte des données de la psychologie humaniste dont plusieurs auteurs en éducation des adultes sont tributaires, Chené (1983) souligne l'aspect psychologique de l'autonomie. Cela implique que l'apprenant adulte se perçoit comme celui qui exerce sur son apprentissage un contrôle et une maîtrise qui échappe aux instances institutionnelles ou extérieures. À ce moment, Chené (1983, p. 39) a toutes les raisons de croire que seul l'apprenant peut porter un jugement sur le degré d'autonomie qu'il possède face à l'apprentissage. L'autre aspect de l'autonomie dont parle Chené (1983) est étroitement relié à la méthodologie, c'est-à-dire que l'apprenant s'entraîne à devenir plus autonome en utilisant un cadre éducationnel formel et structuré. Dans ce cas, l'apprenant est graduellement introduit à l'autonomie face à l'apprentissage en développant à l'aide d'animateurs, de conseillers ou de professeurs, soit des techniques, soit des attitudes, ou les deux à la fois, qui l'habiliteront à entreprendre éventuellement par lui-même des projets d'apprentissage.

Mais la question que nous soulevons ici s'adresse d'abord et avant tout à l'apprenant autodidacte, c'est-à-dire à celui qui veut exercer le contrôle sur les buts, les moyens, les contenus de ses apprentissages. L'autodidacte doit également posséder un ensemble d'habiletés qui lui permettront "de se fixer des objectifs, de localiser les ressources et de planifier des stratégies d'apprentissage" (Brookfield, 1986, p. 56, traduction libre). Dans ces circonstances, une telle démarche peut difficilement s'entreprendre sans qu'une mesure quelconque du degré de l'autonomie personnelle soit effectuée. Les recherches de Guglielmino (1977) et de Brockett (1985, a et b), viennent confirmer l'importance de cette mesure de l'autonomie personnelle avant qu'un projet autodidactie soit entrepris.

L'apprenant doit alors être saisi de l'ampleur de cette autonomie s'il veut aller de l'avant avec son projet d'apprentissage. Sans cette connaissance, le risque est grand de ne pas pouvoir poursuivre un projet ou de se voir contraint de l'interrompre face à des difficultés de quelque importance. Car l'autonomie dans l'autodidaxie ne consiste pas seulement à composer avec les choses, les objets ou les idées. L'autonomie dans l'autodidaxie c'est d'abord, comme le mentionne Brookfield (1986, p. 57) en citant les recherches de Chené (1983) et de Strong (1977) la connaissance du processus d'apprentissage, la possibilité d'évaluer une démarche, et l'élaboration d'un jugement critique sur ce qui est en voie de se réaliser. Cette tâche est loin d'être facile, et croire que ceci est à la portée dee tous les apprenants adultes dénote un manque de réalisme.

En effet, Smith (1982) souligne "qu'effectuer un projet d'apprentissage n'est pas nécessairement facile" (p. 95, traduction libre). C'est la raison pour laquelle l'apprenant adulte, en plus de s'assurer d'une autonomie dont l'aspect est "psychologique" (Chené, 1983, p. 40), doit également faire un bilan de ce type d'autonomie. Il doit en connaître le niveau d'intensité et l'amplitude. Si, selon Brookfield (1985), la forme la plus complète de l'autodidaxie "occurs when process and reflection are married in the adult's pursuit of meaning" (p. 15), alors l'autonomie devient une exigence hautement rigoureuse, mais à la fois pleinement satisfaisante et certainement valorisante.

Une des difficultés majeures de l'autonomie dans l'apprentissage réside probablement dans le fait que l'apprenant, dès son jeune âge, a été soumis à des structures extérieures qui ont pris une place plus qu'importante dans sa façon d'accéder au savoir. La structure éducationnelle, telle qu'on la connaît maintenant, a

441

envahi l'univers de l'apprenant au point où ce dernier n'a pas été suffisamment initié aux multiples possibilités de l'autodidaxie et conséquemment à ses exigences dont l'autonomie en particulier.

Évoluant ainsi dans un context où l'apprentissage en général, c'est-à-dire l'acquisition de connaissances, était davantage centré sur un sujet plutôt que sur un question (Cross, 1981, p. 189) plusieurs adultes, bien que désireux d'entreprendre par eux-même des projets quelconques d'apprentissage, manifestent encore et toujours une trop certaine dépendance à l'endroit des institutions ou des instances dispensatrices du savoir. En effet, l'apprenant était très tôt pris en charge et demeurait pendant longtemps sans avoir fait la conquête de cette autonomie. Et bien que plusieurs apprenants adultes manifestent maintenant le désir de fonctionner davantage par eux-même au niveau des apprentissages qu'ils veulent entreprendre (Cross, 1981, p. 192, Smith, 1982, p. 94), il n'en demeure pas moins qu'une perspective autodidactique ne manque pas d'effrayer ceux dont l'autonomie manque d'articulation, de précision et de rigueur. Qu'il soit en effet question de situations qui, d'une part, exigent de l'adulte une mise en route vers un fonctionnement d'apprenant plus autonome ou, d'autre part, de situations dans lesquelles l'apprenant adulte "sait faire des choix en accord avec la réalisation de soi" (Chené, 1983, p. 39, traduction libre), il est possible que dans les deux cas, l'impact de la structure traditionnelle se fasse encore sentir au point où l'apprenant hésitera à se lancer dans une entreprise d'autodidaxie.

Mais il ne faudrait pas croire que la question de l'autonomie face à l'apprentissage est dans une impasse. Pour que ce débat évite la stérilité et puisse générer des pistes de recherche intéressantes il faut resituer l'apprenant adulte dans une perspective plus globale. Ainsi, Cross (1981), en s'appuyant sur d'autres recherches, souligne que "même si les autodidactes décident d'exercer un contrôle complet sur la direction de leurs projets d'apprentissage, cela ne veut pas dire qu'ils travaillent seuls. En effet, plusieurs apprentissages autodidactiques impliquent plus d'interactions humaines que ceux effectués en salle de classe" (p.195, traduction libre). Dans un récent ouvrage, Brookfield (1986) consacre un chapitre entier aux moyens qui peuvent être mis de l'avant afin de faciliter l'apprentissage autodidactique (chap. IV). C'est ainsi que l'on réalise que l'apprenant adulte peut profiter d'un ensemble de ressources mises spécialement à sa disposition et qui ne portent atteinte ni à son désir d'autonomie ni à ses capacités d'apprenant autonome.

Finalement, rien n'empêche l'autodidacte de chercher, dans le cours de son projet d'apprentissage, des formes quelconques de support qui pourraient alimenter le défi initial tout en sauvegardant un haut niveau d'autonomie. L'apprenant adulte n'est à l'abri ni de l'anxiété, ni du stress, souligne Daloz (1986, p.215-223), et croire que l'on peut "thrust all students into the cold at once" (p. 218) pourrait suggérer une disposition qui serait préjudiciable à l'autodidacte lui-même.

Conclusion

Puisque l'autodidaxie semble maintenant plus accessible et parce qu'elle pourra rencontrer les besoins de nombreux apprenants adultes, la recherche et la réflexion sur cette dimension doit se poursuivre. Le domaine de l'éducation en général, et celui de l'éducation des adultes en particulier, exigeront d'ailleurs des précisions sur "la rigueur avec laquelle cette réalité doit être traitée. Et quand on introduit la rigueur d'une démarche scientifique, on doit immédiatement introduire un ensemble d'exigences qui respecteront cette rigueur" (Bédard, 1988, p. 14). Ceci nous apparaît particulièrement important lorsque l'on considère que plusieurs adultes, pour quelque raison, ou dans quelque context que ce soit, sont parfois ou souvent contraints d'entreprendre et d'exécuter de nouveaux apprentissages. À titre d'exemple, Brundage, (1988) se basant sur la recherche de Schon, nous invite à considérer que l'exercice d'une profession exige de la part de son auteur une disposition plus qu'approximative avec la réalité rencontrée. L'autodidaxie nous apparaît ainsi une formule toute indiquée, à condition cependant d'en connaître les exigences, les possibilités et les limites. Actuellement, une ouverture à l'apprentissage continue se manifeste et des moyens sont mis en place pour en assurer le succès.

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RESEARCH REPORTS/RAPPORTS DE RECHERCHE

A SURVEY OF ADULT EDUCATION RESEARCH IN CANADA

D.R. Garrison and H.K. Baskett
The University of Calgary

Abstract

The 1986 Membership of CASAE was surveyed to ascertain the extent and nature of adult education research in Canada. Analysis of data suggests that two variables, whether or not the member is affiliated with a university and whether or not they are expected to publish, account for much of the difference regarding the extent and nature of research.

The major findings are that only 10% of university affiliates perceived research as their primary job, only 4% of the respondents spend more than 40% of their time on research, that time and financial support were constraints for the majority of respondents, and that the research areas in which researchers are working is exceedingly diverse.

Résumé

Pour établir l'ampleur et la nature de la recherche en éducation des adultes au Canada, on a fait un sondage auprès des membres de l'ACEEA de l'année 1986. L'analyse des données suggère que deux variables surtout rendent compte de la différence dans l'ampleur et la nature de la recherche. Ces variables sont: le fait que le membre est affilié ou pas à une université et le fait qu'il doive ou non publier.

Les résultats les plus importants sont les suivants. Dix pourcent des membres affiliés à une université perçoivent la recherche comme leur principal travail; seulement 4% des répondants consacrent plus de 40% de leur temps à la recherche: le temps et le support financier sont des contraintes pour la majorité des répondants; finalement, les champs de recherche sone extrêmement variés.

While the importance of research to the development of adult education may not be seriously challenged, the current status of adult education research activities in Canada and its contribution to the knowledge base is not well understood. Convinced that discussions regarding the state of Canadian adult education research would benefit from an empirical base, the authors undertook a survey of research practices and publishing problems experienced by Canadian adult educators.

From a Canadian perspective the history of adult education as a field of study is short. Griffin and Roberts report that:

> ...it was not until 1961 that Coolie Verner was named the first full-time professor of adult education at The University of British Columbia.[1]

Since that time it would appear that the cadre of adult educators interested in research has grown. The membership of the Canadian Association for Studies in Adult Education, established in 1980, is not over 350. The question remains as to how many of these individuals actively are engaged in doing research, what is the extent and nature of that research, and what issues and problems are being confronted.

Courtney has stated that "it is not in the nature of the adult education enterprise to socialize new generations of researchers".[2] If this statement is true, such a situation could be problematic for the development of a body of knowledge associated with the field of adult education. The question, according to Courtney, is whether there is a sufficiently large cadre of researchers to "advance the cause of adult education according to the tenets of systematic enquiry".[3] Insufficient numbers of researchers may represent a major obstacle to the growth of adult education as a field of study and the ability to generate the knowledge and understanding necessary to guide practice. In turn, the growth of a knowledge base will say much about the credibility and the prestige of adult education as a distinct field of educational practice.

A second obstacle in conducting research in adult education is that the multidisciplinary nature of the endeavour results in a fragmented research effort. Cross[4] believes that the multidisciplinary and applied nature of the field is one of the stumbling blocks to theory building. The multidisciplinary approach may result in an eclectic approach to conducting research with the consequence that few areas of study receive attention sufficient to develop coherent theories that will inform practice. Additionally, a critical mass of researchers is unlikely to converge on any one area of research.

The applied nature of the field also creates an obstacle in terms of the ability to do both basic and applied research with limited human and financial resources. As Deshler and Hagen state,

> the gap or tension between basic and applied research priorities is long standing and fundamental to the composition of adult education research.[5]

Are we encouraging and nurturing new generations of researchers or are adult educators still preoccupied with the pressing issues of practice? What should be our priority?

It would seem to be time to determine the state of adult education research in Canada if we hope to understand and encourage research efforts. Only recently have we gained an understanding of the extent of Canadian adult education participation from *One in Every Five: A Survey of Adult Education in Canada*,[6] the only comparable survey having been conducted in 1935.[7] Perhaps now is the time to assess the current involvement of Canadian adult educators in conducting research activities and their contribution to the knowledge base of the field.

The primary purpose of this study was to assess the extent and nature of adult education research activities in Canada. A secondary focus was to identify obstacles encountered by adult education researchers. Encouragement and improvement of basic research activities can be only logically approached with an awareness of its current state and existing barriers. It is to this end that we attempt to provide a baseline as to the nature of adult education research activities in Canada.

Methodology

Data were gathered from members of the Canadian Association for Studies in Adult Education (CASAE) using a pre-tested survey. This is perhaps the most comprehensive organization of those interested and involved in adult education research in Canada. Of the 247 CASAE members sent questionnaires in 1986, 150 or 60.7% were returned. This response rate was achieved by sending one reminder and is regarded as acceptable.[8]

By examining completed forms - which indicated that the respondent wished to receive the results of the study - against the membership list of CASAE, it appeared that there was a greater representation of those known by the authors to be active adult education researchers than those known to be primarily practitioners. We suspect, therefore, that the final response had a greater representation of active researchers than in the CASAE membership as a whole.

To ensure adequate reliability and validity, two pretests of the instrument were conducted on five adult education researchers. Following each self-administration, the trial test subjects were interviewed to determine question clarity and to ensure consistency of meaning. To avoid contamination between administrations the minimum time between trial tests was one month.

The instrument pre-tests also provided assurance of acceptable face-validity. Test subjects were queried as to the construction and meaning of each questionnaire item. As well, comparison of responses between test respondents indicated consistent responses to each item.

To the authors' knowledge, this was the first time data had been collected to assess the extended nature of problems confronted in adult education research in Canada. Our research strategy, therefore, was to gain a basic understanding and data base. This called for an instrument which would gather the broadest range of information possible including unanticipated responses. Thus, most items asked for factual data and were nominal or open-ended in nature. Only one question, barriers to publishing, asked for ordinal responses. Although the results of the study may not be surprising, it does provide a beginning base and confirmation of previous common-sense impressions upon which more extensive studies may be built.

A further difficulty was faced when it became apparent that graduate students, who are student members of CASAE, may have responded as either "university affiliates - expected to publish" or as "non-university affiliates - expected to publish". There was no concise method to compensate for this contamination. Seven or 44% of non-university affiliates who were expected to publish identified themselves as graduates.

Findings

Preliminary examination of the data suggested that institutional affiliation and whether or not the individual was expected to publish were critical factors. Respondents' affiliation was determined by means of a close-ended question which asked with what type of institution they were associated: university, college, secondary school, government, and other. It was not determined whether respondents worked on a full-time or part-time basis. The first classification compared university affiliation with non-university affiliation. Each of these classifications was further subdivided into those expected to publish and those who were not-expected to publish. While there were numerous possible comparisons, it is felt that the presentation of findings in this manner is maximally revealing while being as parsimonious as possible.

Demographic

Demographic data related to age and sex are presented in Table 1. The findings suggest that for university affiliates, those expected to publish are older than those who are not expected to publish. On the surface this would appear to be somewhat of an anomaly. One might surmise that younger university personnel would be expected to publish to a greater extent than older individuals. Older individuals might be expected to have tenure and perhaps hold administrative responsibilities, and therefore have less need to publish.

A second explanation pertaining to age is related to the nature of the appointment and concomitant academic qualifications. Seventy-two percent (16) of the university affiliated respondents who were not expected to publish held administrative or programme development responsibilities. The "university affiliations" category seems to be comprised of two groups: continuing education unit members whose primary responsibilities are in programming, and those who are teaching in (primarily) education divisions or departments. Those not expected to publish appear to have considerable teaching or programming responsibilities and typically have a master's degree. It may be that university associates who are expected to publish are older because adult educators typically may obtain their doctorate later in their careers and along with this assume responsibility for research and publishing.

Table 1
Demographic Data

	University(72)				Non-University(78)			
	Expected To Publish(50)[1]		Not Expected To Publish(22)		Expected To Publish(16)		Not Expected To Publish(62)	
Age	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
30	0	0.0	1	4.5	0	0.0	2	3.2
30-39	7	14.0	11	50.0	7	42.0	27	43.5
40-49	19	38.0	4	18.2	5	31.4	14	22.4
50-59	17	34.0	5	22.8	3	18.9	14	22.4
60+	4	8.0	1	4.5	0	0.0	1	1.6
No Response	3	6.0	0	0.0	1	6.3	4	6.5
Sex								
Male	30	60.0	11	50.0	6	37.5	26	41.9
Female	19	38.0	11	50.0	10	62.5	35	56.5
No Response	1	2.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.6

In terms of gender, 60% of university affiliates who are expected to publish were male. There was no difference on gender for those not expected to publish. For non-university affiliates, the reverse pattern was found; that is, 62.5% of those expected to publish were female. Further exploration of the data revealed that most of the females expected to publish were either graduate students or consultants. Apparently there is a greater proportion of females in these groups. However, the data does not permit an explanation of why this may be so.

Academic Background

Seventy-four percent of university affiliates who are expected to publish held doctorates. On the other hand, there were few doctorates in the non-university group regardless of expectation to publish.

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[1] Number of subjects shown in parenthesis.

When asked which route was pursued to qualify as an adult educator, only 46% of university affiliates who were expected to publish reported a doctorate in adult education. This discrepancy between 74% of those who have doctorates and 46% who have doctorates in adult education would suggest a significant cross-over from other disciplines to adult education in the university setting. While there was no difference across expectancy to publish for university affiliates, 75% of non-university affiliates who were expected to publish had specialized in adult education. Eighty percent of university affiliates expected to publish had specific training in adult education but this was lower than those not expected to publish and lower than either of the publication categories for non-university affiliates. The fact that 20% of university associates are expected to publish but have no training in adult education would again suggest significant cross-over from other disciplines.

Affiliation, Responsibility and Experience

The two largest categories of non-university respondents were "college" and "other". The "other" category included individuals who were consultants or affiliated with hospitals, school boards, and churches. The findings also indicate that 50 or 60% of the 72 university affiliates are expected to publish while only 16 or 22% of the 78 non-university affiliates are expected to publish.

Only 82% of university affiliates who were expected to publish were presently doing research for publication; and 36% of those university affiliates not expected to publish were presently doing research. This pattern was similar for non-university affiliates, with figures of 87% and 36% respectively. While caution must be taken in interpreting these data, there would seem to be considerable individual discretion in doing research for publication amongst the CASAE membership.

Within the university affiliate group 72% of those expected to publish had from 6 to 20 years experience, while 55% of those not expected to publish had from 0 to 10 years experience. This would probably reflect the differences between career expectations and continuity of university professoriate and university continuing education personnel. Fifty percent of those who were expected to publish and were in a non-university setting had five or less years experience in adult education, compared to 8% of those in university settings. These results are consistent with the demographic findings discussed previously concerning age.

Job Description

The primary job description classification is presented in Table 2. It was derived from the self-reported estimate of time devoted to various job activities.

Table 2
Primary Job

Primary Job	University (72)				Non-University (78)			
	Expected To Publish(50)[2]		Not Expected To Publish(22)		Expected To Publish(16)		Not Expected To Publish(62)	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Research	5	10.0	1	4.5	5	31.3	5	8.1
Teaching	22	44.0	4	18.2	3	18.8	15	24.2
Administration-Management	13	26.0	15	68.2	2	12.5	24	38.7
Program Development	5	10.0	1	4.5	2	12.5	4	6.5
Other	4	8.0	1	4.5	4	25.0	10	16.1
No Response	1	2.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	6.5

Of the university-affiliated group who were expected to publish, 54% reported their primary functions as either research or teaching. A surprising 36% of the university group who were expected to publish saw their primary responsibility as administrative-management or programme development. One is left with an impression that even those who are expected to publish in university settings carry a range of responsibilities. Only 10% of the respondents perceived their main duties as that of research. Turning to those affiliated with universities but not expected to publish, the largest percentage (68.2%) were involved primarily in administrative-management functions. As one might expect, this group appears to be comprised of those associated with university continuing education programming roles. In the non-university group a significant percentage (31.3%) are expected to publish. This group seems to be comprised of graduate students and consultants.

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[2] Number of subjects shown in parenthesis.

To try to ascertain the amount of research activity, the percentage of time devoted to various job responsibilities was analyzed and calculated. While the great majority of university affiliates spent some time doing research, most devoted less than 40% of their time on research and half spent less than 20% of their time on research. For non-university affiliates there was an even distribution of those involved in research in terms of time spent. With the exception of non-university administrators and university affiliates not expected to publish, few respondents stated that they spend more than 80% of their time on any one job responsibility.

Barriers to Publishing

Respondents were asked to what degree various factors were perceived to be barriers to publishing in adult education. Across all groups, time and financial constraints were the most frequently cited barriers to publishing. Time constraints were reported as a "considerable" barrier by 49% of the university expected to publish group and by 53% of the non-university expected to publish group. When the "considerable" and "somewhat" categories are combined, a large percentage of respondents in all groups felt institutional recognition was a barrier. While institutional recognition was less of an issue for the university expected to publish group, nonetheless, 39% of this group stated that lack of institutional recognition was "considerable" or "somewhat" of a barrier. For a university group expected to publish, the question arises as to why 39% of this group felt a lack of institutional recognition. Perhaps universities are giving mixed messages regarding publishing. That is, they expect individuals to publish but do not provide the time and resources to do an adequate job.

Fifty-four percent of the non-university expected to publish group reported that institutional recognition was considerable or somewhat of a barrier. In fact, lack of institutional recognition of the not expected to publish group was seen as a barrier for 52% (combined categories) of these respondents. These results suggest that there may be mixed signals regarding expectations and perhaps some conflict between research and practice in institutions that have an orientation to practice.

Another finding across all groups relates to publishing standards, mentoring and confidence. Over 40% of the expected to publish group, and very close to this figure for the not expected to publish group, identified unknown publications standards, lack of mentoring, and lack of confidence as "considerable" or "somewhat" barriers to publishing. The dominant barrier was unknown publishing standards with 46% of the university expected to publish group seeing this as a barrier. It should also be noted that a similar barrier, unclear style guidelines, was reported by over 35% of all the respondents. Given these findings, it would seem fair to speculate that there is an opportunity and need to inform those wishing to publish as to the expectations and to assist them in gaining confidence to write and submit work for publication. Perhaps part of the solution is the identification of colleagues and mentors who could work with the novice researcher.

Areas of Research

In addition to identifying barriers to publishing, the respondents were asked to specify the area(s) in which they were presently conducting or planning to conduct research. The most obvious finding was the immense diversity of research interests. There were few common areas of research among the respondents. The results were loosely classified into 19 areas of research and the frequency of identification for each area ranged from one to six individuals. The most frequently identified areas of research (six individuals each) were adult education, adult learning, and administration.

The adult education category encompassed issues such as history, philosophy, research, and adult education professionalization. The adult learning category included issues surrounding andragogy, motivation, and support services. The administration category included such topics as change, organizational development, and management styles. There were six categories each in which four individuals were doing research: adult educators; continuing education; distance education; international education; special interest groups; and women's education. Other categories in order of frequency were: gerontology; adult development; literacy; computers; the chronically ill; second language learning; religious education; retraining; dropout; and miscellaneous.

Number and Type of Publication

Concerning the number and the type of publications reported, the results are summarized in Tables 3 and 4. Because of the relatively large number of individuals who either did not answer the question, or who responded in an inappropriate manner, some caution is required in interpreting these data. University affiliates are clearly responsible for the majority of publications.

Table 3
Number and Type of Publications: University Affiliates

	Journal Articles				Conference Proceedings			
	Expected To Publish(50)[3]		Not Expected To Publish(22)		Expected To Publish(50)		Not Expected To Publish(22)	
	A.E.	Other	A.E.	Other	A.E.	Other	A.E.	Other
1-5	21	18	6	3	24	16	8	3
6-10	7	5	3	0	6	0	2	0
11-20	3	3	0	0	2	1	0	1
20+	3	2	1	0	1	0	0	1
No Response	16	22	12	19	17	33	12	17

	Book Reviews				Book Chapters			
	Expected To Publish(50)		Not Expected To Publish(22)		Expected To Publish(50)		Not Expected To Publish(22)	
	A.E.	Other	A.E.	Other	A.E.	Other	A.E.	Other
1-5	12	10	5	1	12	10	6	1
6-10	4	0	0	0	3	1	1	0
11-20	5	3	1	0	2	0	0	0
20+	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
No Response	27	37	15	21	33	39	15	21

	Books				Other			
	Expected To Publish(50)		Not Expected To Publish(22)		Expected To Publish(50)		Not Expected To Publish(22)	
	A.E.	Other	A.E.	Other	A.E.	Other	A.E.	Other
1-5	16	9	2	2	7	7	2	0
6-10	1	0	1	0	0	2	0	0
11-20	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0
20+	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
No Response	33	41	19	20	39	41	19	22

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[3] Number of subjects shown in parenthesis.

Table 4
Number and Type of Publications: Non-University Affiliates

	Journal Articles				Conference Proceedings			
	Expected To Publish(50)[*]		Not Expected To Publish(22)		Expected To Publish(50)		Not Expected To Publish(22)	
	A.E.	Other	A.E.	Other	A.E.	Other	A.E.	Other
1-5	1	2	14	17	4	1	13	5
6-10	1	1	2	2	0	0	1	1
11-20	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0
20+	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0
No Response	14	13	43	47	12	14	47	56

	Book Reviews				Book Chapters			
	Expected To Publish(50)		Not Expected To Publish(22)		Expected To Publish(50)		Not Expected To Publish(22)	
	A.E.	Other	A.E.	Other	A.E.	Other	A.E.	Other
1-5	2	0	5	0	3	0	5	1
6-10	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
11-20	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	1
20+	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
No Response	14	16	55	61	13	16	55	60

	Books				Other			
	Expected To Publish(50)		Not Expected To Publish(22)		Expected To Publish(50)		Not Expected To Publish(22)	
	A.E.	Other	A.E.	Other	A.E.	Other	A.E.	Other
1-5	0	0	4	5	0	2	3	3
6-10	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
11-20	0	0	3	1	1	0	1	0
20+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
No Response	16	16	53	56	15	14	58	58

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[*] Number of subjects shown in parenthesis.

There appear to be only a few whose publications exceeded five. This lack of published productivity might support the contention that there are few individuals dedicated to doing research in adult education in Canada. As a benchmark, the publication record of North America's 17 most prolific adult education researchers averaged 38 articles, 9 book chapters, 4 books and 6 monographs.[9]

As might be expected, journal articles and conference papers were the most common forms of publication. It is also worth noting the large proportion of publications in areas other than adult education. Again it would appear that adult education has attracted a number of individuals who have done considerable research in other disciplines. With this multidisciplinary focus, one might expect considerable borrowing and reformulating of ideas -- a notion which seems to be born out in these findings.

Discussion

The major findings of this survey are that only 10% of university affiliates have stated that research is their primary job and only four percent of the respondents spend more than 40% of their time on research. Time and finances were constraints for the vast majority of researchers and it would appear to be a rare exception to find two researchers working in the same area.

If the findings of this survey are generalizable, then adult education research in Canada faces two serious problems. The first is that only a small proportion of time is devoted to research activities by those who would appear to have an active interest in research given their membership in CASAE. With a 1989 membership exceeding 350 there appears to be considerable interest in research but much less actual research activity. The second problem reflected in the data is the broad range of research interests and the resulting fragmentation of research efforts. Without the contribution and stimulus of a critical mass of researchers in a particular area of endeavour, adult educators largely are dependent upon creative individuals working in relative isolation with the hope of making a significant breakthrough or contribution to the field.

Without critical analysis of research findings by others working in similar areas of study, the body of knowledge associated with the field of adult education is not likely to develop very rapidly. It is therefore essential that through our own initiatives and those of CASAE we support and encourage the involvement of greater numbers of adult educators in research activities. Because of our small numbers in Canada, it is equally important to work cooperatively with adult education researchers in other countries. Thus, such forums as the Trans-Atlantic Research Exchange in Leeds in 1988, and the annual Adult Education Research Conference in North America figure prominently in the encouragement and development of competent Canadian researchers.

This study adds emphasis to the recent observation by the Social Science and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) that while adult education is an emerging field of research, the composition of CASAE, which includes both researchers and practitioners, will tend to diffuse its move to a heightened level of scholarly pursuit. At the heart of encouraging research efforts is the very issue of the nature of CASAE, and whether it is really a scholarly society or a forum for researcher-practitioner interaction. The possibility of addressing practitioner needs and of still being able to meet the criteria established for SSHRC support will be a serious challenge.

The issue of practitioner-researcher concerns was noted previously when Deshler and Hagen[10] state that there is an inherent tension in adult education between basic and applied research. While in the best of all worlds we should do both basic and applied research, limited resources and qualified researchers do not make it realistic to expect significant contributions in both areas. In short, further fragmentation of our research efforts will result.

Before those committed to research in adult education even can consider the quality of research, we must ensure that there are sufficient numbers of researchers engaged in research activity. This demands more than tacit support of research activities. Researchers must be given the time and financial support to conduct their research. Courtney[11] suggests that good research will flourish with adequate support, but in "the absence of such support ... no amount of agenda-setting will contribute a single jot to the advance of adult education as a serious discipline".[12]

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INTERNATIONAL STUDIES IN GRADUATE PROGRAMS IN ADULT EDUCATION IN CANADA

James A. Draper
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education

Abstract

In 1986, a questionnaire was mailed to nineteen university departments in Canada that offer courses or programs in adult education at the undergraduate or graduate levels. The purpose of the descriptive survey was to ascertain the extent to which international and comparative studies are a part of the programs of study in adult education in Canada. The survey was undertaken as an informal project[1] of the Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education. Seventeen universities responded.[2]

Résumé

En 1986, un questionnaire fut expédié à 19 départments d'universités canadiennes, qui offrent des cours ou des programmes en éducation des adultes. Le but de ce sondage descriptif était de déterminer dans quelle mesure les études internationales et comparées font partie des programmes d'études en éducation des adultes au Canada. Le sondage fut entrepris à titre de projet informel de l'Association canadienne pour l'étude de l'éducation des adultes. Dix-sept universités ont répondu au questionnaire.

Introduction

In 1986, a questionnaire was mailed to nineteen university departments in Canada that offer courses or programs in adult education at the undergraduate or graduate levels. The purpose of the descriptive survey was to ascertain the extent to which international and comparative studies are a part of the programs of study in adult education in Canada. The survey was undertaken as an informal project of the Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education. Seventeen universities responded.

The terms "comparative" and "international" were used interchangeably in this study. Although comparative studies includes all aspects of comparison and is not limited to specific programs, agencies or political boundaries, international comparison is the term more commonly used. The 28 item questionnaire was organized under eight general headings: student and faculty complements; programs; faculty; students; funding; exchange programs; research publications; and additional related items.

Student/Faculty Complements

Ten universities reported a total of 36 full-time faculty, 24 part-time and 13 cross-appointments. Eleven universities reported a total of 2093 students enroled within certificate, diploma, undergraduate and graduate (M.Ed., M.A., Ed.D. and Ph.D.) programs. The universities were asked to report on the total number of part-time and full-time student enrolments. Eleven universities reported a total of 1326 students; and seven universities reported 181 full-time students.

These figures are approximate and more detailed and accurate figures are required. However, for the purpose of this study, the figures indicate that there is a sizable number of faculty and students who hold some potential to become involved in international and/or comparative studies in adult education. This number includes about four hundred students who are enroled in programs that require a thesis; hence there is considerable potential for research in this field.

Programs

The universities were asked the extent to which they offered international and comparative studies in their adult education programs. Ten institutions reported nothing for this item; three indicated that such a topic was only minimally introduced through other courses, notably an introductory course to adult education. Dalhousie University reported having a course on comparative studies in adult education, as did U.B.C. and OISE. The University of Guelph reported graduate courses in: international extension studies; education and international development; international communication; and extension education in change and development.

A number of universities reported courses which included aspects of comparative and international studies in adult education. Saskatchewan reported five such courses, but no full titles were given. Guelph reported additional courses relating to planning and rural development, development administration, and planning for community development. U.B.C. listed five courses that touched on international studies in adult education: institutions of adult education; the community practice of adult education; introduction to adult education; foundations of adult education; and adult education and society. OISE named introduction to adult education, community education and development, political economy of adult education, and a course on adult education in cross-cultural contexts.

The universities of Saskatchewan, Dalhousie, Guelph, U.B.C. and OISE described briefly the historical development of their respective department's interest in international and comparative studies. In some cases, such as Guelph, the interest goes back to 1959. OISE and Saskatchewan introduced courses on the topic in the late 1960's and Dalhousie and U.B.C. in the last decade. Without exception, the interest in international and comparative studies grew out of the personal interests of specific faculty members as compared with departmental policy that intentionally planned for such a focus and then sought faculty members with specific interests in this area. In many cases, faculty came with interests and experiences focusing on specific countries and/or regions. Interestingly, U.B.C. and OISE also report that their department's interest in this field was reinforced by having visiting professors from other countries teach in their programs. U.B.C. also acknowledged the benefit from the staff in the U.B.C. Centre for Continuing Education who had international interests and OISE acknowledged the influence of the International Council for Adult Education. The international travel and overseas assignments of some faculty have also reinforced international interests in some departments of adult education.

The questionnaire asked what the comparative and international courses specifically attempted to achieve. Responses included: to orient students to international issues, especially Third World issues; to understand the ideology and politics of education; to present theoretical models for interpreting education and development; to enrich students' knowledge of the field of adult education and learning; to give Canadian students a fresh perspective by exposing them to others; to facilitate and enable foreign students to do some work which relates to their home situation; and to improve cross-cultural communication and understanding between various ethnic and cultural groups, within and outside of Canada.

No universities required students with interest in international and/or comparative studies to study languages.

Finally, with respect to reporting on their programs, the universities were asked if the department surveyed was currently involved (or had been involved) with any international or overseas projects. McGill University reported that some of its faculty were associated with educational psychology and curriculum projects in Ecuador as well as planning for distance education in Peru. Guelph reported that its members were involved with projects in the Caribbean, Africa, Asia and South America. U.B.C. offers an adult education diploma program in Brazil and had just completed offering a diploma program in Hong Kong, with a likelihood of this continuing, and a similar program to be offered in Singapore. OISE has an extensive project in Chile as well as an international commonwealth study focusing on the training of adult educators at post-secondary institutions in India, the Caribbean and Africa. The University of Saskatchewan is consulting with the Welsh region Open University, and has an exchange program with Bristol University. Dalhousie reported that two of its professors were involved as advisors with the Dalhousie centre for development studies when a training program for middle level civil servants from Zimbabwe was initiated in the summer of 1984.

Faculty

Ten universities specifically named 33 faculty members who had interests and involvements in comparative-international studies.[3]

The international agencies, other than universities, that supported the overseas work of faculty included: Canadian International Development Agency, the International Council for Adult Education, International Council on Distance Education, the Adult Education Research Conference, the National Institute for Adult and Continuing Education (U.K.), The British Council, the Commonwealth Secretariat, Commonwealth Council of Educational Administration, Unesco, the International Development Research Centre, World Bank, Asian Development Bank, Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development, the Indian Council of Social Science Research, Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (Canada), Canadian Organization for Development through Education, the Coady International Institute, World Literacy of Canada, and the Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute.

Students

Seven universities reported that approximately 72 students were interested primarily in comparative-international studies, of which about 34 were foreign students from such countries as: Australia, Chile, China, Ethiopia, Ghana, Grenada, Guyana, Honduras, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Kenya, Korea, Malawi, Mexico, New Zealand, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Tanzania, Thailand, Trinidad, the United Kingdom, the United States, Venezuela, Zambia. Such foreign students have had field experiences in rural extension, community development, literacy, training, distance education, popular education and non-formal education. Five universities reported having had a total enrolment of approximately 135 foreign students during the past five years, with the highest numbers enroled at OISE, U.B.C. and Guelph. Many Canadian students with interests in comparative-international studies have had overseas experiences with the Canadian University Services Overseas, Crossroads International, and the World University Services of Canada.

With some exceptions, very few universities have any long-term or formal plan for involving students wishing to have overseas experiences. Opportunities are available, however, through informal arrangements or through resources outside of the universities. In some cases, a student is able to receive graduate course credit towards a degree program through a practicum or an individual reading/research course, but this is rare.

Funding

Students, both Canadian and foreign, are sometimes able to pursue their studies in the comparative-international field through a variety of funding sources such as: scholarships or fellowships from CIDA, IDRC, Unesco, the Commonwealth Foundation; graduate assistantships offered by some departments of adult education; research contracts; study leave pay from one's employer; and the Swedish Foundation. Small amounts of money are available to provide funds for foreign students to travel through parts of Canada.

The universities were asked to report the registration fees that are required from Canadian students as compared with foreign students. Saskatchewan and Manitoba reported that there are no differential fees required of foreign students. However, the universities of U.B.C., Guelph and OISE, reported that foreign or visa students pay between 50% to 250% more in fees than do Canadian students.

Exchange Programs

Few organized exchange programs are available as part of a department's adult education comparative-international studies program. The University of Saskatchewan reports that exchanges with West Germany have been organized and a tour of adult education agencies in the United Kingdom took place in 1983. The University of Guelph has an annual undergraduate International Development 'minor' course to the Caribbean with CIDA scholarships for about three students per year. U.B.C. has had students visit the Brazil diploma program and faculty have been involved in some exchange programs sponsored by the U.B.C. Centre for Continuing Education, the Canadian Association for Adult Education and the British Council.

During the past five years, about seven faculty from universities outside Canada either have taught or visited the University of Guelph, from such countries as Guyana, the Netherlands, the United States and some Third World universities. U.B.C. reported about ten such faculty from England, Brazil, Germany, the U.S.A. and Europe. OISE reported visiting professors from England, Ireland, Australia, Poland, the U.S.A. and Brazil. Saskatchewan has had about 15 visiting professors, from West Germany, the United Kingdom, and the U.S.A.

Research/Publications

For a listing of faculty publications relating to comparative-international studies, the reader is referred to the publication by John Dobson.[4]

Student theses that have related to comparative-international studies, completed in Canada, are listed in two publications by Dobson and Draper.[5]

Table 1 shows that a total of 59 masters and 34 doctoral theses have been produced that relate to international and cross cultural studies. This is out of an approximate total of 588 masters and 199 doctoral theses that have been completed in adult education in Canada. Thus, one can conclude that approximately 10% of all masters and 17% of all doctoral theses relate to international or cross-cultural studies.

Table 1

Postgraduate Theses Relating to International and Cross-Cultural Studies in Adult Education: 1958-1986

University

Degree	OISE	UBC	McGill	Guelph	SFX	Sask.	Dal.	Total
Masters	8	3	6	29	6	5	2	59
Doctoral	31	3	-	-	-	-	-	34
Total	39	6	6	29	6	5	2	93

Table 2 shows the frequency of countries, geographical regions or theme areas on which masters and doctoral theses focused. By far, the largest number of theses have focused on African studies, followed by those done on the Caribbean and the Middle East. A relative large number of theses have dealt with the concerns and cross-cultural adaptation of foreign students studying in Canada, the re-adjustments of Canadians returning to Canada after having worked overseas, such as with CUSO or Canada World Youth (CWY), and of immigrant groups to Canada. A few theses have examined the thoughts of Paulo Freire, the Brazilian educator.

Table 2

The Geographical or Theme Focus of Theses in Adult Education Relating to International and Cross-Cultural Studies

University

Focus	OISE	UBC	McGill	Guelph	SFX	Sask.	Dal.	Total
Africa	7	3	1	13	2	-	1	27
Caribbean	6	-	-	3	-	-	-	9
Middle East	5	-	2	-	1	-	-	7
Latin America	1	-	-	6	-	-	-	7
Thailand	4	-	-	-	-	1	-	5
India	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	3
Other Geog.	4	2	1	1	-	1	1	10
Ethnic Adjust.	7	1	2	6	2	2	-	20
Freire	3	-	-	-	-	1	-	4
Total	39	6	6	29	6	5	2	93

From the data available, it becomes clear that some universities focus more on one or a few geographical regions than others. For instance, the University of Guelph focuses heavily on Africa and

Latin America; OISE on Africa, the Caribbean and the Middle East. Both these universities also have produced a number of theses dealing with foreign student and Canadian adjustment and the adjustment patterns of immigrants to Canada. These latter topics directly relate to cross-cultural communications and other issues.

Additional Questions

In the last section of the questionnaire, the universities were asked to comment on the issues which they felt needed to be addressed in comparative-international studies in adult education; the barriers that prevent departments of adult education from becoming more involved in comparative-international studies in adult education; departmental future plans; career opportunities in the international field of adult education; and the extent to which departments were supporting non-formal education in Third World development.

The responding universities identified a number of issues that needed to be examined relating to international studies in adult education. They reported a greater in-depth examination was needed of the Canadian experiences in the international field, with a view to learning from these experiences; the need to improve Canadian understanding of development; the importance of comparative research in one's area of expertise; the need for a greater political/economic focus in adult education program; the too descriptive analysis that is done in comparative-international studies; the fact that comparative education is not a priority; the unavailability of accurate data; the problems relating to the usage of the same terms with different meanings or the usage of different terms with similar meanings which make it difficult in collecting and comparing information; the need to develop the criteria and concepts which are valid for satisfactory comparative analysis; the rapid growth in communication; the need to improve the instruments and means of international communication in the field, privately, bilaterally, and multilaterially; the need to identify aspects of the field where international cooperation is desirable; and the need for greater understanding of the significant contributions to thought and practice which have come from Third World institutions.

Six universities had comments to make about some of the barriers that prevented departments of adult education, students, and faculty from being more involved in comparative-international studies in adult education: lack of funding and financing were mentioned by five of the institutions; not seeing international studies as a priority; language barriers; institutional barriers such as minimizing the value of co-authored research or policies that prevent students from including international experiences for credit in their respective programs of study; a lack of time; a lack of student and faculty interest; not having release time from one's institution to become involved; a lack of awareness of the value and need for more comparative-international studies to be undertaken; and unnecessary squabbling relating to ideology resulting in some professionals being unable to give advice.

Of the seven who responded to a question on future planning, five universities indicated that they had no such plans relating to comparative-international studies, although a few mentioned that international matters were a priority at the moment and some effort was being made to consolidate and reexamine the resources and role of their department in the international field. The University of Guelph expressed its continuing commitment to collaboration with Third World universities. U.B.C. reported that it plans to offer diploma programs in such places as Hong Kong and Singapore; that several faculty members have contacts in China and that these are to be further developed; and there is a hope to strengthen ties with the Pacific Rim countries.

One university department felt that there were few career opportunities for persons wanting to specialize and work within the field of comparative-international adult education, while another institution felt that the possibilities of doing so were "substantial".[6] Two other universities thought that there likely would be career opportunities with government agencies, multinational aid agencies, such as Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and International Development Research Council (IDRC), or with some non-governmental international agencies that are involved in development. Comments were made that foreign students returning back home are likely to have a greater interest in comparative-international studies. Finally, some feeling was expressed that there may be some opportunity for academic teaching in the area of international studies.

The last question asked the departments of adult education was to indicate the extent to which they were supporting non-formal adult education in Third World development.[7] Six institutions indicated that they were giving at least some support; a few of the same institutions said that they were substantially involved although this might be limited to the specific interests of one or a few faculty. Graduates from some departments were directly involved in non-formal education in developing countries; some doctoral students were doing theses on the topic; and faculty were involved through research, teaching and consulting. Books, course outlines, and other publications also often were provided to persons in Third World countries. As volunteer members of international voluntary organizations, some faculty and students felt they were making some contribution to non-formal adult education in other countries.

Observations Based on the National Survey

From this brief descriptive survey one can conclude that whereas there is a great deal of individual faculty and student interest in comparative-international studies, as a field of study it is peripheral to most departments of adult education. Few departments consider this as an official focus. The actual numbers of students and faculty mentioned in this study are less important than the fact that within six or so departments there is a core of dedicated and experienced persons who are committed to the study and practice of international studies. The existence of such studies stems from the personal overseas experiences as well as the presence of casual visitors from other countries, or even, in some cases, from having foreign scholars teach within Canadian institutions. Such exchanges, although brief, can be helpful in extending the international networks of individuals and departments, sometimes leading to return visits and the sharing of materials.

Although there are few courses which actually focus on comparative-international studies, many more courses have a potential for this field of study. In fact, there are few courses which could not include a comparative-international component in them: courses on community development; adult basic education/literacy; adult psychology and development; and program planning or introductory courses to adult education. Those few courses that do focus on the topic attempt to achieve a number of purposes which go beyond the content of the course, such as, upon an understanding of the macro, international issues and the enhancing of cross-cultural communication. An attitude toward cross-cultural differences and the development of cross-cultural communications skills have as much relevance to the Canadian context as they do to understanding people in other countries. There are few adult educators in Canada, for instance, who are not working with ethnic and cultural groups other than their own. All of them have an ethnicity and a culture and all interact in their daily lives with people from different backgrounds. Daily cross-cultural interactions are not often acknowledged.

A rich resource within comparative and international studies is the presence of foreign scholars. Legitimizing the presence of such scholars is a debate that continues. As far as the presence of foreign scholars is concerned, it is appropriate that adult educators should be involved in the debate. The fact that much legislation discourages their presence has wide repercussions. In a number of submissions and testimonies presented to the Special Joint Committee on Canada's International Relations, the present policy towards foreign students was described as "confused", "complex", "inequitable" and "educational protectionism". The federal government was urged to take a leadership role in replacing the confusing mix of federal, provincial and institutional policies for foreign students by a coherent national approach.[8] In its conclusion, the Committee stated:

> We believe that foreign students constitute an important asset for Canada that has not been sufficiently recognized in terms of improving trade opportunities, increasing cultural contacts and more generally on foreign policy.[9]

These should be areas of concern to educators especially to those committed to comparative and international studies.

In some ways, the extent of comparative-international studies in universities is linked to the general public's awareness of international issues. Many efforts are being made, through developing education and other programs, to increase this awareness. The Canadian International Development Agency is aware of this link between public awareness and the political support which it receives for its work. The fact that some provinces in Canada discriminate against foreign students through differential fees is a reflection of a narrow political and public perception of the presence of such students within Canadian institutions of higher learning. An important role for those committed to comparative-international studies is to work with others to influence decision-makers of the benefits of having students from other lands in their midst. One approach to doing this is to undertake studies which document the role, location and positions of influence that foreign student graduates have after they return to their homelands.

A number of other issues are in evidence arising from this national survey. The need for more documentation of resources and the sharing of experience in this field is a basis for the study and practice of international-comparative interests. There also is a need for a human resource data-bank which records the experiences and interests of adult educators in this field. A greater understanding of terminology is also important since it is with words that people describe what they do or what they want to achieve. The need for more conceptual models and a further understanding of the relevance and importance of comparative-international studies is required including the linking of these benefits to cultural diversity in Canada. Many of the areas of concern arising from this national survey can be put into the form of recommendations and questions for further research. Research is also needed to document a more detailed picture of the comparative and international involvements and interests existing within departments of adult education.

A number of barriers discourage or prevent departments from becoming further involved in international studies. One could debate the circular relationship between resources required and expended. The lack of funding, planning, and supporting policies can all serve as barriers. A number of barriers are beyond the direct control or influence of individual departments of adult education: for instance, provincial legislation that imposes differential fees on foreign students which discourages such students from study in Canada; or the policies of universities that restrict the use of credit courses for those wishing to pursue an interest in international studies within international settings.

What career opportunities are available for those who are interested in international studies, apart from the likelihood of an academic career in this field? Living and working overseas is only one way to pursue an interest in the international field. The question is also related to alternative ways in which one can support Third World development, the role of non-formal education, cross-cultural communication, and program initiatives in other countries. In this survey, a number of agencies were named that support international projects through Canadian universities. All are potential employers, and some are within Canada. The scope of organizations can be greatly expanded, thereby expanding the potential scope of employment agencies such as World Literacy of Canada and CUSO, the churches, the YWCA and YMCA, and others, all of whom have an interest in international projects and issues. Various ethnic-specific organizations, trade unions, business and industry, as well as community-based agencies, such as literacy and second language programs, depend for their success and effectiveness on cross-cultural communication and understanding. All of these resources hold a comparative and international potential for adult educators.

Reference Notes

1. The principal researcher for the study was James A. Draper, assisted by Winston Lawrence.

The principal researcher and the sponsoring agency, CASAE, are aware of the limitations of the survey method. As the literature on research methods points out, the value of the information which is reported through surveys is dependent upon the accuracy of interpretation and facts reported by the respondents.

Periodically, since the mid 1970's, surveys of adult education programs and university courses have been undertaken which present the 'state of the art' or the field of adult education in Canada at the time of the surveys.

In determining which universities should receive the questionnaire used in this study, two sources were used:

Keane, P. 1984. *Adult Education Studies in Canada - 1984.* Halifax: Dalhousie University (the survey was a project of the Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education).

The most recent list of members of the Canadian Professors of Adult Education in Canada, 1986.

The survey focused on the international and comparative activities within the field of adult education in Canada as defined by the above sources, and not upon the more general field of international and comparative studies.

2. The 19 universities/institutions receiving the questionnaire were: Manitoba; Saskatchewan; Dalhousie; Calgary; Guelph; British Columbia; Ontario Institute for Studies in Education; St. Francis Xavier; Victoria; New Brunswick; The Faculty of Education, University of Toronto; Western Ontario; Queen's University; Ottawa; McGill; Concordia; Regina; Montreal; Alberta. The latter two universities did not respond to the study. Regrettably, the University of Calgary was excluded from the study since the response indicated that while there were international and comparative activities in the Faculty of Education, none seemed related to the adult education program.

3. Faculty that were named as having interests and involvement in comparative/international adult education in Canada were: Manitoba - F. Drewe; Saskatchewan - R. Carlson, M.Collins, R. Wickett; Dalhousie - Ruth Gamberg, B. Roald, Stuart Semple, Michael Welton; Guelph - D. Blackburn, E. Findlan, J. Shute; UBC - R. Boshier, P. Buttedahl, J. Kulich, D. Pratt, G. Selman, T. Sork; OISE - J. Draper, J. Farrell, K. Rockhill, A. Thomas, D. Wilson; SFX - John Dobson; FEUT - K. McLeod, S. Reesak; UWO - N. Hey, D. Radcliff, D. Ray; McGill - G. Anderson, R. Boulianne, T. Eisemon, R. Ghosh, C. Lusthaus.

4. Dobson, J.R.A. 1984. *The Study of People, Programs, Places and Processes: Canadian Adult Education Literature, 1977 - 1984.* Antigonish, Nova Scotia: Department of Adult Education, St. Francis Xavier University, pp. 60.

5. Dobson, J.R.A. 1986. *Adult Education Theses in Canada, 1980-1986.* Antigonish: Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education, Department of Adult Education, St. Francis Xavier University.

Draper, J.A. 1981. *Adult Education Theses: Canada.* (to 1980) Toronto: Department of Adult Education, OISE.

6. This topic was more extensively discussed at the Annual National Conferences on "Career Opportunities in International Adult Education", 1984, 1985, 1986, Department of Adult Education, University of the District of Columbia, Washington, D.C.

7. Draper, J.A. 1985. *Commonwealth Institutions of Higher Education and Their Involvement in Non-Formal Education.* Toronto: ICAE.

8. Special Joint Committee of the Senate and of the House of Commons. 1986. *Independence and Internationalism.* (Report on Canada's International Relations). Ottawa: Queen's Printer, pp. 94, 151.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 151.

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BOOK REVIEWS/RECENSIONS

CLASS, IDEOLOGY AND COMMUNITY EDUCATION

Will Cowburn. 1986. London, New York, Sydney: Croom Helm Ltd. Radical Forum on Adult Education Series, Jo Campling, ed.

This series provides a forum of discussion for critical analysis of the contradictions within education and presents some of the current initiatives to create education for liberation and social change. Unfortunately, the typeface and layout of yet another poorly produced Croom Helm text did not make my review pleasurable.

Developed from Cowburn's dissertation, this book presents a Marxist analysis of the practice and ideology of community education in Britain. The central purpose of Cowburn's inquiry was to determine why community education came to exist and what role it has played vis-a-vis class relations and class struggle. The focus is on mainstream community education activities organized around community schools and community colleges, not the radical activities as discussed and proposed by Lovett. Using the major concepts of class, educational reform and ideology, Cowburn attempts to reveal what is hidden in the notion of community education and to weave a picture of community education as an instrument of capitalism. His analysis occurs at several levels. In the first half of the text, Cowburn builds the framework for his critique of present day community education. Cowburn argues that all reforms contain a preservation/alternation contradiction. His analysis of the current rhetoric of community education is particularly powerful. He reveals how the middle class has become the universal norm and the working class the problem. We see how the language of educational policy has become less vulgar, particularly regarding the perspective of the working class as an inferior group, and how the current rhetoric continues on with the same agenda, using more deceitful language.

Cowburn continues with his critical analysis in the form of a case study of a community school, which includes textual analysis of the publications of a community education organization. Using questionnaire and interviews, he concludes that little changes have occurred in spite of some "radical" views held by the principal and the community tutor. Cowburn supplements his analysis with revealing excerpts from interviews with teachers, but, curiously, he did not interview any of the parents.

In the second part of his book, Cowburn analyzes several community projects which he views as examples of community education as it should be. Using the stories of several members of the working class who became involved in community-based projects sponsored by a local municipal council, Cowburn describes a different kind of community education - one that is not imposed, but managed by and for the working class. He found that a critical element in the success of these projects was the support of a local community college which offered short courses which supported the self-education process. Background information about the projects placed in the appendix would have been more useful in the main body of the text. Even with this added information, however, there was limited data from which to draw any conclusions as to why these projects emerged when and where they did.

In the final part of the book, Cowburn discusses strategies for exploiting the contradictions within education in order to bring about opportunities for self-education of the working class. Some of the strategies include moving education into venues not solely concerned with education and devolving the management of these activities to the people themselves. Other strategies emphasize the importance of involving all the staff of community schools and considering working class people as equal inservice participants. He also stresses the need to develop short courses at community colleges to enable the self-education process and to develop working class intellectuals. Cowburn thinks that creating educational consortiums would help provide such courses.

Cowburn's work makes an important contribution to critical inquiry in adult education, but it is not without some limitations. I was quite surprised, given that the text was published in 1986, to find sexist language used throughout the text, which persisted, most annoyingly, even as Cowburn discussed women's learning experiences. His use of sexist language was, I suppose, not surprising given that there was also an absence of any recognition of the interrelatedness of gender, race and class within capitalism. Although Cowburn does make it clear that he is presenting a class-based analysis, his failure to acknowledge these other issues suggests a very limited understanding of the developments within

Marxist theory, in particular, those contributions made by feminists. The author's exploration of those self-education projects he found worthwhile was limited and did not parallel his detailed attention to the etiology of mainstream community education.

The main strength of Class, Ideology and Community Education lies in its clear theoretical framework. The discussion regarding educational reforms I found particularly revealing as well as the attention to the use of language as a mystifying tool. A further strength of Cowburn's analysis lies in his attempt to provide a balance between criticism and vision, which many others presenting a critical perspective of education often fail to consider. With these limitations in mind, this text is recommended to those concerned with community education and to those interested in the growing body of research which makes the everyday world of adult education problematic.

Shauna Butterwick
University of British Columbia

LEARNING FOR LIFE: POLITICS AND PROGRESS IN RECURRENT EDUCATION

F. Molyneux, G. Low, and G. Fowler, eds. 1988. London: Croom Helm.

This new volume in the Radical Forum on Adult Education Series is apparently a collection of papers presented at Britain's Associate for Recurrent Education (ARE) 1984 annual conference in Sheffield. The book's purpose, according to Molyneux, the ARE president, is to shift away from the "outmoded apprenticeship view of education" by presenting "many important viewpoints against a background of current party-political belief". Molyneux intends to push the case for "a national articulation in political terms of an alternative recurrent education based model" in the face of an increased post-school publicly financed learning opportunities for adults.

This work is organised into three main sections: "Ten Years of Change", "The Politicians and Recurrent Education", which includes policy statements of the major political parties in the U.K., and "Recurrent Education in Practice". Bibliographic notes on the authors of the twenty-nine chapters, a list of abbreviations, and an index are also included.

A few chapters stand out. In his well-written and clearly reasoned piece, Field analyzes the inequitable distribution of recurrent education opportunity which has emerged inmost industrialized countries. Those who are male, in skilled work or management, in permanent jobs in areas of high employment, and who already possess relatively high levels of qualifications are the recipients of recurrent education opportunities. Those in part-time or temporary, unemployed, unskilled, or with few formal qualifications, and women are not offered the same opportunities. Field is the only contributor who, however briefly, outlines issues relating to recurrent education for women beyond the token reference to training in non-traditional trades. West writes about the Workers' Education Association's Second Chance programs which encourage the development of social and political awareness and the ability to analyze structural constraints in society. Education for older adults as a catalyst to self-awareness and social action is the theme of Wood's chapter. Jackson's fine chapter addresses the need for a multicultural education policy in the U.K. Griffin's now familiar position that lifelong education must be seen in social policy rather than education policy terms is re-stated with reference to recurrent education. Although not coherently argued, Griffin's work contributes to the building of a cultural liberation model of education in society. Unique insights are added in two chapters describing and analyzing developments in recurrent education outside the U.K. Nilssen focuses on the relationship between work and the role of the universities in Sweden. More collectively oriented than most of the contributors, Nilssen argues that recurrent education is needed to help counterbalance the current situation in which "knowledge possessed by the majority is held in contempt by the powerful minority" (p. 301). Duke outlines recent attempts in Australia to revive and disseminate the OECD use of the term "recurrent education" in the current social, political, and economic climate. Duke is one of the few authors to argue for the extension of resources to the workplace, the community, and the family. He recognizes their crucial role alongside that of the formal educational institutions in the implementation of a recurrent education system.

There are, however, a number of disappointing features. The theoretical perspective of the majority of contributors is founded on a consensus model of society rather than on conflict and contestation. This seems particularly inappropriate given the difficulties with which Britain has had to contend over the last number of years! Education is seen as a means of adapting to change, with government and industry as the sole actors responding to the consequences of rapid social and technological change. There is very little critical analysis of the current social, political, and economic conditions impeding the implementation of recurrent education. For example, the effects of the international division of labour, the concentration of capital in trans-national monopolies, or the implications of new technologies for work and education, are either neglected or treated superficially. Alarmingly, in my view, the notion of public participation in the debate around the role of adult education in the context of these changes in the structure and distribution of work is not discussed. Indeed, workplace democracy, one of the pivotal issues in the policies and programs linking education and work, is not dealt with at all except in two very brief references by Field and Cunningham. Also missing is the problemization of the production, organization, and distribution of knowledge - a topic of vital concern for adult educators. The effects of women in the labour force of the changes in the structures of work and patterns of employment, of the potential of recurrent education policies to redress the historical bias against women in education and training, or of the current status of recurrent education opportunities and paid educational leave for women are not treated. Similarly, there is only very oblique and cursory attention to the issue of class. These omissions indicate the pluralist liberal orientation of the majority of contributors. Their overriding orientation is towards equality of opportunity for individuals in disadvantaged groups, rather than equality of outcome, and the maintenance of social order through the expansion of education for adults. An overview of the main issues would have been a welcome aid.

A further oversight on the part of the editors (aside from the sloppy editorial work) is the failure to clarify definitions of recurrent education. Terms such as recurrent education, lifelong learning, lifelong education, continuing education, and further education are used interchangeably without awareness that the terms convey different meanings. To add to the confusion, identical terms are employed with obviously different meanings from one instance to another. Does general liberal education, plus pre-vocational and vocational training for older youth, plus retraining for technical workers, plus management training and continuing professional education, plus labour education, plus parent education, plus adult basic education for manual workers, plus leisure and hobby classes equal recurrent education? Some of the contributors seem to think of recurrent education as equivalent to "the assembly of existing educational provision for adults", as Schutze and Istance phrase it. Others appear to operate from a different definition which refers to a centralized system of inter-related formal accredited vocational-related courses. No one definition can claim to be exclusive; each contains a vital dimension, but they *are* different one from the other. Definitional clarity is just as much a requirement now as it was earlier. The neglect of this issue reduces the possibility of developing a rational policy.

Those interested in gaining understanding of the various ways recurrent education is viewed in the U.K. may find this book helpful. Those looking for an in-depth analysis of the current conditions influencing the progress of the implementation of a profound reform proposal will be disappointed. Perhaps this work may stimulate, in the wake of the 1976 OECD review of Canadian national policies for education, thinking about the progress made in the implementation of recurrent education reforms in Canada. How are our unique political, social, and economic conditions influencing that progress? What is the current position on recurrent education of each of the major political parties? What are Canadian adult educators doing to promote these concepts in their provinces and in federal policy-making?

Andrea Kastner
University of British Columbia

STRATEGIC PLANNING AND LEADERSHIP IN CONTINUING EDUCATION

Robert G. Simerly and Associates. 1987. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

With fiscal restraint, bulging enrolments, and public criticism and labour disputes, universities and continuing education institutions often feel like they are under seige. One consequence of this seige mentality is to draw upon military metaphors to find solutions to these problems. Currently, strategic planning is seen as a means of solving problems not just for the university but government and business as well. This volume presents a theory and practice of strategic planning for continuing education leaders. It provides the means for implementing such a system but lacks the vision that has characterised the adult education movement's insistence on social reform. Strategic planning's reliance on systems theory results in a method to solve problems but not the vision necessary for the future of adult education.

The twelve essays focus on three areas: an explanation of the theory and practice of strategic planning for continuing education: a discussion of culture and values within educational organizations: and a series of management and leadership techniques to implement the strategic planning process. Of the twelve chapters, four are written by the editor, Robert Simerly, Dean of Continuing Studies at the University of Nebraska, Lincoln, while the remaining eight are written by university professors and administrators. Although the chapters are uneven, they contribute a set of relevant essays to the strategic planning literature.

In the preface Simerly states that continuing education leaders must use systems analysis and environmental scanning to gather reliable data on how their organizations are perceived by constituent groups. With this information the leader can develop a strategic plan which has three purposes: to integrate continuing education into the mission of the parent organization; to encourage self renewal to maintain vitality, growth and change; and to encourage staff to participate in setting and achieving goals.

In the first two chapters he explains the seven steps of strategic planning. It starts with an audit of the current situation to determine the issues and problems, then proceeds to clarify the important issues, to create a broad mission statement, to establish specific goals and objectives, to create an action plan, to conduct a reality test, and finally to design a feedback system allowing for modification of the plan during implementation. All the processes required to design and implement the plan draw on systems theory analysis, from defining the issues by using environmental scanning to feedback systems in the evaluation.

In the following chapters, the authors draw on systems theory for their theoretical framework. John Schmidt suggests that leaders use the SWOT (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats) Matrix to make strategic decisions. Gordon Mueller in his chapter -- "Linking Continuing to Community and Economic Development" -- uses a systems metaphor for describing the learning society. Mary Walshok and Margaret Holt use systems theory in their chapters on marketing and evaluation. James Vortuba uses systems and strategic planning analysis to suggest a strategy to bring continuing education from the margin to the mainstream of the parent institution's mission.

Simerly gives a brief history of systems theory:

> It began to be used after the Second World War with the building of the Polaris submarine. Later used by Ford

> Motor Company in the building of the highly successful Mustang automobile in 1964...During the 1980's systems analysis has become a concept commonly used by behavioral scientists in tackling complex problems that are characterized by high levels of ambiguity and uncertainty.
>
> pp. 203-204

Gordon Mueller develops systems theory with his concept of the "learning system". This system consists of more than just schools and universities but all our institutions: family, community, church, workplace and media. The development of this system is important for the transformation from an industrial to a post-industrial economy.

One area affected by this transformation is that of institutional values and culture. Terence Deal in the clearest and most accessible chapter, provides concepts for analyzing institutional culture. He shows that to survive, continuing education units must possess a quick mechanism to be able to respond quickly to opportunities. This creates a culture quite different from the traditional university where program approval is very slow and dominated by the values of inward looking academic disciplines. Deal predicts what happens when these cultures clash:

> Neither group will understand the language or behaviour of the other. Mutual conversations will be dialogues of the deaf. Different ritualistic rules and tempos will keep everyone off balance. Each group will try to undermine the effort of the other. In the meantime, educational programs outside the university will make inroads into the market share much as the private adult education entrepreneur has done in large cities such as New York.
>
> pp. 98

To avoid this clash of cultures he suggests that both groups must reconcile their differences in the overall values of the institution.

This analysis underscores the importance of values and how leaders must shape and interpret them to provide a vision for their institution. In the chapter on Values Clarification, Michael Offerman proposes a reconciliation of the two cultures, traditional and innovative, through a compromise where continuing education is congruent with the parent institution's overall mission and goals but is also committed to values of equity and the improvement of society. However, these values are not thoroughly discussed in this volume. The vision that is presented is that of the abstract values of a learning system. Gordon Mueller proposes that our vision should be that of a learning ethic that would turn learning into a commodity by taking learning to the marketplace. It is not clear how the commoditization of learning will promote the values of equity and the improvement of society, the core values of adult education.

Although this volume does not provide a thorough discussion of values and visions for adult education it does provide a series of management techniques for managing institutional growth and development. Francis Trusty has an excellent chapter on managing conflict. Walshok and Holt give many pointers on marketing and evaluation. James Vortuba provides a strategy for increasing internal support for continuing education. Simerly provides a comprehensive summary of the technique. However, the underlying assumption of the volume is that the purpose of continuing education is to meet the human resource needs of industry and business. Talk of human resource development as opposed to adult education shows how continuing educators have developed their concepts to meet corporate needs rather that the needs of the people.

The vision for adult and continuing education reflects a struggle over values that is very deeply rooted in our society. Kathleen Rockhill in her study, "The Liberal Perspective and the Symbolic Legitimation of University Adult Education in the United States"[1] shows that since the 1930's an elite pragmatism has achieved ascendancy over the egalitarian values within liberalism. In continuing education this can be clearly seen in a marketing mentality where the purpose of continuing education is to serve the market of those who can pay and control their services. Rockhill states

> The general picture is that extension must be accountable to the university faculty for the quality of what it offers, and to the university administrator for the balanced budget, or in the case of some private institutions, bringing in a surplus. pp. 159

If the original values of liberal adult education were democracy, equality, excellence, and service, then service to an elite who can pay has won out over commitment to the people.

The question of values and vision was never stronger in Canadian University Extension than with the Antigonish Movement. Moses Coady[2] provided a vision based on fundamental values:

> We have no desire to create a nation of mere shopkeepers, whose thoughts run to groceries and to dividends. We want people to look into the sun and into the sea. We want them to explore the hearts of flowers and the hearts of their fellows. We want them to live, to love, to play and pray with all their being. We want them ... to explore all the avenues of life and to attain perfection in all their faculties.
>
> pp. 163

The desire to inspire common people, as opposed to serve the human resource needs of industry, is missing from this account of strategic planning and leadership. It is a vital element of leadership, but in order for adult education to led it must possess an inspirational vision. If adult education becomes focused on technical skills of needs assessment program planning, marketing and evaluation, it will lose its inspirational vision.

In order to develop a strategy to transform our educational institutions more penetrating forms of analysis than systems theory are required. Such a strategy must draw upon the critical learning theory, so that it questions both the internal context and the external environment, rather than just scanning the environment for markets. It must draw on studies of disciplinary institutions to understand the origin and purpose of our institutional imperatives, rather than assuming that adult education should exist to further institutional aims and objectives. And it must understand that there exists a dynamic struggle over values, ideologies, and visions; adult and continuing education plays a vital role in this ideological struggle.

Such a critical strategy would go beyond the analysis present in the Simerly volume. It would be true to the emancipatory impulse of the adult education movement.

Jim Sharpe
Saint Mary's University, Halifax

Reference Notes

1. Taylor, R., Rockhill, K. and Fieldhouse, R. 1985 *University Adult Education in England and the USA: A Reappraisal of the Liberal Tradition*. Beckenham, Kent: Croom Helm, pp. 123-174.

2. Coady, M. 1939. *Masters of Their Own Destiny*. New York: Harper and Brothers.

AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION WORLDWIDE

William M. Rivera and Susan G. Schram, eds. 1987. London, New York, Sydney: Croom Helm Ltd.

This publication is a set of 16 papers presented at a colloquium series organised by the Centre for International Extension Development at the University of Maryland, U.S.A. It looks it, too, with word-processed papers with weak to non-existent continuity from one to another, no illustrations and few readable charts and tables. Reading a conference proceedings is, in my experience, a far cry from attending a conference, in person. This book, nevertheless, captures several interesting points that would be of interest to those involved in agricultural extension projects in developing countries and those studying international agricultural extension.

The text is divided into three sections dealing with (1) issues, (2) practices, and (3) emerging priorities. The issues section raises several interesting questions such as "Does agricultural extension really make a difference in a country's ability to produce food?: and, "What is the role the growing private sector extension activities vis-a-vis government sponsored and financially supported agricultural extension?" Other chapters in the issues section deal with questions relating to administrative decentralization, policy environments and research-extension linkages. The latter area emphasizes the need to have strong research programs as a basis for extension. Without such research, there is not much to extend - a particular important from the technology transfer perspective. In several cases, the extension agent does not emphasize the research-extension linkage but rather is lead into becoming a government bureaucrat helping farmers complete subsidy application forms! The emphasis on research-extension linkages is a particularly strong aspect of this text.

The second section on "Practices" looks at several case studies of extension activities in various countries and relates what seemed to be the chief factors in success. Several references are made to the Training and Visit (T & V) system of agricultural extension, a system refined by the World Bank and now being used in at least 40 countries. It is a well integrated technique that relies on the basic principles of agricultural extension that were typical of Canada 50 years ago. It implies a strong problem solving, research-extension linkage with an emphasis on individualized, face-to-face communication - a contrast to the mass media, technological and business-oriented agricultural extension of many developed countries. Chapter 9 on Training & Visit Extension provides a particularly good description of the various components of this extension technique.

The third section of the book focuses on emerging priorities; the best chapter in this section, deals with designing agricultural extension for women farmers in developing countries. Since, in many of these countries, most of the food production is the primary activity of women, then the extension agents should also be women. Anyone who has seen agricultural extension in practice in developing countries knows this is not the case. The chapter raises several questions and suggests possible revisions to extension systems to make them more used by and useful to women.

While this book uses the word "Worldwide" in its title, it really is a misnomer since little reference is made to South and Central America or to Western developed countries. A better title would have been "International Agricultural Extension - Some Issues, Programs and Priorities. Many of the papers in the book are written by World Bank staff from a World Bank perspective. A broader perspective could have included at least one Canadian presentation since Canadian leadership in human resources development at the international level is now becoming a priority.

Despite the misnomer of the title, and despite the boring book design, this text raises several interesting questions about the development of agricultural extension at the international level. Its emphasis on research-extension linkages, its description of the T & V system and its raising the question of the nature of extension services to women farmers are particularly valuable. Each chapter also has a comprehensive bibliography. This text is not going to hit number one on the non-fiction best seller list but it does provide some useful gems of issues and program ideas for those involved in international agriculture. As such, it fills a gap in the literature in the fields of agricultural extension and adult education.

Mark Waldron
University of Guelph

The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education\
la Revue canadienne pour l'étude de l'éducation des adultes
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Graduate Degrees in Canada—Adult Education and Cognate Subjects/Diplôme d'Études supérieures au Canada—Éducation des adultes et sujects cognitifs

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Graduate degrees awarded by Canadian universities in adult education and cognate subjects in 1988/Mémoires et thèses en éducation des adultes ou sur des sujets connexes dans les universités canadiennes - 1988. Compiled by: G. Ambury; M. Blais; B. Brown; P. Brooks; M. Gillen; E. McCreary; D. MacKeracher; G. Selman, A. Thomas; C. Warren.

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

Department of Adult and Higher Education

Master of Education Theses

T.R.Dashcavich	Professional development needs of adult education instructors (Supervisor: E. Miklos)
E.R.Passmore	Learners' experiences with home study (Supervisor: M. Haughey)
M.R.Sillito	Formative evaluation of a native training of trainers program (Supervisor: D.A. MacKay)
D.G.Tyler	Persisting & non-persisting students at Red Deer College (Supervisor: J.M. Small)
Z.Wanzare	Instructor evaluation in Kenyan Teachers' Colleges (Supervisor: E. Miklos)
J.E.Wiberg	A study of duties and training needs of nursing attendants who care for the elderly (Supervisor: E. Miklos)

C.Wing-Han Chen-Jardine	Factors associated with educational participation of Chinese immigrant women (Supervisor: E. Miklos)

Master of Education Project Papers

J.K.Koech	The theory and practice of development education: An explanatory analysis of Camrose International Institute (Supervisor: G.A. Eyford)
A.J.Plante	Evaluating management development programs (Supervisor A.K. Deane)
C.L.Prendergast	The development of the adult and higher education program at the U of A (Supervisor: D.R. Pugh)

UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

Master of Arts

K.Abbott	Student nurses' conceptions of computers in hospitals experience (Supervisor: D.D. Pratt)
J.Crawford	An analysis of adult education in libraries and museums (Supervisor: T.J. Sork)
A.F.Kastner	Lifelong education and social policy: ideals and realities (Supervisor: K.R. Rubenson)
R.Moss	Dorothy Clode: community educator (Supervisor: G.R. Selman)
C.Wong	Measuring completion in distance education (Supervisor: R.W. Boshier)
P.Zysman	Community economic development and adult education (Supervisor: K.R. Rubenson)

Master of Education (Theses)

A.F.Bishop	A caregiver support group for older adults (Supervisor: D.D. Pratt)
J.Bordewick	The young adult with learning disabilities: a review of the condition with implications for adult special education programming in community colleges (Supervisor: G.R. Selman)
S.C.Choo	Computer based education in nursing (Supervisor: D.D. Pratt)
B.Dafoe	Suicide prevention in the elderly (Supervisor: J.E. Thornton)
E.E.Devlin	Understanding native cultures: cross cultural guidelines (Supervisor: G.R. Selman)
N.Gowan	A review of the literature on teaching adults: trends and implications (Supervisor: D.D. Pratt)
S.MacCallum-Carrier	Participatory planning in adult literacy education (Supervisor: G.R. Selman)
D.Patterson	Aids: a new challenge for education (Supervisor: G.R. Selman)
P.Reaburn	Health education needs and services for visible minority immigrants and refugees for whom English is an additional language (Supervisor: G.R. Selman)
M.Quinn	A history of the Pacific Association for Continuing Education 1972 - 1987 (Supervisor: G.R. Selman)
C.A.Talmanis	Survey of hospital-based education (Supervisor: T.J. Sork)
C.Varcoe	Skill testing in nursing (Supervisor: D.D. Pratt)

M.Wall	Job satisfaction as a catalyst for self-directed learning (Supervisor: D.D. Pratt)
E.Y.C.Wong	Future development of post-secondary education of Hong Kong: some proposals (Supervisor: G.R. Selman)

Doctor of Education

R.Berwick	The effect of task variation in teacher-led groups on repair of English as a foreign language (Supervisor: B. Mohan)
I.Strychar	The relationship between learning health beliefs, weight gain, alcohol consumption, and tobacco use of pregnant women (Supervisor: W.S. Griffith)

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

Department of Educational Policy and Administrative Study

Doctor of Education

R.S.V.Larson	Ten days for world development: a case study in development education (Supervisor: M. Zachariah)

Master of Education Project Papers

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T.Mayer	Development of a workshop manual "Lifeprints: career and life planning for young women" (Supervisor: G. Roberts)
J.Opheim	The career development of women (Supervisor: P. Adams)
F.Pattison	Life satisfaction of the institutionalized elderly (Supervisor: C.E. Warren)
D.Spaulding	Evaluation of a PLATO pilot project for adult basic education upgrading (Supervisor: D.R. Garrison)
G.Van Siri	Planning in a downtown community (Supervisor: C.E. Warren)

UNIVERSITY OF GUELPH

Department of Rural Extension Studies

Theses

M.Ellis	Critical factors in the use of computer presented material in university instruction as perceived by teaching faculty (Supervisor: G.A.B. Moore)
K.Grant	comparative perceptions and characteristics of small scale and commercial farms in Nova Scotia (Supervisor: D.J. Blackburn)
B.Hobin	The feasibility of direct broadcast satellite (DBS) in the delivery of agricultural extension in Saskatchewan (Supervisor: M.W. Waldron)
G.Pletsch	Writing to learn: the impingement of the use of word processing as a learning/writing tool upon university-level developmental learning (Supervisor: G.A.B. Moore)
P.Xiaobo	Development of a computer-assisted learning software package for teaching agricultural

	production economics (Supervisor: W.C. Pfeiffer)
K.Zimmerman	Tillage 2000 and its effect on awareness of conservation tillage (Supervisor: D.J. Blackburn)

Research Papers

D.Rutatora	An integrated approach toward improving student achievement in higher agricultural education in Tanzania: a look at Keller's personalized system of instruction (Supervisor: G.A.B. Moore)
J.Canning	An evaluation of the Home & Country magazine as a networking and educational vehicle for rural women's groups in Ontario (Supervisor: D.H. Pletsch)

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L.Dicaire	Les causes de la résistance au changement chez le personnel soignant, et leurs conséquences sur l'intégration d'un programme de formation (Directeur: J.-R. Nadeau)
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Thèses (Ph.D.)

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N.Humerez-Comtois	Effet multiplicateur qualitatif de la formation coopérative à la Chaîne coopérative du Saguenay (Directrice: G. Cantin)
L.Migneron	Intervention éducative et adaptation des nouveaux parents pendant la période périnatale (Directrice et co-directrice: G. Painchaud et M.-F. Thibodeau)
L.-M.Ouellette	Modèle interactif d'évaluation formative et relation de formation (Directrice: A. Chené)
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R.Tétrault	Les motifs de lecture chez des adultes et théorie de Maslow (Directeur: E. Ollivier)

UNIVERSITY OF NEW BRUNSWICK

Faculty of Education

Thesis (M.Ed.)

P.A.Fernandes	An examination of selected aspects of job re-entry programs (Supervisor: D. MacKeracher)

THE ONTARIO INSTITUTE FOR STUDIES IN EDUCATION

Master of Arts

A.DeWolfe	Private funding and programs: the gendered division of labour in charitable development assistance (Supervisor: D. Smith)
I.M.Medcof	Vocational learning projects by registered nurses: a study of extent and strategy (Supervisor: W. Alexander)
M.Sanger	Transforming the elements: the reorganization of work and learning at Stelco's Hilton Works (Supervisor: D. Livingstone)

Doctor of Education

W.Fallis	Job search experiences of graduates following the basic job readiness training program (Supervisor: D. Abbey)
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R.M.Williams	The problem of political education: teaching political economy to social workers (Supervisor: A. Thomas)

UNIVERSITÉ DU QUÉBEC à MONTRÉAL

Mémoires de maîtrise

D.Barrette	Analyse de la situation vécue par des femmes inscrites dans un programme de formation professionnelle à l'éducation des adultes et menant à l'exercice d'un métier non traditionnel (Directeur: R. Legendre)
C.Haentjens	Relation entre la pratique éducative des éducateurs d'adultes et les courants de l'éducation des adultes (Directeur: J.M. Wood)
J.Potvin	Perceptions de femmes de milieux rural et urbain en processus d'alphabétisation: conditions de vie et facteurs de motivation (Directrice et co-directrice: M.-L. Brunel et M. Saint-Pierre)

UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN

Department of Communications, Continuing and Vocational Education

Master of Education

J.A.Adams	Conducting a provincial portion of an educational brokering project for a national agency of adult education (Supervisor: R.A. Carlson)
G.B.Dougall	The effect of single and dual advance organizers upon learning and retention of self-instructional text (Supervisor: R.A. Schwier)
K.M.Hardy	Indian and Metis culture in the visual arts (Supervisor: R.A. Schwier)
W.J.Koczka	Co-operatives: an introductory home study course (Supervisor: R.A. Schwier)
R.I.MacDonald	Learning needs assessment for a select group of forensic psychiatric nurses (Supervisor: E. Grogin)
C.A.Silverthorn	The design of an order entry self-instructional manual for computer users at University Hospital based on principles of adult learning and principles of instructional design (Supervisor: R.A. Schwier)

ST. FRANCIS XAVIER

Master of Education

M.Collier	Facilitating popular education: combining action and reflection (Supervisor: J. Cruikshank)
M.Gardiner	Traditional and computerized methods of cardiopulmonary resuscitation recertification for nurses. A comparative study (Supervisor: M. Gillen)

G.H.Humphrey	Cross-cultural adult counseling in Canada: a survey of counselor values (Supervisor: J. Cruikshank)
A.Janzen	An adult educational needs assessment project: the report on a self-directed learning experience (Supervisor: J. Dobson)
I.Larkin	Popular education: a pastoral response (Supervisor: D.I.A. Thompson)
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T.Matthews	A model for the instructional design of computer assisted instruction lessonware for adult learners (Supervisor: J. Cruikshank)
E.McGugan	A competency based self-assessment of learning needs instrument for a health care aides training program (Supervisor: M. Gillen)
F.Moloi	Evaluation of community development programs in Lesotho, Southern Africa (Supervisor: J. Cruickshank)
R.Ramirez	The application of adult education principles to community development: implications for non-governmental organizations (Supervisor: J. Cruickshank)
F.Thomas	Organizing collaborative learning: workshops with women from community organizations in Andra Pradesh, India (Supervisor: M. Gillen)
K.E.Tompkins	Developing a profile of essential competencies for the formative evaluator: a case study (Supervisor: M. Gillen)

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Length of article: Normally articles should not exceed 30 pages of double spaced transcript.

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Périodicité: Deux fois par année.

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la Revue canadienne pour l'étude de l'éducation des adultes

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CANADIAN JOURNAL FOR THE STUDY OF ADULT EDUCATION

Editorial Policy

The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education is published by the Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education (CASAE). The Journal is committed to the dissemination of knowledge derived from disciplined inquiry in the field of adult and continuing education. It is a refereed journal, subject to the canons of review which determine the quality of the papers to be included for publication.

Subscription Information

The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education is published twice yearly by the Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education and distributed to its members. Non-members of CASAE may subscribe for a fee of $10.00 per issue (payable to OISE). All subscription correspondence should be directed to: Dr. D.H. Brundage, Department of Adult Education, The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 252 Bloor Street West, Toronto, Ontario, M5S 1V6.

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510

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Table of Contents/Table des Matières

Articles

A Factor Structure of Variables
Associated with Dropout:
A Confirmatory Study
D.R. Garrison 1

L'insertion des migrants:
les préalables à la formation
M. Chalom 16

Perspectives

Adult Education in a Cold
Climate: British Adult
Education to the Year 2000
Richard Taylor 33

Skirting the Issues? A Response
to Angela Miles
Susan Collard 45

Letter to the Editor: A Response
to Miles on The Limits of Feminism
John R. Minnis 53

Book Reviews/Recensions

Why Education in the Later Years
L. Lowy and D. O'Connor
Reviewed by Réné Bédard 58

Adult Education and Phenomenological Research, Theory and Practice
S. Stanage
Reviewed by Carol Schick 60

Women's Ways of Knowing: The Development of Self, Voice and Mind
M.F. Belenky, B.M. Clinchy,
N.R. Goldberger and J.M. Tarule
Reviewed by Catharine Warren 63

Houle Award Announcement 68

The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education/
la Revue canadienne pour l'étude de l'éducation des adultes
May/mai 1990, Vol. IV, No. 1

FACTOR STRUCTURE OF VARIABLES ASSOCIATED WITH DROPOUT: A CONFIRMATORY STUDY

D.R. Garrison[1]
University of Calgary

Abstract

Understanding and predicting dropout in adult education necessitates not only multivariate but multifactor designs. As a result, considerable conceptual and technical sophistication is required to deal with this complexity. One method of approaching this problem is through a conceptual offering of variables associated with adult dropout. This study addressed the internal and external validity of a theoretically derived and confirmed typology of dropout factors originally proposed by Garrison (1988). Additional variables were included based upon Tinto's (1975) and Boshier's (1973) theories of dropout and a different population of learners was the focus for data collection. The findings confirmed the original typology but concluded that the original typology was a higher order factor structure where each of the original factors is likely to be multifaceted. The relationship of this typology with reported participation and nonparticipation factor structures is also discussed.

Résumé

Pour comprendre et prédire les abandons en éducation des adultes, il faut des devis non seulement à variables multiples mais aussi multifactoriels. Ce qui signifie que pour bien cerner cette complexité, il faut être très sophistiqué au plan conceptuel et technique. Une méthode pour aborder le problème est l'utilisation d'un ensemble de variables associées au phénomène de l'abandon chez les adultes. Cette étude a examiné la validité intrinsèque et extrinsèque d'une typologie des facteurs d'abandon développée par Garrison (1988), cette typologie ayant d'abord été dérivée théoriquement puis vérifiée. Les théories de l'abandon de Tinto (1975) et de Boshier (1973) ont inspiré l'ajout de variables. Une population différente d'apprenants a été le focus pour la

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[1] The author would like to thank Ms. Fae Jackson for her assistance in the collection of the data.

collecte des données. Les résultats, bien qu'ayant confirmé la typologie initiale, mènent à la conclusion que cette typologie est une structure factorielle d'un niveau plus élevé, où chacun des facteurs initiaux peut avoir de multiples facettes. La relation de cette typologie avec les structures factorielles de participation et de non participaton est discutée.

Understanding and predicting dropout in any educational setting often appears to be an impossibly complex task. Reasons for dropout have been attributed to a wide range of variables which have necessitated not only multivariate but multifactor research designs. A study is fortunate to account for more than 10 percent of the variance associated with dropout even when a number of seemingly important variables are included (Anderson and Darkenwald, 1979). However, while "the complexity of human behaviour suggests the inclusion of a greater number and variety of variables to account for a significant portion of the variance, it is not practical or rational to indiscriminately include large numbers of variables in prediction equations." (Garrison, 1988, p. 209)

A means must be found to recognize and deal with the inherent complexity of dropout and yet study it by selecting a manageable number of variables. As Lenning states "...it is important to realize that retention and attrition are complex phenomena and require studies with considerable conceptual and technical sophistication." (Lenning, 1982, p. 49)

One method of approaching the complexity problem is within a theoretical framework where a parsimonious ordering of a comprehensive range of variables associated with dropout is explicated. With the assistance of a typology of variables associated with dropout, variables for study in specific situations can be selected systematically and findings interpreted within this context. One comprehensive typology of factors associated with dropout was deduced and tested by Garrison (1988). It is the purpose of this study to address the internal and external validity of this typology with an expanded set of variables and a different population of learners.

Theoretical Considerations

The original study by Garrison (1988) of a factor structure of variables associated with adult dropout was deduced within a systems theory framework. A five factor typology was hypothesized and confirmed. The five factors were internal motivation, external motivation, capabilities, internal constraints and external constraints. Internal motivations are fundamental values and beliefs and are seen as needs. External motivations are those attitudes resulting from external expectations. Capability is the set of cognitive abilities responsible for coping with change in positive ways. Internal constraints are those dispositions which restrict the individual's ability to induce change or establish stability. External constraints are those environmental barriers which restrict change and stability. Both internal and external constraints are unidirectional in that they may impede change and stability but only contribute to change and stability through their absence.

Internal validity of this typology is addressed in this study by expanding the range of variables through the consideration of two theoretical constructs. Tinto's (1975) model of dropout in higher education is perhaps the most prominent and frequently cited work. This model is based upon the degree of academic and social integration that the learner expresses and experiences within the institutional context. According to Tinto:

> In the final analysis, it is the interplay between the individual's commitment to the goal of college completion and his commitment to the institution that determines whether or not the individual decided to drop out from the college and the forms of dropout behaviour the individual adopts. (Tinto, 1975, p. 96)

It would therefore seem reasonable to include variables associated with academic (goal) and social integration in an analysis of factors associated with dropout.

Another prominent model of dropout often cited in the adult education literature is Boshier's (1973) congruence model. The congruence model suggests that the adult learner's two primary concerns are "maintaining inner harmony with himself and with the environment" (p. 259) and when discrepancies exist between self and environment, dropout is likely to occur. Boshier (1971) operationalized this concept with the Personality and Educational Environment Scales (PEES) which measured self concept incongruency or discrepancy. Discrepancies can be measured between ratings of "myself" and "other adult education students", "myself" and "my adult education lecturer", and "myself" and "myself as I would like to be". This theory adds to the issue of integration by addressing psychological or self concept congruence and integration. Together the Tinto and Boshier models suggest that students who demonstrate higher academic, social, and psychological integration (congruence) will more likely persist in their studies.

Therefore, a number of school and psychological variables have been identified as being associated with dropout. There exists, however, another broad range of socioeconomic variables which have been cited in numerous situation specific studies as legitimate reasons for dropout (Garrison, 1983, 1985). As such, a comprehensive factor structure or typology of dropout variables must consider and classify the range of variables discussed in prominent theories as well as those studies in a variety of empirical investigations. In addition, the external validity or generalizability of a typology must also be addressed. This dropout typology research moves from a population of high school completion students, used in the first study to a population of first year college students.

In the first study, it was suggested that the dropout typology might well be a higher order factor structure since it was derived theoretically. If this is the case, then it would seem reasonable to suspect that additional lower order factors may result. That is, each of the higher order factors may have two or more factors which could be interpreted as falling within and consistent with the higher order factor. In addition, since there were a number of trivial factors and considerable variance remaining in the first study, one might hypothesize additional factors. A similar situation has occurred with Houle's (1961) three factor participation typology based upon motivational orientation factors. Subsequent extensive empirical research appears to reveal structures that resemble the original typology but with one of the factors being multifaceted (Boshier and Collins, 1985). As a result, there is every reason to believe that many of the factors proposed and confirmed in the first dropout typology will be found to be multifaceted.

The Problem

The purpose of this study was to delineate and describe the factor structure of variables associated with dropout in adult education.

It builds upon and enhances the previous research of Garrison (1988) through the inclusion of additional variables and by studying a different population of learners. The primary question is whether the factor structure derived in this study is isomorphic with the structure obtained in the first study. Secondarily, are there other factors which are separable and identifiable with each of the previously derived factors of the typology?

Instrumentation

Instruments were identified based upon previous research in this area (Garrison, 1988) as well as academic, social and psychological integration variables associated with Tinto's dropout model and Boshier's congruence model. The instruments used were: the Social Readjustment Rating Scale (SRRS) (Holmes and Rahe, 1967), a subjective rating scale of perceived financial concern; a subjective rating of goal certainty and course relevancy, the Differential Aptitude Tests: Verbal (DAT) (Bennett *et al.*, 1972); the Personality and Educational Environment Scales (PEES) (Boshier, 1971); the Adjective Check List (ACL) (Gough and Heilbrun, 1980); and the Organizational Climate Index: Short Form (OCI) (Richman and Stern, 1975).

With the exception of the instruments to be addressed next, a discussion of the instrument reliability and validity can be found in Garrison (1988). With regard to the PEES, Boshier (1971) states that the factorial procedure and reliability data indicate "reliable and factorially representative and meaningful scales" (p. 5). The OCI factor reliabilities range from .63 to .81 and validity was established through "consequent validation" procedures (Stern, 1970). Reliability estimates (Hoyt's) were, respectively, .93 and .92 for the goal clarity and course relevancy scales. For a discussion of the validity of these two instruments see Garrison (1985).

Selection of the scales and subscales of the previously stated instruments was based upon previous research (Garrison, 1985, 1987, 1988) as well as their reflection of academic, social and psychological integration variables. Academic and social integration was measured by goal clarity, course relevancy, and the OCI. Psychological integration was measured by the PEES. The PEES self/lecturer congruency scale was not included in the study because students received instruction from multiple teachers. The following 23 variables were included in the study:

1. SRRS: a measure of recently experienced life changes that result in stress.

2. Financial Concern: an instrument that assesses the perceived degree of financial stress.

3. Goal Clarity: a measure of how clear students are about their career aspirations.

4. Course Relevancy: a measure of how relevant a course is to an individual's occupational goal.

5. DAT: the DAT Verbal Reasoning Subtest that purports to measure how well an individual can understand, think and reason verbally, as well as being a good predictor of educational performance.

6. Self/Other Congruency: the PEES variable that measures the perceived congruence of the student with other students.

7. Self/Ideal Congruency: the PEES variable that measures the congruency between how the student is and s/he would like to be; considered to a global measure of self esteem.

8. Achievement Need: a subscale of the ACL that assesses the need to strive and live up to socially recognized performance.

9. Endurance: an ACL subscale that measures persistence in a task undertaken.

11. Intraception: an ACL subscale that measures attempts to understand one's own behaviour or that of others.

11. Change: an ACL subscale that measures seeking of novelty of experience and avoidance of routine.

12. Self Control: an ACL subscale on which high scorers can be typified as being responsible and diligent while low scorers are self-centred and expressive.

13. Abasement: an ACL subscale that measures feelings of inferiority.

14. Deference: an ACL subscale that measures the tendency to seek and maintain subordinate roles in relationships with others.

15. Self Confidence: an ACL subscale on which high scorers are determined and enterprising while low scorers are shy and inhibited.

16. Ideal Self: an ACL subscale on which high scorers are characterized by interpersonal effectiveness while low scorers feel defeated by life.

17. Creative Personality: an ACL subscale on which high scorers are characterized as exhibiting a wide variety of interests, have a high degree of intellectual capacity, and think in unconventional ways while low scorers favour conservative values and are uncomfortable with uncertainty.

18. Achievement Standard: the OCI factor that reflects standards of personal achievement.

19. Intellectual Climate: the OCI factor score that assesses the degree to which the school environment is conducive to scholarly interests.

20. Practicalness: the OCI factor score that assesses the degree programs are likely to be well-structured and their objectives clear.

21. Supportiveness: the OCI factor score assesses the respect for the integrity of the individual and the provision of a supportive environment.

22. Orderliness: the OCI factor score that reflects organizational structure and procedural orderliness.

23. Impulse Control: the OCI factor score that reflects the degree of organizational constraint and restrictiveness on personal expression.

Sample and Administration

The sample comprised 182 first year college students studying English. The courses were "Principles of Expository Writing" and the "Novel and Short Story" offered at a large community college.

Courses were offered in the fall term for a period of four months. A total of 10 classes were selected based primarily upon when they were scheduled (for convenience of administration) and secondarily the cooperation of the instructors. Four classes from a total of 40 offering "Principles" were selected and six classes from a total of 17 offering the "Novel" were selected.

Administration of the instruments took place during the second and fourth week of classes. The DAT, ACL, SRRS, course relevancy, goal clarity and financial concern were administered during the first testing period (i.e., second week) and took approximately one hour. The PEES and OCI were administered during the second testing period (i.e., fourth week) and took approximately one hour. These latter two instruments were delayed to give the students time to get an impression of the institutions and fellow students.

Analysis

Factor analysis was used to determine an underlying structure for the selected variables. Further, a common factor model was employed to obtain a factor pattern since this was an exploratory investigation. The analysis used the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (Nie, Hull, Jenkins, Steinbrenner, and Bent, 1975) factor analysis programme. The particular method used was Rao's Canonical Factoring. Orthogonal and oblique rotations were employed to find the best solution (i.e., simple structure) or description of the data set. Means and standard deviations of all the variables are found in Table 1.

Eigen values (proportion of variance accounted for by the factors) were generated using a principal component factor analysis. Using the Kaiser-Guttman criterion of eigen values greater or equal to one indicated that the number of factors to be retained was seven. However, a common factor solution retaining seven factors using both Varimax (orthogonal) and oblimin (oblique) transformations did not produce an interpretable solution.

The underlying structure was further explored using five and six factor solutions with orthogonal and oblique transformations (rotations). The results of the oblique transformations with three degrees of obliquity revealed that simple structure improved as orthogonality was approached. After considering interpretability it was decided that the six factor orthogonal solution should be retained. The salient factor loadings after rotation are shown in Table 2.

Table 1

Sample Data Means and Standard Deviations
(N=182)

Test/Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation
SSRS	159.9	99.5
Financial Concern	19.7	6.1
Goal Certainty	17.3	4.8
Course Relevancy	28.3	4.9
DAT	33.5	10.0
Self/Other Congruency (PEES)	21.9	13.2
Self/Ideal Congruency (PEES)	21.7	12.4
Achievement Need	45.7	7.9
Endurance	44.4	7.5
Intraception	45.4	8.7
Change	52.0	8.3
Self Control	46.0	10.0
Abasement	48.8	8.2
Deference	46.8	9.1
Self Confidence	48.9	8.8
Ideal Self	45.9	8.1
Creative Personality	47.7	9.0
Achievement Standards (OCI)	6.3	1.9
Intellectual Climate (OCI)	5.4	2.2
Practicalness (OCI)	5.3	2.2
Supportiveness (OCI)	6.4	1.8
Orderliness (OCI)	5.5	2.2
Impulse Control	4.5	1.5

Interpretation of the factor solution is done within the context of the previous hypothesized typology of factors associated with adult learner dropout. This typology consists of five factors: internal motivation, external motivation, capability, internal constraint, and external constraint.

The two highest salient loadings on Factor One were endurance and achievement need which corresponded to the high loadings of internal motivation in the original study. This factor was therefore identified as "internal motivation". Similarly, the loadings of deference and self control in this analysis corresponded to the same loadings on the external motivation factor in the original study. As such, Factor Two was labelled "external motivation". The remaining factors were not so clearly identifiable with the original variables and, therefore, largely are discussed independently of factor loadings in the original study.

The salient loadings on Factor Three were all OCI subscales. Since these variables represented external context variables with which the individual would have to cope to be successful, this factor was identified as "external constraint." External constraint represents those variables which have the potential of interfering with the pursuit of desired goals.

The dominant variable on Factor Four was the need for change. In the first study this variable loaded on the external motivation factor which seemed to suggest interpreting it as external motivation. The need for change is clearly an attitude concerning external expectancies and within the original theoretical construct it must be seen as an "external motivation". Since Factor Two was also labelled external motivation this category is therefore a higher order factor with two or more subfactors. This is not unexpected since humans are complex beings with multiple and sometimes conflicting attitudinal dispositions toward the external world. Factor Two represents an attitude of compliance with outside demands while Factor Four represents a more proactive stance toward the external world. They are clearly separate attitudes or motivations and may be differentially associated with dropout behaviour.

The salient loadings of Factor Five are creative personality and ideal self. Both are associated with a wide range of interests. The highest loading variable—creative personality—is associated with "a high degree of intellectual capacity" and creativity. The dilemma is whether to interpret this factor as an attitude (external motivation) or as an ability. The decision was to interpret this factor as a unique ability because creative personality more strongly reflects an intellectual ability associated with creativity. The key to this decision is that creative personality loads the highest and the dominant descriptions of this variable center around ability (Gough and Heilbrun, 1980).

Table 2

Salient Factor Loadings After Orthogonal Rotation

	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5	F6
V1						
V2						
V3						
V4						
V5						
V6						.51
V7						.68
V8	.89					
V9	.77					
V10		.71				
V11				.82		
V12		.79				
V13	.62	.56				
V14		.91				
V15	.66			.48		
V16	.48				.64	
V17					.76	
V18			.77			
V19			.71			
V20			.68			
V21			.62			
V22			.40			
V23						

V1: SRRS
V2: Financial Concern
V3: Goal Certainty
V4: Course Relevancy
V5: DAT
V6: Self/Other Congruency
V7: Self/Ideal Congruency
V8: Achievement Need
V9: Endurance
V10: Intraception
V11: Change
V12: Self Control
V13: Abasement
V14: Deference
V15: Self Confidence
V16: Ideal Self
V17: Creative Personality
V18: Achievement Standards
V19: Intellectual Climate
V20: Practicalness
V21: Supportiveness
V22: Orderliness
V23: Impluse Control

It should also be noted that the DAT, which is clearly a capability, did not have a salient loading on any of the six factors. The statistical reason is likely that there was not a second variable with sufficient common variance to identify it as anything other than a trivial factor. However, this was a problem of instrument selection and not necessarily a reflection of its nonexistence within the typology. Since DAT did not load on Factor Five the implication is that capability is likely to be multifaceted. Again, this is not surprising given the variety of intelligence tests that appear to test unique abilities. Greater identifiability and separability of this originally hypothesized factor (as with all other factors) will require additional unique representative ability measures.

Factor Six's salient loadings were the two PEES variables. The highest loading was the self/ideal congruency variable. In the first study the self concept variable loadings were interpreted as internal constraint. It was argued that internal constraints are dispositions which may impede or interfere with success but in itself cannot ensure success. Self concept was cited as the best example of an internal constraint. Since self/ideal scores are associated with measures of global self-esteem it seemed consistent to label Factor Six as "internal constraint".

The variance accounted for by the six factors was 62.5 percent of the total variance. Since the sample size was sufficient to delineate the factors, it would appear that we are measuring a few factors well and a larger number of other factors less well. This fact and the findings reported here support the view that the originally hypothesized five factor typology is a higher order factor structure where each category may be multifaceted. Delineation of more factors would, of course, increase the variance accounted for and reflect a more comprehensive typology. This will, however, demand inclusion of other unique variables and a larger sample size.

Conclusion

This study has attempted to address both the internal and external validity of the dropout typology first hypothesized by Garrison (1988). The conclusion is that the higher order factor structure of variables associated with dropout was confirmed, although it is suggested that each of the higher order factors is likely to multifaceted. This was evidenced by two factors being clearly identified as external motivation. In addition, it seems more than reasonable to suggest, given the literature on intelligence, that there should be multiple capability factors. and finally, with all of the socioeconomic constraints cited as reasons for dropout (Garrison, 1983), there is every reason to believe that other external constraint factors will be delineated in future research.

The validity of the dropout typology has been further supported by this study and should be of value to researchers in identifying and selecting dropout variables for study. It goes without saying that human behaviour is inherently complex and to study dropout in a rational and systematic manner demands a parsimonious ordering of the many variables associated with the phenomena and a framework in which to interpret research results. Such a typology might very well provide a framework around which a model of dropout could develop. Future studies may suggest a theory of dropout where factors differentially are associated with dropout in particular settings. For example, there is some basis upon which to speculate that reasons for dropout in ABE might more strongly be associated with socioeconomic constraints, whereas dropout in post-secondary education might more strongly be associated with internal motivational and capability variables. In any case, this typology provides the framework in which such hypotheses could be studied.

There is one important aspect of the dropout typology in need of clarification. While the deterrents to participation factor structure (Darkenwald and Valentine, 1985) has contributed to the general development of participation theory there is little apparent overlap with the Education Participation Scale factor structure (Boshier and Collins, 1983) that evolved from Houle's tripartite typology of motivational orientations to participation in adult education. To a large extent they represent the disjoint negative and positive factors surrounding the nonparticipation and participation issue. On the other hand, the dropout typology reported here is bipolar in the sense that it represents reasons, and can accommodate explanations, for persistence as well as dropout.

Clearly the benefits of this research primarily will accrue to researchers. Considerable additional efforts will need to be made to confirm the results of this study. However, such efforts might well order and clarify the multiplicity of variables associated with dropout for the benefit of the practitioner. The immediate benefit of this research for the practitioner might be to increase the awareness of the adult educator to the factors that should be considered when attempting to reduce a dropout problem. However, in the longer term, situation models will need to be developed to gather more specific and useful information toward reducing dropout. (For a discussion of how prediction models may be developed, see Garrison, 1988.) It must be emphasized that the findings of this study are of an abstract nature and are not intended to have direct application to practice. Only through situation specific studies will we develop useful prediction models to alert practitioners as to those students who have the potential of dropping out. The results of those studies may assist in targeting additional support services to those individuals. The purpose of this present study, however, was to validate a general framework that could be used in the future to develop situation specific prediction models to guide adult education practitioners and benefit adult learners who might otherwise discontinue their studies.

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L'INSERTION DES MIGRANTS: LES PRÉALABLES À LA FORMATION

Maurice Chalom
Université de Montréal

Résumé

Dans cet article l'auteur d'une part, examine dans quelle mesure les pratiques d'alphabétisation favorisent l'acquisition de la langue-cible et les habiletés relatives au marché du travail et d'autre part, suggère des pistes de réflexion et d'intervention en vue de faciliter le processus d'insertion d'adultes migrants à la société d'accueil.

Abstract

In this article the author, on the one hand, examines to what extent practices in alphabetization facilitate the learning of the target language and the abilities related to the labor market, and on the other hand, suggests tracks of reflection and intervention in view of facilitating the integration process of migrating adults to the recipient society.

Introduction

Durant de nombreuses années, il apparaissait peu probable, dans les sociétés industrialisées où la scolarité est obligatoire, qu'un segment de la population adulte soit analphabète, c'est-à-dire se trouve dans "l'incapacité de lire et d'écrire, en le comprenant, un exposé bref et simple de faits en rapport avec sa vie quotidienne" (Unesco, 1978).

Cependant, la réalité est autre. A ce sujet, des recherches entreprises par l'Unesco indiquent qu'il existe un noyau représentant de 15 à 25% des adultes dont le niveau de scolarisation est nettement inférieur aux besoins de leur société. Au Canada, en utilisant comme critère la compétence fonctionnelle réelle, c'est-à-dire l'application concrète d'un ensemble d'habiletés et de connaissances générales (impliquant le code écrit) requises pour assumer des responsabilités d'adultes, le Southam News évaluait à cinq millions le nombre d'adultes canadiens analphabètes fonctionnels en 1987, soit 24% de la population adulte totale durant cette année-là.

Il est vrai que la notion même d'analphabétisme est à la fois floue et complexe. Pour plusieurs, l'analphabétisme serait le symptôme et non la cause d'un ensemble de conditions socio-économiques désavantageuses vécues par un segment de la population adulte. Dans cette optique, l'anaphabétisme serait plus que le degré zéro de la connaissance de la langue écrite en usage dans une société donnée. Cette notion doit être appréhendée en regard du contexte social et culturel dans lequel se trouvent les individus. L'analphabétisme apparaît comme le seuil critique entre la marginalisation et l'insertion d'un individu dans une collectivité ou dans une société où il y a suprématie de l'écrit.

Immigration et analphabétisme

A l'intérieur de la problématique générale de l'analphabétisme dans les sociétés industrialisées, apparaît une thématique spécifique, celle du migrant analphabète qui, à la différence de l'analphabète local, vit un processus d'intégration à une société lui étant totalement étrangère et dont il doit décoder et apprendre les référents culturels. Tout en reconnaissant que l'analphabète local ne participe pas pleinement à la vie sociale et culturelle de la société, il en connaît tout au moins les règles et les codes de fonctionnement.

Ce début de processus d'intégration crée un ensemble de changements psychosociaux et de transformations chez le migrant, qui l'amènera à délaisser et parfois à modifier certaines de ses valeurs propres. Aucun migrant n'échappe à cette situation et ce, quelle que soit sa motivation initiale à immigrer, quel que soit le type de société dont il est issu, ou quelle que soit la réalisation ou la non-réalisation de ses attentes par rapport à la société d'arrivée.

La société d'accueil est elle-même confrontée à la question des modes d'insertion des migrants. Peut-elle les intégrer et comment les intégrer? L'une des réponses à ces questions se trouve, entre autres, dans le rôle que joue le système éducatif de la société d'accueil à l'égard des immigrants.

Conscient de cette réalité, le Québec a énoncé dès 1978 une politique de développement culturel et a mis sur pied un ensemble de programmes éducatifs ayant comme objectif l'insertion des migrants. La mise en place de ces services se justifie tout particulièrement du fait que la période initiale de l'adaptation conditionne en grande partie leur mode ultérieur de participation à la vie québécoise. Du point de vue de la société d'arrivée, l'intégration des migrants adultes semblait aller de soi. Il suffisait pour cela qu'ils respectent les "us et coutumes" du pays, qu'ils apprennent la langue de la majorité et la société les intégrerait. D'autant plus qu'au niveau de ses structures d'accueil, un ensemble de programmes d'alphabétisation leur était offert, tant dans les C.O.F.I. que dans les commissions scolaires et les organismes communautaires.

Tout en étant conscient que la connaissance et la maîtrise de la langue-cible n'est pas le seul indicateur de l'intégration - qu'il suffise de penser à l'emploi ou à la participation dans les sphères socioculturelles ou politiques de la société d'arrivée - il n'en reste pas moins que pour le migrant analphabète en particulier, l'acquisition du code linguistique et l'acquisition d'habiletés relatives au marché du travail conditionnent en grande partie le développement ultérieur de son insertion.

Au Québec, depuis une dizaine d'années, plusieurs études ont été réalisées en ce qui concerne l'alphabétisation du migrant. Rappelons, entre autres, l'étude de D'Anglejan et al en 1978 qui abordait cette question dans le C.O.F.I., celle d'Ollivier en 1980 qui avait trait aux organismes communautaires haïtiens d'alphabétisation ou encore celle de Painchaud et al en 1984 qui s'intéressait plutôt aux commissions scolaires.

Pour notre part, nous avons réalisé en 1989 une étude exploratoire relative à l'alphabétisation de migrants analphabètes en processus d'intégration. La question de l'intégration était abordée à partir de trois indicateurs, soit: l'acquisition du code linguistique, les habiletés relatives au marché du travail et l'acquisition de codes culturels de la société québécoise. Cette étude s'intéressait aux trois types d'organismes de formation que sont le C.O.F.I., la commission scolaire et l'organisme d'éducation populaire. Dans cet article, nous présentons les données synthèses se rapportant à l'acquisition du code linguistique et aux habiletés relatives au marché du travail, les principales raisons évoquées par les répondants qui expliquent la situation ainsi que quelques pistes de réflexions pour les formateurs et les organismes oeuvrant auprès de cette clientèle d'apprenants.

Alphabétisation et acquisition du code linguistique

Par code linguistique nous entendons les diverses dimensions de l'apprentissage d'une langue, c'est-à-dire l'apprentissage de la lecture, de l'écriture et de la communication à la fois sous l'angle de l'expression orale et de la compréhension.

Pour cet indicateur, nous nous sommes intéressé à trois éléments: 1) tout d'abord connaître l'évaluation des répondants quant à l'influence du programme d'alphabétisation sur leur connaissance du français. 2) Cette évaluation s'avérait être un moyen de savoir ce que les répondants entendaient par la connaissance du français. Est-ce savoir lire et écrire le français, savoir communiquer? Est-ce toutes ces habiletés ou autre chose? 3) Enfin, nous sommes intéressé à connaître dans quel contexte et à quelles occasions plus particulièrement ils pratiquent le français.

Le table au ci-dessous nous informe quant à l'auto-évaluation des répondants sur cet indicateur.

Acquisition du code linguistique à la suite d'un programme d'alphabétisation

	Réponses			
Questions	Oui	Peu	Non	Total
Connaissance du français à la suite d'un programme d'alphabétisation	23	46	3	72
	31,9%	63,9%	4,2%	100%
Capacité à lire le français à la suite d'un programme d'alphabétisation	5	60	7	72
	6,9%	83,3%	9,7%	100%
Capacité à écrire le français à la suite d'un programme d'alphabétisation	5	55	12	72
	6,9%	76,4%	16,7%	100%
Capacité à parler le français à la suite d'un programme d'alphabétisation	7	61	4	72
	9,7%	84,7%	5,6%	100%
Capacité à comprendre le français à la suite d'un programme d'alphabétisation	11	55	6	72
	15,2%	76,4%	8,3%	100%

Dans leur grande majorité, les répondants affirment connaître peu le français à la fin de leur programme. Selon eux, les principales raisons pour expliquer cette situation sont de deux ordres:

- Des raisons reliées à la langue: Il s'agit tout d'abord de leur connaissance limitée du code linguistique. Ils estiment avoir du mal à écrire en français, connaître peu de vocabulaire, ce qui les empêche de s'exprimer et de comprendre correctement. Egalement ils éprouvent de la difficulté à lire et à comprendre des productions écrites. Il y a également des raisons reliées à la nature même de la langue française. Ils considèrent le français comme une langue complexe, difficile à apprendre et très différente de leur langue maternelle.

- Des raisons davantage reliées à des facteurs psychologiques: à l'individu. Les répondants se disent trop âgés pour apprendre une nouvelle langue. Ils ont des pertes de mémoire, de la difficulté à se concentrer et n'osent pas s'exprimer en français. De plus, en dehors des cours d'alphabétisation, ils pratiquent peu ou pas le français. Finalement ils sont conscients de leur insuffisance et de leurs faibles capacités en français à la suite de leur programme d'alphabétisation.

Nous tombons sur une difficulté de taille. En effet, comment expliquer qu'à la fin de leur programme d'alphabétisation, les répondants aient une aussi faible connaissance de la langue?

Il y a lieu de considérer au moins deux dimensions pour interpréter ces résultats:

- la dimension linguistique, c'est-à-dire l'individu en situation d'apprentissage d'une langue seconde

- et la dimension de la pratique de la langue, c'est-à-dire les occasions courantes d'utilisation de la langue-cible.

La dimension linguistique

Il semble que l'on doive tenir compte de l'orientation et des contenus des programmes d'alphabétisation. Rappelons que l'accent est surtout mis sur l'expression orale et la communication, et moins sur les autres aspects du code linguistique.

Ce choix semble correspondre à une préoccupation de la part des organismes de formation qui est de permettre à l'apprenant d'acquérir des capacités communicatives considérées comme nécessaires à un comportement fonctionnel dans la société québécoise (Nadeau, 1987). D'autant plus, comme le soulignent différents auteurs qui travaillent sur les questions d'acquisition d'une langue seconde, que presque tous les programmes d'enseignement sont centrés sur le développement de la communication et que celle-ci occupe de plus en plus de place dans la didactique des langues secondes (D'Anglejan et al, 1978; Krashen et Terrel, 1983; Winitz, 1981; Moirand, 1982).

Il n'y a donc rien d'étonnant à ce que l'enseignement de la lecture, de l'écriture, des règles de grammaire de la langue-cible soit planifié en prolongement de celui de l'expression orale. En d'autres termes et compte tenu des besoins des répondants, l'apprentissage de l'expression orale et de la communication servirait de tremplin ou de porte d'entrée à l'apprentissage du français. Cela semble d'autant plus logique que l'adulte passerait de 40 à 50% de son temps de communication à écouter, et de 20 à 30% à parler (Gilman et Moody, 1984). Ajoutons à cela que les répondants ne s'alphabétisent pas en vue de retourner à l'école, mais pour être en mesure de fonctionner et de s'intégrer à la société d'accueil. Il semble donc cohérent que les programmes et les organismes de formation répondent avant tout à ce type de besoins.

Mais si telle est la situation, on aurait pu s'attendre à ce que ce groupe de sujets "performent" à l'oral et en communication. Pourtant la situation est autre. A moins que comme D'Anglejan et al (1978), on soit amené à questionner cette notion de communication.

> Ce que l'on entend par communication ne correspond que très rarement à ce qui pourrait passer pour une définition acceptable du terme en dehors du lieu de classe ... Il est rare que le professeur et l'étudiant aient des choses vraiment importantes ou intéressantes à se dire; quant aux préoccupations du professeur qui concernent plutôt la forme que le contenu des énoncés, elles ne favorisent guère des échanges spontanés initiés par l'apprenant. (p. 33)

Comme on peut le constater, il peut y avoir méprise sur cette notion de communication, ce qui pourrait expliquer que pour la dimension linguistique, on se trouve devant une impasse: les répondants ne peuvent s'exprimer correctement en français. Il semble que les programmes d'alphabétisation, tels que connus présentement, ne peuvent permettre l'acquisition du code linguistique. Il serait intéressant de penser des contenus de programme qui tiennent compte des caractéristiques propres à cette clientèle mais également en fonction d'une finalité: permettre l'apprentissage de la langue dans toutes ses dimensions.

La dimension de la pratique de la langue

Il y a une seconde dimension qui pourrait nous aider à mieux comprendre pourquoi ces répondants connaissent peu le français. C'est le fait que l'apprentissage de la langue se réalise en vase clos.

L'usage du français à la maison et à l'extérieur favorise l'apprentissage de la langue seconde en fournissant à l'individu des occasions réelles d'utiliser la langue dans des situations de communication. Cette idée de situations de communication est également développée par Dittmar (1978), c'est ce qu'il appelle le bain de langue. Il y aurait au moins une condition à l'apprentissage d'une langue seconde, que celui-ci se réalise de façon naturelle et non dirigée, c'est-à-dire que l'immigrant apprenne la langue à travers des contacts fréquents avec la population locale. Pour ce bain de langue, le milieu de travail représenterait l'endroit où la plus grande partie des connaissances de la langue étrangère est acquise. L'idée intéressante finalement, serait que le lieu-classe devienne le lieu d'intégration d'acquisitions faites essentiellement à l'extérieur. Plus encore, que le milieu naturel soit le prolongement de la classe.

Dans la situation qui nous intéresse, il y a comme un vacuum. Les apprentissages réalisés en classe, aux dires des répondants, ne semblent pas être réinvestis à l'extérieur tout comme les apprentissages "autonomes", non dirigés ne semblent pas être intégrés en classe. Il y aurait comme une rupture en ce qui concerne la langue, entre les lieux de formation et le milieu environnant.

L'alphabétisation et l'acquisition d'habiletés relatives au marché du travail

L'obtention d'un emploi est considérée par le migrant comme la première condition à son insertion et cet emploi est fonction de la maîtrise ou, tout au moins, de la connaissance de la langue de la société d'arrivée. Le migrant acquiert-il un ensemble d'habiletés qui, couplées dans le meilleur des cas à une compétence professionnelle quelconque, lui permettent d'obtenir un emploi?

Quelles seraient ces habiletés en question? Leduc (1980) en identifie plusieurs telles que: savoir remplir un formulaire de demande d'emploi, pouvoir passer des entrevues, obtenir un emploi, etc...

Il est clair que pour des migrants analphabètes, l'acquisition de ces habiletés se révèle extrêmement importante pour leur insertion. Il s'agissait donc de vérifier si les programmes d'alphabétisation permettent l'acquisition de telles habiletés.

Le tableau ci-après nous informe quant à l'acquisition de ces habiletés par des migrants.

Acquisition d'habiletés relatives au marché du travail, à la suite d'un programme d'alphabétisation

	Réponses			
Questions	Oui	Peu	Non	Total
Habileté à trouver un emploi à la suite d'un programme d'alphabétisation	28 38,9%	33 45,3%	11 15,3%	72 100%
Habileté à chercher un emploi dans les journaux à la suite d'un programme d'alphabétisation	13 18,1%	22 30,6%	37 51,4%	72 100%
Habileté à écrire un curriculum vitae en français pour obtenir un emploi à la suite d'un programme d'alphabétisation	4 5,6%	15 20,8%	53 73,6%	72 100%
Habileté à remplir un formulaire d'application pour un emploi à la suite d'un programme d'alphabétisation	14 19,4%	23 31,9%	35 48,6%	72 100%
Habileté à participer à une entrevue à la suite d'un programme d'alphabétisation	11 15,3%	29 40,3%	32 44,4%	72 100%

Quelles sont les données? En majorité, les répondants considèrent que le programme d'alphabétisation les aidera, même un peu, à trouver un emploi. Outre cette évaluation générale, somme toute positive, quand on aborde de façon précise l'acquisition des diverses habiletés amenant à l'obtention d'un emploi, l'évaluation est nettement différente. Ils éprouvent de la difficulté, ou même, se disent incapables de lire et de comprendre le libellé d'une offre d'emploi publiée dans le journal, de rédiger un curriculum vitae, de lire et de comprendre un formulaire de demande d'emploi ou de participer à une entrevue. Compte tenu de ces lacunes, ils auront tout d'abord recours à leur réseau communautaire pour obtenir un emploi.

Que dire de ces résultats?

Tout d'abord, il est intéressant de noter le niveau d'attente élevée des sujets face aux organismes ou aux programmes d'alphabétisation. L'alphabétisation est perçue comme la clé donnant accès à la société québécoise, le lieu où l'on acquiert non seulement les compétences langagières mais aussi les codes d'une société moderne. Il est également intéressant de remarquer la constance dans les réponses d'un indicateur à l'autre. On pourrait dire que l'insuffisance en français produit les mêmes effets: une difficulté de contact avec le milieu environnant et une forme de repli sur la communauté d'origine.

De façon schématique on pourrait dire, à partir des données, que 1) la méconnaissance de la langue se traduirait par une absence de bain de langue avec, pour conséquence, une pratique en vase clos; 2) la non-acquisition des habiletés relatives au marché du travail se traduirait par un recours au réseau communautaire avec, pour conséquence, un risque d'enfermement et 3) la méconnaissance de la langue serait un frein à l'acquisition de ces habiletés. Sous forme graphique, on pourrait illustrer ces propos de la façon suivante:

MÉCONNAISSANCE DE LA LANGUE → MANQUE DE PRATIQUE → VASE CLOS

NON-ACQUISITION DES HABILETÉS → RECOURS AU RÉSEAU → ENFERMEMENT

Par ailleurs, il y a lieu de considérer l'acquisition de ces habiletés comme s'inscrivant dans un double registre: 1) celui de la langue, dans la mesure où ces habiletés nécessitent, si ce n'est la maîtrise, tout au moins l'acquisition des dimensions du code linguistique, les habiletés académiques selon Leduc (1980), et 2) celui des **Normes** et **Standards**, dans la mesure où ces habiletés permettent à l'individu de remplir son rôle de producteur et en cela, de participer activement dans son milieu (Leduc, 1980).

Qu'en est-il de l'alphabétisation et de l'acquisition des normes et des standards? On pourrait considérer simultanément trois axes:

- celui des caractéristiques personnelles,
- celui de la mésadaptation et
- celui des contenus de programmes.

Les caractéristiques personnelles

Ces sujets se trouvent arrachés à une structure sociale et professionnelle de région rurale ou de petites villes et sont confrontés aux conditions d'existence d'une grande métropole, avec suprématie de l'écrit alors qu'ils sont peu scolarisés. De plus, il leur est nécessaire d'acquérir les normes et les mécanismes de fonctionnement propres à cette nouvelle société. Schématiquement, on pourrait illustrer cela de la façon suivante:

DE: LA SOCIÉTÉ d'ORIGINE		**VERS**: LA SOCIÉTÉ D'ACCUEIL
Société rurale	M I G R A T I O N	Société urbaine
Société traditionnelle		Société moderne
Société peu scolarisée		Société technologique
Société de l'oral		Société de l'écrit

Nous abordons ici la question de la distance culturelle et de l'acculturation, c'est-à-dire que plus l'écart au plan des codes culturels en présence est grand et plus le processus d'intégration s'avère difficile (Abou, 1981). De plus, pour les répondants il s'agit de réaliser simultanément deux types d'apprentissage:

- L'apprentissage des habiletés relatives au marché du travail exige l'acquisition du code linguistique, ce qui se traduit par une quantité d'apprentissages.

- Pendant que ces apprentissages se réalisent, il faut encore que les répondants les intègrent dans leur propre système de valeurs. C'est une question de degré de concordance entre ces apprentissages qui représentent des codes et des standards de la société d'origine. L'objectif ultime de ces apprentissages étant d'obtenir un emploi et donc de permettre aux répondants d'assumer pleinement leur rôle de producteur. N'étant pas équipés pour mener de front ces deux types d'apprentissage, ils opteraient pour le recours au réseau communautaire car il assurerait, selon eux, la garantie d'un emploi.

L'axe de la mésadaptation

Cette difficulté de pouvoir réaliser ces apprentissages et le recours au réseau communautaire pourraient traduire une mésadaptation. Les répondants réalisent très bien ce qu'ils doivent acquérir pour fonctionner adéquatement et, en même temps, ils sont conscients qu'ils n'ont pas encore acquis ces habiletés. Cette situation "d'entre deux" les amènerait à un repli stratégique sur leur communauté d'origine. A la suite de leur migration et compte tenu du processus d'acculturation qu'ils vivent, ils se distancent du mode de fonctionnement de leur pays d'origine, mais n'ont pas encore acquis celui de la société d'accueil. Cela revient à dire que les répondants, afin de poursuivre leur insertion, n'ont pas d'autre choix que d'adopter les normes et les standards de la société québécoise et sont conscients qu'ils ne sont encore outillés pour les adopter.

Outre cette dimension de la mésadaptation, il est également important de considérer celle des contenus de programmes.

L'axe des contenus de programmes

Ce processus d'acquisition d'habiletés relatives au marché du travail et donc d'adoption de normes québécoises renvoie aux contenus des programmes d'alphabétisation, contenus éclairés par la dimension "initiation à la vie au Québec" et par les activités socio-culturelles. Les contenus sont conçus en vue de transmettre aux apprenants des informations générales à propos de leur insertion professionnelle et sociale. Ces séances d'information tentent de couvrir le maximum d'aspects de la vie du migrant tels les régimes d'assurance santé et chômage, le système de l'impôt, les droits du consommateur, les lois relatives au marché du travail, les traits culturels caractérisant les Québécois francophones, etc... A cela s'ajoute des activités, le plus souvent vécues en classe, au cours desquelles il s'agit d'intégrer ces informations dans le programme d'apprentissage de la langue. Par exemple: lire et comprendre une fiche de paie, compléter un formulaire de demande d'emploi, apprendre à remplir une déclaration d'impôt, etc... Le problème est que ces activités sont insérées dans les contenus de programme et ne sont pas conçues en fonction d'une immersion en milieu de travail où l'utilisation de la langue-cible favorise l'acquisition d'habiletés nécessaires à l'insertion sociale et professionnelle des migrants.

En fin de compte, on retrouve là la même situation que pour l'apprentissage du code linguistique. Dans la mesure où cet apprentissage ne se poursuit pas en dehors de leur classe, il ne permet pas l'acquisition de la langue. Il en est de même pour les habiletés relatives au marché du travail. Il n'y pas acquisition de ces habiletés, car il n'y a pas "d'expérimentation" ou pour paraphraser l'expression de Dittmar (1978), on pourrait dire qu'il n'y a pas de bain de langue en milieu de travail.

Face à cela, le réseau communautaire se présente comme une alternative sécurisante. En effet, dans leur milieu ils ne sont confrontés ni aux problèmes de la langue, ni aux exigences ou aux standards de la société québécoise et peuvent cependant assurer leur rôle de producteur.

En guise de conclusion

Suite à l'analyse des données, il appert que les programmes d'alphabétisation ne semblent guère favoriser, sauf exception, le processus d'insertion des migrants analphabètes à la société québécoise. On observe une insuffisance de la connaissance de la langue-cible, de même qu'une difficulté à acquérir les habiletés de base relatives au marché du travail.

Il est possible d'identifier au moins trois types de raisons qui expliqueraient cette situation.

1) L'orientation et les contenus de programmes

Au plan de l'apprentissage de la langue, les programmes sont surtout orientés vers l'expression orale et la communication et tiennent moins compte des autres aspects du code linguistique. Ce qui se traduit par une difficulté à acquérir la langue-cible.

Au plan de l'initiation à la société d'accueil, les programmes sont conçus en termes de séances d'information concernant l'intégration professionnelle et sociale des immigrants. Ce corpus d'informations ne s'avère pas nécessairement adéquat ou pertinent, surtout pour des sujets qui ont immigré depuis plusieurs années et qui n'en sont pas forcément à leur premier programme de formation.

Les intervenants en alphabétisation sont conscients qu'il y a un problème très aigu d'inadéquation entre les services offerts et les besoins de la clientèle, mais on en ignore l'ampleur exacte, puisqu'il n'y a jamais eu d'évaluation systématique ni de reconnaissance officielle du "problème".

La pédagogie prônée en alphabétisation se base sur l'autonomie, la participation active et la prise en charge individuelle de l'apprenant; or ce type d'enseignement est souvent étranger aux modes de faire des élèves immigrants pour qui ces comportements ne sont pas nécessairement valorisants.

En ce qui concerne les formateurs en alphabétisation, il semble nécessaire de 1) trouver dans les organismes éducatifs du personnel formé en alphabétisation plutôt qu'en français langue seconde. De plus, dans les commissions scolaires et dans les C.O.F.I., il y a une absence criante de formateurs issus des communautés ethnoculturelles bien qu'il semble que l'on trouverait dans les groupes ethniques du personnel qualifié. Si la présence des groupes ethniques parmi les enseignants du réseau régulier est reconnue comme favorisant l'identification des élèves et favorise leur insertion, pourquoi cela serait-il différent en éducation des adultes? 2) Il semble également urgent de former les intervenants à la communication interculturelle car les préjugés sont encore bien ancrés, l'incompréhension toujours grande devant les différences culturelles, devant des comportements et habitudes "autres".

Sans pour autant remettre en question la pertinence de l'alphabétisation dans un cadre scolaire pour ce type de clientèle, nous pouvons au moins dire que cet aspect du problème nécessite une pédagogie appropriée de la part des organismes. La pédagogie actuelle ne favorise pas l'apprentissage formel et conscient chez l'étudiant faible et il y a des raisons de croire que cela puisse gêner l'acquisition spontanée de la langue-cible.

2) Les difficultés d'ouverture et d'identification avec le milieu

Les programmes d'alphabétisation ne débouchent pas sur une interaction avec le milieu. Au plan de l'apprentissage de la langue, cela se réalise surtout en vase clos et la seule occasion de pratiquer le français reste le cours d'alphabétisation. Au plan du marché du travail, les immigrants ont de la difficulté à s'immerger dans le milieu du travail de la société d'accueil et ont plutôt recours à leur réseau communautaire. Même s'ils participent à des activités socio-culturelles offertes par les organismes, ils sont en règle générale peu familiers avec la société d'accueil, restent à la périphérie de celle-ci et vivent surtout repliés sur leur communauté d'origine.

3) Les caractéristiques propres à ce type d'apprenants

L'acquisition de la langue et des codes de la société québécoise est rendue plus difficile par des caractéristiques propres à ce type d'immigrants. Finalement ce qui caractérise la situation de ces apprenants c'est la distance culturelle. En majorité, ils sont sous-scolarisés, issus du milieu rural et de sociétés totalitaires. Dans la plupart des cas, ils n'ont pas choisi "délibérément" d'émigrer; c'est surtout le contexte économique et/ou politique dans leur pays qui les a amenés à "s'arracher" vers un ailleurs meilleur. Ils sont parachutés dans un environnement qui ne ressemble en rien à leur société d'origine pas plus qu'à leur milieu communautaire. Ils réalisent qu'ils ne sont pas encore "outillés" et suffisamment acculturés pour s'y intégrer. Pourtant ces immigrants ont des attentes très élevées à l'égard des lieux de formation et perçoivent l'alphabétisation comme la principale porte d'entrée à leur intégration dans la société d'accueil. A cela s'ajoute la très grande hétérogénéité des groupes-classes en alphabétisation (différents niveaux de compréhension du français, divers degrés de scolarisation, groupes d'âges diversifiés). Cette réalité pose aux formateurs un défi pédagogique quasi insurmontable, tout en générant parmi les élèves des tensions et des conflits dont la gestion incombe aussi à l'enseignant.

... Des questions à débattre

1) A partir du moment où l'on sait qu'il n'existe pas véritablement de formation spécifique destinée aux intervenants en alphabétisation, il serait intéressant de chercher à tracer la trajectoire et la formation de ceux-ci. Cette question s'avère plus

particulièrement intéressante si l'on considère que les sociétés industrialisées dans les pays démocratiques sont appelées à recevoir un nombre toujours croissant d'immigrants.

2) Comment aborder la question de formation des formateurs sans aborder celle du processus de socialisation des apprenants à travers leur processus de formation? Cette question est d'autant plus importante quand il s'agit d'immigrants, dans la mesure où ils font face à un double processus de socialisation: celui de l'acculturation et de l'intégration, et celui de la formation. De quoi s'agit-il?

Selon Lesne et Minvielle (1988), le formateur d'adultes est appelé à considérer autant le processus de socialisation "naturelle et subie" qu'est la vie de l'individu que le processus de socialisation "voulue et organisée" qu'est la formation. Cela les amène à dire que:

> Ancrer l'action pédagogique sur ce que la vie a fait des individus et ce que détermine encore leurs conditions de vie suppose que soient pris en compte, à côté des prérequis académiques sur lesquels s'instaurent généralement les pratiques de formation, des prérequis sociaux reflétant, non seulement l'état d'une construction personnelle ... mais les conditions dans lesquelles elle s'est développée afin de mieux la saisir. (p. 25)

Cette démarche s'avère tout particulièrement pertinente en ce qui concerne l'alphabétisation des immigrants. En effet, si l'on reconnaît que l'alphabétisation, en tant que processus de formation, a pour finalité l'intégration des immigrants dans la société d'arrivée, cela a objectivement pour effet de produire des individus sociaux présentant des caractéristiques techniques (connaissance de la langue, acquisition d'habiletés ou de compétences professionnelles), idéologiques et sociales (acculturation et identification avec la société d'arrivée par l'adoption de ses codes culturels) bien identifiées et dont la société a besoin pour assurer son fonctionnement présent et futur.

Dans cette perspective, l'alphabétisation se présente non seulement comme une réplique aménagée, repensée, reconstruite de certains processus de socialisation, mais aussi comme un processus de socialisation voulue et organisée.

3) Quels seraient du point de vue du migrant, les prérequis sociaux dont parlent les auteurs? On pourrait en envisager deux.

Tout d'abord le processus d'acculturation. L'individu naît, se socialise et s'inscrit dans un milieu social, économique et culturel donné. Ce processus de socialisation subie débouche sur un ensemble durable et transposable de schémas de pensée, de perception et d'action, bref sur ce qui fait que l'individu est ce qu'il est. La formation en alphabétisation prend-elle en compte ce processus de socialisation ou la trajectoire sociale que pourrait éclairer, entre autres, une connaissance de la biographie des individus en situation de formation? Il y a aurait, comme second prérequis social, le processus d'acculturation qu'entame l'individu en contexte migratoire. Comment l'immigrant investit la société d'arrivée, quelles sont les principales phases et les rythmes de cette acculturation et leur influence sur le processus de formation?

Ces questions nous paraissent importantes à approfondir, si l'on considère que l'efficacité de l'action pédagogique, qu'est l'alphabétisation, repose sur la connaissance des conditions objectives et du mode de génération des processus de socialisation et d'acculturation des immigrants en situation de formation.

4) Une autre question extrêmement importante pour l'immigrant est celle de la formation en milieu de travail. Les situations de travail jouent un rôle fondamental dans l'acquisition des savoirs et des savoir-faire techniques et sociaux. Comment donc articuler l'action d'alphabétisation dans et par le milieu de travail, si l'on considère que le milieu de travail peut, dans une certaine mesure, faciliter le processus de socialisation et d'intégration des immigrants?

Voici donc quelques pistes de réflexion qui permettent de considérer l'alphabétisation comme un processus de socialisation qui participe entièrement à un autre processus de socialisation, celui de l'acculturation et de l'intégration des immigrants à la société d'accueil.

L'alphabétisation ne s'appuie donc plus seulement sur un ensemble de prérequis cognitifs et opératoires à acquérir, mais également sur des prérequis sociaux, des biographies et des rythmes de socialisation d'individus à prendre en considération par les organismes de formation. Nous pensons que ce nouvel éclairage permettrait d'appréhender autrement l'alphabétisation des immigrants en processus d'intégration à la société québécoise.

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PERSPECTIVES

ADULT EDUCATION IN A COLD CLIMATE: BRITISH ADULT EDUCATON TO THE YEAR 2000

Richard Taylor
University of Leeds

> It was the best of times, it was the worst of times ...
>
> Charles Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities*

Abstract

Adult Education in Britain finds itself in considerable difficulties in the last years of the 20th Century. The strong, though diverse and conflict-ridden traditions of adult education are almost all at odds with the prevailing ideology of the present period. Moreover, post-school education in general, and universities in particular, have suffered very severe financial cutbacks in recent years. Adult education has therefore been through very hard times recently. And the market orientation threatens the liberal ideological basis of the whole enterprise. There are, however, several crucial respects in which the current context potentially *favours* adult education development: demographic trends; cost effectiveness; the realisation of the need for both lifelong education and training; and a greater flow of mature students into higher education. All these are positive developments for adult education. Can adult education survive and prosper in this context or will it become so compromised or integrated that its very existence will be under threat by the year 2000?

Résumé

Les dernières années de ce 20e siècle s'avèrent difficiles pour l'éducation des adultes en Grande-Bretagne. Les traditions de l'éducation des adultes, bien que diverses et parfois conflictuelles, s'opposent presque toutes à l'idéologie qui domine actuellement. De plus, au cours des dernières années, l'éducation post-secondaire en général, et les universités en particulier, ont beaucoup souffert des coupures budgétaires qui leur ont été imposées. L'éducation des adultes vient donc de traverser une dure période. En outre, la base de sa structure, l'idéologie libérale, est menacée par l'orientation du marché. Cependant, sous plusieurs aspects, le contexte actuel peut favoriser son développement: les tendances démographiques, les coûts-bénéfices, les besoins d'éducation continue et de formation, et le flot plus important d'étudiants matures au niveau des études supérieures. Ce sont là des développements positifs pour l'éducation des adultes. Est-ce que l'éducation des adultes peut survivre et prospérer dans ce contexte ou deviendra-t-elle tellement compromise ou intégrée que son existence-même sera menacée en l'an 2000?

Reviewing the year of 1988, the Times Higher Educational Supplement remarked that it had been "a good year for the ideas men, but a bad one for the practitioners of adult and continuing education. One where good intentions—or at least declarations of good intent—tended to be matched by bad consequences."[1] It may be a cliché, but it is certainly no exaggeration, to claim that adult education in Britain is at one and the same time in crisis and on the verge of perhaps its most important era.

The context of this volatile and paradoxical situation is in part the result of much wider political and educational factors. To understand the present position we must first rehearse briefly the history and ideological roots of adult education in Britain.[2] From the beginnings of modern adult education in the Extension Movement of the 1870s there have been diverse and competing ideological perspectives concerning its nature and priorities. At the heart of the adult education ideology lay the 'liberal tradition'—a seemingly consensual concept committing adult educators to impartial, open-ended and individualistic education.[3] In reality, the 'liberal tradition' was—and is—a contested concept *par excellence*. At one end of the spectrum, in fact outside any meaningful category of 'liberalism', were those 'High Tories' who saw adult education as a means of ideological social control. If the working class were to acquire unprecedented economic and thus political power, it was essential, so it was argued, that the working class be inculcated with acceptable (that is, bourgeois) ideas and analyses. This was of particular importance in the politically sensitive subject areas: economics, political studies, and industrial relations.

The notion of education as social control has of course far wider applicability than *adult* education. But it is important to remember how central a motivating factor this was in making adult education a priority for many in the educational and cultural establishment. Linked to this, however, was the equally 'High Tory' commitment to altruism, to the ideals of 'noblesse oblige': the governing elite had a duty to disseminate the cultural inheritance of the nation to the wider society.[4] This cultural commitment was itself a part of the wider Disraelian philosophy of 'one nation Conservatism' (which led a little later to the Tory Democracy movement).

In part, the liberal individualist tradition of Albert Mansbridge, the founder of the Workers' Educational Association (WEA), stemmed from this particular Tory attitude. Adult education was justified *a priori*, and specifically not because it might lead to vocational or material benefit. Similarly, education could not be justified,or indeed judged, by *political* criteria: specifically, education must not be merely a vehicle for socialist propaganda and indoctrination. This has been probably the central framework in British adult education: liberal non-vocational education for the individual, with the intention and justification of enriching the individual's life, culturally and socially.

The WEA, however, also embodied a strong commitment to collective, social purpose adult education for the working class. This was very much a part of the democratic socialist Labour Movement and its ideological roots went back to Chartism and beyond. In this context, education was seen as the key to working-class emancipation and as a centrally necessary tool in the process of transforming capitalist into socialist society. As with labourism as a whole, though, working-class adult education was envisaged explicitly and firmly in the *liberal* mould. It was the acquisition of knowledge *per se* and the wisdom and understanding acquired through cultural education that was the objective. Strongly implicit within this approach was the reformist labourist ideology—that capitalism could be reformed through moral and political pressure and persuasion—and that a democratic socialist society could be created through the existing Parliamentary and other institutions.

At the extreme end of the spectrum were those of Marxist or syndicalist views who rejected the WEA's ideological stance and argued for an unambiguously socialist curriculum. The purpose of adult education was to equip the working class ideologically, to ensure that a full understanding of socialist (Marxist) analyses was achieved so that the working class could become fully class conscious and mobilized politically to defeat capitalism and bourgeois society and its institutions.

Just as the Labour Movement has always been an uneasy series of alliances between fundamentally incompatible ideological tendencies,[5] so the adult education movement has always had these conflicting perspectives within it.[6] The form of the arguments, and the language in which differences are articulated, has of course changed markedly since the turn of the century: but much of the ideological content of the debate remains the same.

It would be grossly misleading though to imply that nothing of importance had changed in adult education. Leaving aside larger social and political changes, three broad developments in adult education itself stand out as especially important in the post war period: the growth since the 1944 Education Act of Local Education Authority (LEA) provision, usually of a recreational or low-level vocational nature and often linked to the Further Education service; the large expansion, again since the end of the last war, in post-school education—which has had a series of knock-on effects for adult education; and, finally, the increasing emphasis upon training, retraining and vocational education generally, which has been especially notable in the 1970s and 1980s with the rapid growth of training schemes under the auspices of the Government's Manpower Services Commission (now retitled as the Training Agency).

Adult education now forms an important part of a complex post-school education system. And adult education reflects the hierarchical and elitist nature of that post-school system.[7] All forms of adult education have been greatly affected by governmental policy and indeed, ideology. LEA provision has been cut back, often at very short notice, as a result of resource constraints imposed by central government. This has applied especially to the large urban authorities which are normally Labour controlled. Education is the largest single item of expenditure for LEAs; and much of the allocation to schools cannot, statutorily, be reduced. Adult education has thus been subject to very severe cutbacks throughout the last decade. (In the case of London, adult education has became embroiled in the whole saga of Mrs. Thatcher's determination to abolish the Labour controlled Greater London Council (GLC), and, by extension, the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA).) Most LEAs, in response in part to the cuts and in part to the radical populist culture of Thatcherism which has had such a profound influence on national attitudes to education as to all else, have made their adult education provision more market-oriented. Thus, general recreational and leisure LEA courses tend to have fee levels and minimum attendance numbers which produce a programme of self-financing courses (at direct rather than full cost). Vocational courses (for public examination courses, skill based certificate courses, etc.) are similarly organized and financed. Most LEAs maintain a 'middle stratum' of programming where fee levels are subsidised from public funds in order to encourage the general citizenry to attend: but this provision is almost everywhere under pressure to conform to the dictates of the market and to abandon public subsidy. It is declared Government policy to accelerate this process and it is likely that the 1990s will see a move towards a largely self-financing LEA within the education sector. However, almost all LEAs (certainly those in urban areas) have developed programmes of adult education provided for specific disadvantaged groups, usually at very low or no cost. Much of this work is directly linked to the training programmes of the Training Agency; but a significant amount is geared to the educational needs of particular groups—the ethnic minorities, for example.

The WEA is in many senses a declining force though its problems have different causes to those of the LEA sector. Its financial base, always fragile, has come under increasing pressure as both Government and LEA funding has diminished in real terms. In 1989 the Government decided to end the long standing system of "direct grants" to the WEA: public support will in future come via LEA educational finances. However, given the extreme pressures upon LEAs, and the difficulty of permanently earmarking funds for the WEA, the financial future for the organization looks bleak. Equally important has been the decline in the number of active voluntary members in the WEA and the failure of the organization to harness the energies of younger adults. Whilst the WEA does still maintain a significant programme of industrial studies work with trade unionists, this is very largely on Trades Union Congress (TUC) devised courses on 'health and safety at work' or 'shop steward training': the TUC has had little interest in recent years in the liberal adult education perspective of 'education for citizenship' and the focussing of industrial studies courses on the analysis of the union, the Labour Movement and the working class within the wider social and political context. Similarly, whilst the WEA continues to make significant provision in the non-vocational academic field—predominantly in the arts and social studies areas, but including some science too—those attending are in most areas overwhelmingly middle class. The *raison d'être* of the WEA—to provide via a voluntary movement a programme of liberal adult education for the working class[8]—is thus not at present being fulfilled and the future of the organization is at best uncertain.

By the late 1940s most universities had an extramural department and most were organized to provide a mix of courses—some jointly with the WEA (tutorial classes aimed at the working class), and some, largely for professional and/or middle class groups, organized by the university alone (extension classes). With the wholesale expansion of the university system in the 1960s, extramural departments grew rapidly and the scale of provision increased markedly.[9]

Since the late 1970s this progress has been checked and severe problems encountered. The context for this change has been the continuous and prolonged series of resource constraints within the university system as a whole. Although this process began in the early 1970s it was not until the major University Grants Council (UGC) package of cuts in 1981 that the constraints really began to bite. A major contraction of the system has been in process ever since, with 'early retirement' inducements, increased emphasis upon income generation, and a continuing reduction in real terms in salaries and overall resources. This has been a wholly unproductive and depressing decade for universities and reflects the Thatcher government's lack of interest in higher education and its impatience with what it sees as an over-generous public subsidy. The *results* of this policy have been little short of catastrophic: morale is at rock-bottom; there has been virtually no recruitment of academic staff (with the resultant high age profile of academic staff and lack of promotions), and universities find it increasingly difficult to fill senior positions, especially in 'marketable' disciplines where able professionals in the private sector can command not only salaries several times greater but, equally important, far better research facilities and ancillary support. For these reasons, there has been a marked increase in the so-called 'brain-drain'[10] robbing the system of many of its remaining leading figures. As well as all these effects, universities have been pushed and pulled into a far more market-oriented approach. There is a greater emphasis upon 'vocationally relevant' subjects and a corresponding decline in 'academic' areas: some universities, for example, are now without a philosophy department, unthinkable as recently as a decade ago when philosophy was still regarded as *the* central discipline of academic life. Universities have become generally less concerned with educational quality and the disinterested pursuit of knowledge, and more concerned with market relevance, cost effectiveness and 'balance sheet' criteria.

University adult education has been affected to the full by all these factors: indeed, in most universities disproportionately so. However, at the same time, the funding base for extramural work has been changed. First, the Government's Department of Education and Science (DES) direct grant system was altered so that payment of grant was made largely on a crude productivity criterion ('effective student hours'), and the overall amount of the grant was reduced by 14.3 per cent over three years. As if this were not enough, it was decided in 1988 to end the whole direct grant system and transfer the responsibility for funding liberal adult education to the Universities Funding Council (UFC) from April 1989 (the UFC replaced the UGC under the 1988 Education Reform Act). The UFC has introduced a system of 'tendering' whereby individual universities are invited to bid for public funding to support teaching and related costs for the production of a number of full-time equivalent students, across a number of adult or continuing education areas—extramural, vocational and 'other'. Small amounts of money are to be allocated in addition for research and innovatory projects. The UFC has made it clear that there should be an increasing reliance on fee and other income and a corresponding reduction in the level of public subsidy. Vocational education is expected to be self-financing (though through meeting its full or marginal costs is unclear). At the same time, the UFC expects overall levels of adult and continuing education provision to increase. (At the time of writing, UFC allocations for individual universities for adult and continuing education for 1990/91 had not yet been announced.)

This extreme volatility within a context of continuous and severe cutbacks has had results little short of disastrous for university adult and continuing education. The University of Leeds provides a fairly typical example of the cumulative effects of the last decade. In 1980 there were 31 full-time academic staff in the Department of Adult and Continuing Education; in 1988 this had reduced to 20; the University's 'target' for 1992 is 14. Meanwhile 'productivity', measured in student contact hours increased approximately 45 per cent between 1983 and 1988. Inevitably, this has meant the employment of far more part-time tutors, a strong emphasis upon provision likely to attract large numbers of students at minimal organization cost, and a marked increase in the administrative and developmental roles of academic staff—often at the expense of both adult teaching and research work. Most important of all, with the increasing pressure to generate income and become more cost effective, some of the most valuable areas of work are under threat. For example, the labour-intensive, community-based provision for the unemployed and for ethnic minorities produces no fee incomes and has a high support resource base. Arguably, resources could be more productively used elsewhere: and yet by common consent nationally this 'Pioneer Work' section of the Leeds Department produces some of the most valuable and original programme and research output in the country.

If all sectors of adult education are riven with such problems, are there any *positive* aspects? Before looking at some rather more optimistic trends let me return briefly to the initial 'ideological framework' discussion. Of the positions somewhat schematically outlined, it is clear that almost all have been under heavy attack in the last decade. The crude philistine populism of the Thatcher years—'Market Rules OK'—has seemingly obliterated much of the liberal tradition. But, liberal provision *does* survive, if not prosper; and there has been a heartening, though admittedly small scale, *increase* in funding for specific community-based work with the disadvantaged. More important than this, however, have been the new initiatives and new roles for adult education that rather paradoxically have opened up as a result of the problems of the larger university system. It is to a discussion of these that attention is now turned. But it is as well to hear in mind, too, that the commitment to certain core values of the liberal approach—individual enrichment and collective social progress among them—are deep-rooted in our culture, and will hopefully survive the present social and political environment.

In the meantime, though, we continue to live for the short-term in a culture dominated by Thatcherite values and priorities. What then are the prospects for adult education in the remaining years of the twentieth century in Britain? Enough has been said to indicate that these years are likely to see adult education under continuing pressure; and they are certain to see further change. There is plenty of evidence, therefore, that these are indeed the 'worst of times': but are there correspondingly *positive* aspects for present and future adult education? Three 'pragmatic' factors stand out above all others in this context: adult education is cost effective (that is, cheap); there is an increasing realisation by government that, given the pace of social and technological change, continuing education throughout adult life is essential ('education' is seen largely as 'training or re-training'); and demographic trends are such that every effort has to be made to increase the flow of mature students into higher education. Added to these educational factors is the more general policy commitment to make focussed provision —whether educational or social—for particular, disadvantaged groups in society.

Together, these constitute a context within which adult education *could* be poised for its most significant period of expansion. In the LEA sector much will depend upon relations with the training schemes separately funded by central government, and on the degree to which government and European Economic Community (EEC) financing of special provision for disadvantaged areas and groups is passed through to LEAs.

In higher education similar arguments apply. For the first time in the post war period adult (or continuing) education is seen, at least potentially, as being an essential part of the mainstream provision of the university, rather than a somewhat idiosyncratic if not esoteric offshoot. There is much talk today of 'mainstreaming' adult education, or building adult education into the programming of all departments and making it as normal a part of university teaching as is undergraduate and postgraduate work. This nicely illustrates the potential and the dangers of the current climate: such a move *may* result in adult education assuming a quite central role in university activity with all the increased priority and resources that that implies; or, at least as likely, it *may* provide the universities with a rationale for severely reducing in size and resources, or indeed abolishing altogether, specialist departments of adult education. (The result of this would almost inevitably be the virtual disappearance of adult education from university provision in a short time as there would be no focal point for its professional development.)

Following the more optimistic of these scenarios, however, it is clear that there are several fields of adult education which are potential growth areas. Continued professional education is perhaps the most obvious. Provision of high level, intensive updating courses for professionals in the field who need to familiarise themselves with the latest applications of research in the relevant disciplines has been a growth area in Britain over the last decade. (And, of course, in North America it has long been the basis of much university continuing education work.) Such provision fulfils a number of useful functions for the university: it produces high income (though it is a myth to believe that it can ever be *fully* self-financing); it demonstrates the university's 'relevance' for the 'real world' and thus brings the university demonstrably into the 'enterprise culture' of Thatcherism; and it provides a potentially fruitful context for academics and professional practitioners to come together. How far such provision can be genuinely educational as opposed to being concerned exclusively with updating and training, must remain an open question. Similarly, how far, if at all, it can be practised within the liberal, critical framework of adult education is debatable. But at the very least this provides the field with an opportunity for working with parts of the university—largely in the science and engineering areas—which have hitherto had relatively little involvement with adult education.

Other areas of development are pre-degree level 'Access' provision and part-time degree courses. Both these fit far less problematically into the liberal framework of adult education provision. There are numerous and often fundamental problems of administration and finance—not least the balance of input between Departments of Adult Education and the subject departments of the university—but adult education pedagogic expertise and community contacts should ensure that adult education departments become the central agencies for these areas of development. In this context, as far as universities are concerned, the primary objective is to increase the flow of undergraduate students into science and technology based courses, where quotas are often difficult to fill and where government is keen to expand. *Demand*, however, is largely for 'Access' and part-time degree courses in the arts and social studies areas. Moreover, most adult education subject and teaching expertise, and most internal university support for and experience of mature student entry and adult education generally, comes from the arts and social studies areas.

One of the major challenges for adult education will be on the one hand to adapt and develop its provision so that science and technology 'Access' and part-time degree courses for mature students can successfully be built into university provision; and, on the other hand, to convince both university authorities and government to change and adapt their existing provision and assumptions so that adult demand is better catered for. Amongst other things, this may mean more attention being paid to inter-disciplinary, professionally related degree schemes, and a more flexible, modular and credit-based degree structure being adopted. Finally, with government and EEC concern to develop special programmes of work with the disadvantaged, there may well be significant opportunities not only for direct provision but also for monitoring, analysis and research.[11] Obviously, this can be made wholly congruent with the social purpose ethic of the liberal tradition—though again there are problems and tensions inherent in such work. It is all too easy for the monitoring and research work to become dominant so that the university's involvement in the work in the field is marginalised. Conversely, community pressure may lead to an inappropriately vocational or instrumental programme of course provision.

Overall, there is the danger that these new areas of work will diminish adult education's concern with making provision for the *whole* community. What guarantees are there that 'Access' and part-time degree provision, for example, will attract to university *working-class* rather than 'merely' *middle-class* mature students?

These questions bring us back to the context in which adult education will operate for the foreseeable future: an elitist, unequal and steeply hierarchical education system which reflects the society of which it is a part. Adult education has two key roles in the new Thatcherite culture (and within the older but still grossly unequal social structure): to extend the opportunities for the whole community for entry into both degree level work *and* other, non-vocational, adult provision; and to preserve and advance the values and perspectives of the whole spectrum of the liberal tradition, almost all of which are under threat. If any adult education worthy of the name is to survive for the twenty-first century, then individual cultural enrichment, not necessarily related to material advance, must be defended as a reputable educational objective in its own right. Similarly, the 'collective social purpose' ethic of the liberal tradition—an anathema to Thatcherite ideology—must be positively affirmed and developed. Politically attractive new areas of work must not blind us to the importance of maintaining these core principles, however 'unfashionable', temporarily, they may be.

With ingenuity, sensitivity and not a little political skill these objectives may be attained in what is, in truth, a predominantly hostile environment. As always, adult education remains at its core a political and ideological movement, if not crusade, affirming humanistic and liberal perspectives. If we are to achieve in the year 2000 the 'best of times,' we have to strive for the attainment of these values politically as well as professionally.

Reference Notes

1. *The Times Higher Educational Supplement*, 30 December 1986.
2. See N.A. Jepson, *The Beginnings of English University Adult Education* (London: Michael Joseph, 1973).
3. For a full discussion of the liberal tradition see Richard Taylor, Kathleen Rockhill, and R. Fieldhouse, *University Adult Education in England and the USA: a reappraisal of the liberal tradition* (London: Croom Helm, 1985).
4. See R. Blake, *The Conservative Party from Peel to Thatcher*, 2nd ed. (London: Fontana, 1983).
5. For the classic account of these tensions see R. Miliband, *Parliamentary Socialism*, 2nd ed. (London: Merlin Press, 1973). See also T. Nairn, "The Nature of the Labour Party," in *Towards Socialism*, ed. P. Anderson and R. Blackburn (London: Fontana and New Left Books, 1961).
6. Taylor, Rockhill, and Fieldhouse, *University Adult Education* (1985).
7. Ibid. Ch. 2.

8. See R. Fieldhouse, *The Workers' Educational Association: Aims and Achievements 1903-1977* (Syracuse, USA: Syracuse University Press, 1978).

9. See Taylor, Rockhill, and Fieldhouse, *University Adult Education*, Ch. 4 (1985).

10. See, for example, *The Times Higher Educational Supplement* (throughout 1988).

11. See, for example, the emphasis in REPLAN (the DES-funded series of projects for work with the unemployed) and the research grants given for the analysis of such work by the Further Education Unit (FEU) of the DES.

SKIRTING THE ISSUES? A RESPONSE TO ANGELA MILES

Susan Collard
University of British Columbia

Abstract

This article offers a response to Angela Miles' "Women's Challenge to Adult Education" which appeared in the May 1989 issue of this journal. The article moves through a series of questions to an attempted reconstruction of the theoretical basis underlying Angela Miles' arguments. It then notes, that in light of recent exchanges between postmodernism and feminism, this theoretical basis can be called into question. It concludes with the suggestion that postmodernism modifies rather than denies the issue of women's challenge to adult education.

Résumé

Cet article est une réponse à Angela Miles qui a publié dans cette revue en mai 1989, sous le titre "Women's Challenge to Adult Education." Par une série de questions, l'auteure tente de reconstruire les bases théoriques sous-jacentes aux arguments de Miles. Elle note qu'à la lumière des échanges récents entre le postmodernisme et le féminisme, cette base théorique peut être remise en question. En conclusion, elle suggère que le postmodernisme modifie plutôt qu'il ne nie la question du défi que posent les femmes à l'éducation des adultes.

Angela Miles attempts a condensed and densely interwoven argument around the issue of "women's challenge" which is directed primarily toward two areas of concern to adult education: first, pedagogy, in particular learner-educator relationships; and second, the "social change" tradition. She attempts to draw together these two strands by suggesting that the historic association of adult education with social activism has made the field potentially more amenable to the critical educational ideals of social movements. In turn, these ideals include a more egalitarian approach to educator-learner relationships, for example in "recognizing learners as knowledge creators."[1]

Cutting across and woven into her concern with the practice of adult education is Miles' exposition of the "uniqueness" of women's challenge and she discusses this challenge in reference to four loosely connected areas:

> (1) the political significance of women claiming group membership and identifying their specific concerns, needs, and values;
>
> (2) the focus on gender as an analytic category which, if taken fully into account, would challenge adult education to question established (and artificially dichotomized) ways of thinking;
>
> (3) the development of "new epistemologies" which have arisen out of women's conscious reflection on and (re)naming of their experiences as women;
>
> (4) feminist practice (specifically that of the women's movement) which, she argues, realizes more fully the ideals and principles of critical education.[2]

The challenge to adult education, then, is to recognize and acknowledge the alternative insights, analyses and methods of the women's movement, in particular by the incorporation of "the female point of view", a challenge which covers politics, epistemology and political and educational practice.[3]

My critical response is difficult because I agree with much of what Angela Miles has to say. For example, it seems inevitable that sooner or later adult education and adult educators will have to come to terms with the number of women in the field (be they students or practitioners) if only because, given the present devaluation of the "feminine", the increased numbers of females in adult education will inevitably affect its reception both inside and outside the academy. I would also agree that among the things feminism has to offer adult education are its questioning of the universality and representativeness of the Western intellectual tradition, including much of the social and political theory that informs social movement thought and its elaboration of a variety of theories of gender. As Seyla Benhabib notes:

> "Gender" is to feminist theory what "class" and production" were to traditional Marxism and what "the unconscious" and "repression" are to psychoanalysis. Gender defines a problem horizon that sensitizes us to a certain kind of difference. To adopt gender as an analytical category means to focus on the social and cultural construction of sexual difference ... [which]

> ... serves in turn as a constitutive element of all social and political relationships.[4]

If adult education were to give greater credence to gender and gender issues it would effect at least a minimal broadening of its present horizons, making the field more inclusive.[5]

A third area in which we agree is that there is something the women's movement has to offer adult education, although I would not relate this to the practice of the women's movement to the same extent as does Angela Miles.

Several social theorists outside feminism agree that the women's movement is in some way unique. Brian Fay, for example, suggests not only that the women's movement provides a strong example for those who believe social change can occur in an educative fashion, but further notes that its greatest contribution is

> ... that it teaches the mistake ... of thinking that social revolutions must be conducted by a monolithic and homogeneous group, kept that way by a center which ensures that the 'correct' ideological line is followed.[6]

Similarly, the critical social theorist Jurgen Habermas points to the women's movement as the only one of the "new" social movements which, through political activism designed actively to appropriate new territory, retains links to historic liberation movements and to a universalist morality.[7] At this point, however, some differences between Miles and myself have already begun to emerge and it should be obvious that these differences lie not so much in the *what* we emphasize as in the *why* we emphasize what we do. Briefly, I suspect our different feminisms offer different explanations and justifications which would affect our arguments as to why adult education *should* note women's challenge. It is to the question of these differences I will now proceed.

I will simply list rather than analyze the questions I have. The first of these questions is around the issue of women's challenge to adult education by virtue of numbers alone.[8] This type of statement can only be made if women are substantially different from men, and in a position of sufficient influence for their differences to effect change. A second disagreement was with Miles' statement that when women

> ... teach women as women they are teaching members of their own group with a potentially closer relationship to the

> learners, than is generally possible for educators/organizers/facilitators.[9]

Here, I was confused as to why the identity (or at least shared sex/gender) between educator and learner should make any necessary difference. I wondered if Miles would want to make a similar argument about men teaching men, which in turn led me to ask whether it was the issue of sex/gender identity between educator/learner that was important or whether it was which sex/gender one inhabited. In turn, I was partly drawn to think this way because I could not see how saying that people feel more comfortable with other people of the same sex — a possible "common sense" reading of the statement — was significant for her argument.

In addition to these two specific questions, I was also somewhat dubious about both the extent to which first and third world feminists have achieved "genuinely equal, reciprocal and supportive relationships" and how, precisely, the "articulation of a political ground for education" had enabled this.[10] Given the extent of criticism of mainstream feminism by women of colour, I was again led to wonder if it was not so much the political ground as *who* inhabited it that was important for the argument.

These questions were made more pressing by the series of textual elisions or the conflation between the challenges of women, the challenge of feminism, and the challenge of the women's movement, all three of which are in turn modified by the term "unique." Not all women are feminists, not all feminists are part of a women's movement, and the women's movement itself is split into at least two factions (the more radical social change version that Angela Miles presents, and a neo-conservative feminist movement that still adheres to a more traditionalist conception of the family and of women's roles). I was again forced to ask what might make it possible to connect the three challenges.

A possible answer lies in what I take to be the basis of Miles' argument, the notion of women's experience. What makes the article problematic is that this notion is theorized insufficiently in the text for the connections it provides to be accessible easily to an audience not acquainted with feminist discourse. Now, as I see it, the approach to experience offered in the text veers somewhat between two perspectives: a *culturalist* approach which suggests that the basis for women's different and distinctive experience lies in sexual difference, and a *standpoint* approach which suggests that women's experience is socially constructed, although still different.[11]

My reason for suggesting that there is a culturalist element to her argument is derived primarily from Miles' closing references to "the female point of view and experience."[12] To me, the term female suggests a sexual as much as a social division between men and women, although this is not the only interpretation.

On the whole, however, I would classify the overarching theoretical framework of Miles' article as more in tune with standpoint feminism. With this approach, to the extent that all women are subject to a sex/gender system which construes and represents them as feminine, they can then be said to be a class and share a common identity. In turn, to the extent that the socio-cultural transformation of sex (male and female) into gender (masculinity and femininity) asymmetrically assigns meaning, powers and properties to men and women, it can also be understood to be linked to the social organization of inequality, thus providing the impetus for many of the activities of the (social change) women's movement. The idea that, for whatever reason, women's experience is central to their forming a class allows Miles to talk interchangeably about women, feminism, and the women's movement. In something of a hermetic circle, women are seen as the subject and object of feminism and of the women's movement and, in turn, the latter is seen as derivative of women's experience.

I suspect that one of the main reasons this standpoint approach has been taken is because Miles sees it as vital to hold onto feminism as an emancipatory theory, one based in a critical theory of gender. In order to do this it is necessary to suggest that women can form a specific and defined political constituency. This argument necessitates focussing on what women hold in common. Unfortunately, there are some problems with this approach, problems which have been highlighted in the postmodern confrontation with the discourses of modernity, including emancipatory social and political discourses such as feminism. Without going into great detail it might be worth noting some aspects of this postmodern debate here, particularly as it relates to experience and identity.

Summed up very briefly, in contrast to humanist discourse which suggests a fairly static or essentialized view of humanity, postmodernism sees what it terms "the subject" as socially produced in language. Drawing on both Althusser's notion of interpellation and on a view of language common to structural and post-structural linguistics, postmodernism views the subject as "decentered." In contrast to humanism — and to the approach implicit in Angela Miles' argument — identity does not follow unproblematically from experience. The decentering of the subject suggests that identity is in flux, historically mutable, and contradictory as it shifts with the variety of discourses that call people to identify with various subject positions.[13]

Another aspect to note about postmodernism is the idea that power functions by tying people to certain subject positions. Although people may choose to focus on any one of these, for example their gender, their lives cannot be reduced to any one category. As both subject to and subject of discourses, human activity is structured by and (re)produces multiple sets of power relationships.[14]

The implications of this postmodernist type of approach for arguments such as Miles' should be apparent: given that gender is always cut across by other discourses (say of race or class) are not the differences amongst women at least as significant as the differences between men and women? Is it therefore possible to suggest an unproblematic relation between experience of gender and women's identity as women which will then serve as the basis for a political movement? As Delmar notes:

> The employment of psychoanalysis and critical theory to question the unity of the subject, to emphasize the fragmented subject, is potentially subversive of any view which asserts a 'central' organizing principle ... To deconstruct the subject 'woman,' to question whether 'woman' is a coherent identity is also to imply the question of whether 'woman' is a coherent political identity, and therefore whether women can unite politically, culturally, and socially as 'women' for other than very specific reasons. It raises questions about the feminist project at a very fundamental level.[15]

If there is no such thing as 'woman,' how can there be such as thing as women's challenge to adult education? If women's experience is split, fractured, what about it is sufficiently common to all women to such an extent that Angela Miles can talk about the unique challenge of women, of feminism and of the women's movement?

While postmodern critique obviously renders more complex the relations between identity and experience, the insights it affords are not totally negative. Even taking into account postmodern scepticism, there are areas where postmodern and other feminists can come to agreement. For example, the valorization of women's experience can be viewed as a tactical necessity not only because feminism and the women's movement seek something unique on which to base their claims, but also because the claim to identity derived from experience is a radical gesture itself.[16] Similarly, the notion of 'woman' provides a useful political category, even if it is one that in the end is found theoretically empty, as Julia Kristeva suggests.[17] More than this, as the women's movement has struggled for control of means of interpretation and communication sufficient for social and political participation on a more equal basis, and to the extent it has during this struggle reinterpreted needs and constituted a revisioned vocabulary with which to express and contest those needs, then the women's movement can itself be said to be reconstituting 'women' in social and political discourse.[18] These suggestions modify, but do not in the end detract from women's challenge to adult education: adult education will have to come to terms with women, with feminism and with the insights from the women's movement. But this will mean that it has to come to terms with the historically mutable and changing forms of all three as they engage in redefining 'woman.'

Reference Notes

1. Angela Miles, "Women's Challenge to Adult Education," *Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education* 3 (May 1989):3.

2. Ibid., 3-5.

3. Ibid., 7.

4. Seyla Benhabib, "On Contemporary Feminist Theory," *Dissent* 36 (3):367-78.

5. This point is also raised by Angela Miles.

6. Brian Fay, *Critical Social Science* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), 115.

7. Nancy Fraser, "What's Critical About Critical Theory?: The Case of Habermas and Gender," in *Feminism as Critique*, ed. S. Benhabib and D. Cornell (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 49.

8. Miles, "Women's Challenge to Adult Education," 1.

9. Ibid., 3-4.

10. Ibid., 6.

11. I realize that this is a gross oversimplification of the positions involved.

12. Miles, "Women's Challenge to Adult Education," 11.

13. C. Weedon, *Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987). See also Susan Collard and M. Law, "Universal Abandon: Postmodernity, Politics and Adult Education," *Proceedings of the 1990 Adult Education Research Conference* (forthcoming).

14. This discussion is drawn mostly from the work of Michel Foucault, rather than from other authors generally considered postmodern. See Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction* I (New York: Vintage Books) and Michel Foucault, "The Subject and Power," *Critical Inquiry* 8 (Summer 1982) 777-795.

15. Rosalind Delmar, "What Is Feminism?," in *What is Feminism: A Re-Examination*, ed. J. Mitchell and A. Oakley (New York: Pantheon Books) 10.

16. This point is also made by Angela Miles.

17. J. Kristeva, "Woman Can Never Be Defined," in *New French Feminisms*, ed. E. Marks and I. deCourtivron (New York: Schocken Books) 137.

18. This discussion is drawn mostly from the work of Nancy Fraser. See "What's Critical About Critical Theory?", 53 and Nancy Fraser, *Unruly Practices* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989) 172.

A Letter to the Editor: A Response to Miles on the Limits of Feminism

John R. Minnis
University of Manitoba

Angela Miles' article, "Women's Challenge to Adult Education" (May, 1989) reflects a rather one-sided view of the virtues and accomplishments of feminism. Arguing that feminism and the women's movement offer a guiding philosophy for present and future practice in adult education, Miles makes some bold assertions both about the virtues of feminist ideology and the desirability of imposing a feminist world view on adult education theory and practice.

For Miles, and presumably for other committed feminist adult educators, the marriage between adult education and feminism has so far been a relatively uncomplicated one. Because a social activist stance has improved the lot of women, Miles argues, so can social activism improve the lot of adults in their education generally. This is a somewhat dubious claim in so far as one might place equal validity in the competing proposition that if there have been substantial improvements to women's (and men's) lives over the past fifty years or so, it is not so much a result of rising levels of educational attainment or social activism as it is a result of economic progress and the consequent emergence of a post-industrial, relatively affluent, middle-class society. One might well propose that all the feminism of the past century has not done as much to increase women's choices as has the invention of the washing machine. [Lest this last point be viewed as sexist, it should be pointed out that "sexist" is a key feminist buzzword and a leading weapon in the feminist rhetorical arsenal for belittling, besmirching, and befuddling their "enemies"—traditional society and men. For feminists, sexism is a system which oppresses women in order to preserve the hegemony of men—what feminists believe is the essential principle of human history. In other words, "sexist" is a pejorative way of saying "gendered." Since it is men who are held to be oppressing women, sexism also equals male chauvinism. Women are therefore rarely accused of being "sexist," for who would accuse blacks of being racist? But men are almost invariably sexists.]

It is hard to quibble with the fundamental decency of Miles' social activist impulse, or to deny that social activism whether it emanates from adult educators or the helping professions generally has not accomplished significant good in many areas. However, if we are to embrace feminism, surely we should not do so uncritically. Beside its real accomplishments must be placed the limitations and failures of feminism. Only a balanced view will produce the kind of outcome Miles envisions. A good starting point is to outline what I deem to be feminism's accomplishments followed by a brief discussion of paradoxes and contradictions inherent in feminist thinking.

Feminists have played a major role in opening doors to women in employment, education and sports as well as providing a guiding philosophy to many women in their prolonged and bruising penetration of the corporate and academic worlds. Feminism has provided a supporting framework to sustain many women through a difficult period of uncertainty regarding their sex roles. Feminists formed an important part of the Canadian constituency for abortion rights from the sixties onward. They are in large part responsible for the attention focussed on the crime of rape and the underlying misogynist attitudes of men. They have thrown the spotlight on the syndrome of battered women. They have relentlessly hammered home the inadequacy of all intellectual disciplines that fail to take into account a female point of view. History, sociology, anthropology, psychology and other academic areas will never be quite the same.

These and other positive changes and viewpoints brought about by feminism have had a generally beneficial if not disquieting effect on both men and women. However, as with all social movements, there is a degree of ambiguity surrounding feminism's achievements. This awareness is brought home when one rereads, for example, Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* a generation later. One realizes how thoroughly feminism has replaced the feminine mystique with a mystique of its own in all the areas Friedan examined, such as education, psychology, advertising, and journalism.

Unfortunately, feminism, despite its more widespread acceptance throughout society, still embraces only a small corner of the human experience as an intellectual approach. And it is this distinction, that is, between feminism as a politically inspired social movement and feminism as ideology and as an intellectual approach, which needs to be sorted out by adult educators before they take Miles' recommendations seriously. I would argue that to enlist feminism in the cause of social change is misguided for a number of reasons.

First, all ideologies are vehicles for attaining power, but how much is actually changed in society once power has been attained by the upholders of the ideology has historically depended upon a great many factors. Indeed, the question of what does or does not count as a change in the status quo has itself become an issue of ideological dispute. By assuming a social activist stance, Miles is asking adult educators to confront the status quo head on. This in itself is a somewhat paradoxical request given the fact that feminists themselves have from time to time expressed dissatisfaction with the outcomes and gains women have made over the past twenty years or so, particularly in the areas of employment, pay equity and so on. It seems that the "status quo" is ever-changing and illusory.

Why, then, should adult educators follow in the footsteps of the feminists? No doubt one of the paramount reasons for feminism's single-minded attack on the status quo is the desire for absolute equality between the sexes. Feminists have demonstrated that they will not rest until both sexes are equally represented in all occupations. Feminist concern with equality coupled with their goal to achieve a genderless society rests on the assumption that the sexes are inherently alike in everything. If the sexes are not doing all of the same things with the same frequency, it is believed that some injustice must be at work to cause this disparity. The feminist devaluation of everything feminine encourages women to believe that all things worth having in this world are possessed by men—aggressive personalities, prestigious jobs, and freedom from childcare. The feminist goal of remaking society in their own image suggests a level of state intervention irreconcilable with the respect for human liberty that is basic to adult education practice. I would think the prospect of increased state involvement in adult education would be of concern to many adult educators for whom local initiative and voluntarism are paramount.

The inherent radicalism of feminism, implicit in Miles' article, is decidedly out of step with the views and aspirations of many contemporary women despite the impression given by feminists to the contrary. It is questionable to what extent organized political feminism speaks for women or for progress. Rather, it may be that feminism today reflects the views of an embittered minority which has since forfeited the respect of the "transitional" generation of its parents and has now lost the pulse of the rising generation.

Another aspect of feminism which would make it difficult to accept as a guiding philosophy for adult educators is that feminists have a way of making all relations with men difficult and good relations virtually impossible. How can an ideology which purports to blame men for women's oppression expect to win the trust and acceptance of men? Feminists have the delightful capacity to find oppression where the generality of humankind finds only an accepted condition of things. Thus, Kate Millett, in her book *Sexual Politics*, for whom the oppressive system is called "patriarchy," takes the view, "that those who do not know that they are oppressed have been deeply conditioned by society." "It is interesting," she remarks, "that many women do not recognize themselves as discriminated against; no better proof could be found of the totality of their conditioning." A better proof than this, ought certainly to be found, since the conclusion of the argument is taken for granted in the premises, and we thus have a *petito principii*, a fallacy commonly committed in the service of a dogmatism. Dogmatism is necessary in feminist discourse since there is only one correct way of construing a human situation. The same could be said, of course, for other ideologies.

This view of blaming men, whether explicitly stated or not, is a guiding feminist tenet, and has forced feminists into denying the most obvious facts of human biology and psychology. It has the potential to generate female chauvinism and hate-mongering as seen in the movie *The Color Purple* in which tearing a newborn baby from its mother's arms is depicted as typical, everyday male behaviour. Not only is the feminist perspective anti-male, it also devalues female experience by denying the authenticity of women's experience under "patriarchy," that is, before the "Feminist Era."

While Miles extols the "new knowledge" revealed by feminist psychologists and is eager to integrate this knowledge into the adult education curriculum and the teaching-learning process, she ignores the fact that feminism is a failure as an explanation for male psychology and behaviour. Adult educators must ask to what extent feminist psychology is appropriate for men given its anti-male orientation. Freed from the check of men's input—just as misogynists in past centuries spouted their nonsense without fear of women's objections—feminist psychologists have arrived at a view of men and masculinity that almost parallels the worst misogyny of past centuries. The qualities feminists input to themselves are perversely reflected in their descriptions of men. Readers familiar with the work of Carol Gilligan and Nancy Chodorow, to name only two prominent feminists, will recognize how each female attribute is treated as a virtue and is counterbalanced by an equal number of male attributes treated as vices: cooperation by competition; connectedness by separateness; pacifism by aggression, intuition by logic; until finally the feminist lexicon reads like a mirror image of the very prejudice against which it allegedly detests.

Instead of arguing for a recognition of the centrality of both masculinity and femininity to the human experience, feminist psychologists insist on extolling the virtues of the latter at the expense of the former. This anti-masculine perspective can hardly be expected to hold much appeal for males who, after all, make up the other half of the human race. The considerable challenges facing adult education cannot be undertaken unless men and women, working together, recognize that humanity cannot be understood in terms of either sex alone.

It is hoped that even the most enlightened kind of feminism, such as that expressed by Miles, will prove itself capable of providing a balanced understanding of gender issues. For the moment, however, one must remain sceptical for even if it is able to better reflect women's point of view, feminism will likely continue to attach secondary importance to the male point of view. One wonders how such an ideology can be so construed as to appear compatible with the education of adults.

The Editors invite articles or letters from readers in response to articles or letters contained within the journal.

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BOOK REVIEWS/RECENSIONS

WHY EDUCATION IN THE LATER YEARS

Louis Lowy and Darlene O'Connor. 1986. Lexington Books.

In the introduction to *Why Education in the Later Years* Louis Lowy and Darlene O'Connor propose that education be viewed "as part of the broader field of social welfare" because basic needs should be met through a large variety of mechanisms. Education is one of those essential mechanisms. Elderly people also need those mechanisms, including education. Society has then the responsibility to look after the satisfaction of those needs. Unfortunately, "colleges and universities," say the authors, "have been the slowest to respond to the educational needs of older learners." (p. xv)

Part I, "Foundations of Educational Gerontology," introduces the reader to different points of view regarding adult education. The authors inform us that a very important evolution has taken place in our society. Formerly, adult education was seen as a "frill, a dubious waste of scarce societal resources on people who had little, if any, ability to do productive work..." (p. 5) Now it is widely considered as a "continuous process of lifelong learning." The first part of the book is important for those who want to establish, seriously, in their own milieu, a positive respect for the education of adults who want to engage in lifelong learning.

Part II, "The State of Education for People in the Later Years," reminds the reader of things she or he already knows, for instance, data on demographic changes are introduced. The most important chapter in Part II (Chapter 5) talks of the transformation of education by older adults. The reader, in my opinion, will expect more than what is said here. The authors start with the traditional but futile debate on pedagogy versus andragogy. Too much emphasis is put on that question. Most of us know what Knowles has said about this dichotomy as well as the dead ends of this debate. What we would like to hear is what adult learners could do with their possibilities, their experiences, their lives, to transform education. In this lies the major question of the book. How to transform education so that each learner, whatever her or his age, social condition, various and numerous experiences, can grow, develop and finally become a "fully functioning person." Too little is said on this fundamental question.

Much more should have been written about the expressive, contemplative and transcendental needs of older adults — a theme introduced briefly by the authors. It is only through meeting these needs that education for adults and for children too, can be transformed, modified and adapted. The reader should be made more aware of the means to transform an educational system that cares more for the needs of the system than those of the person. The concept of "humanagogy," taken from Knudson, is briefly presented by the authors. It would have been interesting to hear more about this neologism because we do need a "unifying concept" that can enlarge our conception of education.

Part III, "Why Invest in Education in the Later Years?" shows that modern society has much to gain if serious effort is made to invest more in education for older people. Of course, many social agents are necessary to make education for older adults a high priority. Chapter 8 proposes a humanistic philosophy of education which merges the instrumental and expressive dimensions of education. This, in my opinion, is the most interesting chapter. But I believe that the authors should have argued more insistently for the merging of these two major types of education. In fact, this merging is essential for any human being. Too often, though, the educational system does not want to go very far in encouraging expressive learning. I also believe that older people would feel more comfortable when retiring if they had been better prepared for expressive education. Unfortunately, this is not usually the case. This chapter could have shown how our educational system could be reoriented to accomplish this.

On the whole, this is a very interesting work, very well documented, and well constructed. Adult educators will enjoy it. Above all, it should be read by our politicians and by those who now rigidly control educational funding. They would learn that it is not useless to invest in education for those in their later years.

René Bédard
University of Ottawa

ADULT EDUCATION AND PHENOMENOLOGICAL RESEARCH, THEORY AND PRACTICE

Sherman Stanage. 1987. Malabar, Florida: Robert E. Krieger.

In an area of study as large and diverse as adult education, a perspective that so clearly positions the understanding of what it is to be a person at the heart of its subject matter is a welcome clarification. Stanage argues that phenomenological research permits us to come to a greater consciousness of ourselves in a way not afforded to us in adult education activities that turn authority over to the principal textbooks and course content. But in spite of the clear positioning of the "vital lives of individually unique adults" at the centre of adult education, Stanage's methodology raises major questions and leads to untenable conclusions about adult education.

Central to Stanage's phenomenology is the notion of *person* as distinct from person. "*Person* is the full eduction (drawing forth) of what persons are and have in common; it makes possible communication on the basis of intersubjectivity with the co-existence of person." (p. 37) This topic, "the eduction of *person*," is alternately described as both the observation and the participation in one's consciousing. Although it makes for awkward wording at times, Stanage's precise use of language distinguishes the active experience of consciousing from the state of being conscious or possessing consciousness. The eduction of *person*, as one of the central underpinnings of the book, explains how we may engage in and investigate the phenomena of our own eduction. It is through feeling, experiencing and consciousing, that we come to know our life-world.

Stanage explains that the eductions or leading out of *persons* are the consciousing of the phenomena of doing. An exploration of the phenomena that constitute our lives, such as intuiting, describing, and relating, underlies interpretation of meaning and "the end result is that we do come to know better and better." To investigate the subject matter of adult education — that is, the adult education of *person* — the choice, according to Stanage, is between either the more traditional quantitative methods or phenomenological methodology.

One of the highlights of the book is the discussion of a philosophical ground for adult education. Stanage states that adult education can claim a place as a "rigorous human science" with the phenomenological investigation of the eduction of *person* as its subject matter. Furthermore, adult education is not a discipline in the sense of the physical or social sciences because its subject matter is not a "carefully circumscribed branch of knowledge or instruction." I think that this philosophical distinction between adult education and the sciences is a very important one. The distinction will provide, along with some debate, a useful grounding upon which to orient future directions for adult education as well as to understand better what others in the field have already been doing.

Rather than a specific body of knowledge, adult education is concerned instead with the problems and media in which adults are situated. The impossibility of classifying and accounting for all the situations in which adults find themselves, however, does not stop the proliferation of "how-to-do-it" approaches of many adult educators (p. 99). Without an appreciation of the person-centredness of adult education, these "how-to-do-it" approaches take as their centre the authority of the manual or principal text. Relegated to secondary importance are the "vital lives of individually unique adults." The meaning that any of this subject-centred instruction has for anyone, including the educator, is often of no importance.

In the adult eduction of person described by Stanage. the emphasis on leading oneself out into a consciousing state is what I would describe as a detour that runs the risk of never getting back on the road again. The question implied in "What am I to do?" is not satisfactorily answered by a large accumulation of self-knowledge, even if the process used to gather the data is a dynamic one. The implication is that by accumulating knowledge of ourselves, we can, after some critical mass has been reached, move toward meaning, understanding and action. But it is never quite clear just how much data collection is necessary before one takes action on the conclusions.

The phenomenological investigation, while it makes no claim to being objective, does not escape the dangers of reductionism. Phenomenology brackets all experience of its constituent parts. From this position such things as relevancy and meaning may then be reconstituted. The problem with any analytical system is that if one part is missing in the reconstitution, then the original cannot be truly represented. There remains only an impaired system for want of the missing part(s), or a description of what the system would look like and how it would behave or act if it were operating in its completeness. This problem of the analysis of experience is not overcome by the phenomenological investigation of person by person.

Stanage has prepared wonderfully elaborate schema to describe the essential structures and functions of person composed of nine constituting clusters of phenomena including "consciousings, experiencings and feelings." (p. 8) The problem is that Stanage's schema of a highly personalized, reflexive, internalized search for self does not necessarily result in practice. Does self-knowledge gained through reflection promote anything more than theory or knowledge of the right action that we may adopt if we choose to do so? Although we may be able to answer "What am I to do?", merely possessing knowledge of the answer may never be sufficient for putting oneself into practice and doing it.

"Appendix II" is the course syllabus of the seminar "Phenomenology and Adult Education" conducted by Stanage. In many ways the book appears to be a conclusion of some issues arising from the seminar, as the book references authors on the reading list and contains samples of student work. Although the reader may benefit from the reading assignments, the book does not give instructions on how-to-do phenomenology in step-by-step detail, probably because such instructions are even more impossible than for most other important activities such as walking, drinking water, or riding a bicycle.

At one point Stanage asks whether the "matrices of relationships" by which adults order their lives are causal. This pertinent question encourages the reader to wonder whether self-reflection according to Stanage's matrix of feelings, experiencings, consciousings, and other actions, accounts in a causal fashion for the ordering of one's life. This method gives the impression that by accumulating knowledge of ourselves we can, after sufficient self-reflection, move toward meaning, understanding, and action. Stanage's activities with his students may have led them to an ordering and understanding of themselves. But I wonder about his methodological need for an underlying theory, schema, essence and the presumption that students can observe the backstage activities in the drama that constitutes their lives. The suggestion that such a methodology is necessary or even possible obscures the understanding that, as in a drama, people's lives are lived out as players on the main stage.

The phenomenological methodology that emphasises self-reflexivity as a way of knowing obscures the understanding of ourselves as intersubjective beings. The lasting impression is that as human beings and learners, our eductions are accomplished by ourselves. I think that the focus on self and the experiencing of consciousness can leave us isolated and stranded before one of the important questions raised in the book, "What am I to do?"

Carol Schick
University of Saskatchewan

WOMEN'S WAYS OF KNOWING: THE DEVELOPMENT OF SELF, VOICE AND MIND

M.F. Belenky, B.M. Clinchy, N.R.Goldberger and J.M. Tarule. 1986. New York: Basic Books.

Make no bones about it! This book is about power. Hence it will be of interest to those adult educators who have come to understand that epistemological questions like: what is truth? what is reality? what is authority? to whom do I listen? are not just questions for philosophers but ones which have profound consequences for empowerment. For those adult educators who have not yet read this book, a treat is in store. Unlike many books about adult learning, this one is not boring for it breathes and palpitates with life. Readers seldom feel indifferent about it. Any book that has excited so many adult education students (largely female) while being criticized largely on methodological grounds or ignored by academic adult educators (largely male) must have something interesting to say!

Readers either seem to "put themselves in the shoes of the women," or to criticize the work vigorously for its methodology or it lack of power analysis. In other words, those in academic life respond in one of two predictable ways: by a "connected" way of knowing, or by a "separated" way of knowing. Both are objective ways of knowing which the authors identify as aspects of procedural knowing. Neither one of these ways of knowing, however, accounts for that gnawing sense of truth which the subjective selves of many feel ("yes, this is the real cheese!") with the first reading of the book before being pressed into giving a more objective analysis.

What is this study all about? The authors interviewed 135 women; 90 were students enroled in one of six academic institutions ranging from a prestigious women's college to inner city community colleges and an alternative high school. They also interviewed 45 women from family agencies that were concerned about assistance in parenting roles. A kind of content analysis was done by the coders who were "blind" as to the women's ages, ethnicity, social class and institutional affiliation. Building on the work of William Perry, the authors grouped women's perspectives on knowing into five major epistemological categories. While they believe that these five categories could also be found in men's thinking, they did not also claim (as have many male researchers in their work done exclusively on male subjects) that their findings necessarily represented "ways of knowing" of both genders. The main finding of the authors centres around the importance of relationships (and caring and a sense of community) in the context of the five ways of knowing which they identified.

What are these "Women's Ways of Knowing?" The authors identified five ways of knowing:

(1) Silence. This is a position in which women experience themselves as mindless and voiceless and subject to the whim of external authority.

(2) Received Knowledge. With this perspective women view themselves as capable of receiving and even reproducing knowledge from the all-knowing external authorities but not capable of creating knowledge on their own.

(3) Subjective Knowledge. This is a perspective from which truth and knowledge are conceived of as personal, private and subjectively known or intuited.

(4) Procedural Knowledge. This is a position in which women are invested in learning and applying objective procedures for obtaining and communicating knowledge. This kind of knowledge may involve two kinds: (a) Separate knowing, in which the knower learns to take "the devil's advocate" approach, and (b) Connected knowing, in which the learner learns to "get inside the shoes of the other."

(5) Constructed Knowledge. With this position, women view all knowledge as contextual, experience themselves as creators of knowledge, and value both subjective and objective strategies for knowing.

Earlier works by authors such as Carol Gilligan and Nancy Chodorow also pointed to different ways of knowing for women: these, too, were based on the importance of relationships and of caring. The authors of Women's Ways of Knowing make a distinction between understanding and knowledge and imply that both are necessary for knowing. While knowledge implies separation from the object and mastery over it, understanding requires intimacy and equality between the self and the object because the orientation is toward relationships. While both understanding and knowledge are important, our academic institutions presumably are weak on providing an educational context promoting learning through understanding. Implied by the authors of this book seems to be the view that institutions do not cater to women's learning needs which are relational in nature. But the question then arises from all of these works, but especially from the present book, as to why women in their development are more concerned with relational learning than men?

What are the criticisms of this book? The attempts to address why women appear more interested in relational kinds of learning is the weakest aspect of the book but a very crucial one. Despite the authors' claims to the contrary, the five ways of knowing do seem to represent a developmental hierarchy: a kind of hierarchy of epistemological stances ranging from "silence" to "constructed knowledge" seems implied. The story the book tells is one about women who move from more limited positions to less limited ones, although it is clear that this development is not linear nor do all women run the full course.

Is this really "adult development" we are witnessing or are we seeing adaptations of the women to socio-economic class, a suggestion also posed earlier by Sharan Merriam (1988)? From a sociological perspective, Alison Wylie (1988), has claimed that the more limited forms of knowing — silence, received knowledge and subjectivism — may be adaptative stances for those knowers whose background was described by the authors as "deprived" in various ways. Constructivist knowers, by contrast, are depicted in the book as freer and more autonomous, having been about to overcome the limits which constrained the other knowers. And this, of course, is where lurking beneath the surface of the text, but never confronted by the authors, is what has been called the sub-text of power. If silence and received knowledge are adaptations to situations of powerlessness, the constructed knowing may be an adaptation to a position of privilege. Thus, constructed knowledge is as context-bound as the others but the context is different: constructed knowledge is the epistemological strategy adopted by the advantaged in an unequal world. Thus when the authors claim that "constructed knowledge" is the best, we may well ask, the best for whom?

The hierarchy which one senses exists in this work thus may not be due to adult development sequencing from self-actualization or growth as many of us might hope, but rather is due to class differences, a situation with which those adult educators steeped in a psychological and humanistic tradition undoubtedly will feel uncomfortable about acknowledging or addressing. If such differences are really class differences, and if persons have adaptative stances to their particular "way of knowing," then for adult educators to try to remove those adaptations without also addressing the underlying power inequities which made the adaptation necessary would seem to have ethical considerations for our practices. (There is also the complication that such adaptations as silence can themselves be powerful tools of resistance under circumstances such as interrogation when silence may be a strength rather than a weakness.)

But if there is indeed a hierarchical sense of empowerment based upon socio-economic class, how does one explain two phenomena? First, while most female readers would locate themselves somewhere between the fourth and fifth ways of knowing, many also report feeling that at some times they have been silenced or capable only of received knowledge. Secondly, even constructivist knowers, according to the authors, combine a blend of stability tempered by a residual openness which suggests a combination of power and powerlessness. At first glance, such descriptions by the women in which either of these phenomena are reported would seem to discount the presence of a hierarchy based on power.

A classist and feminist explanation of these two phenomena, however, is that while constructivist knowers are high on the ladder of privilege, as women they are not top dogs and hence a distinctive mix of power and powerlessness can be seen among constructivist women. Thus, "a totally unified self would be unadaptative in a still fractured world which is the perennial condition of women in a patriarchal society." (Miller, 1988)

Thus, an analysis based upon social class and upon a feminist patriarchal model (an emphasis which is missing from the book), can yield important understandings and insights into the descriptive phenomena so beautifully displayed by the authors. Using a socialist feminist model, which values the influences of both class and patriarchy, one can understand the emphasis upon relationships and caring which dominates many women's cultures. While this focus may originate in socialization practices endorsed by a hierarchical society dependent upon females and others as subservient, the emphasis on caring and relationships may also be seen as a response to alienation and to a male world which excludes them and which thus often seems to the females as somewhat callous, cold, and careless.

This preoccupation of women for relational learning should be viewed as a major indicator of gender and class discrimination in our society. The phenomenon in which women and some men desire relational kinds of learning experiences and a sense of community can be viewed as evidence for societal bias. Consequently, both gender and class should be considered in understanding learning; and if gender is ignored which it often is when learning is discussed, then women's experiences are being undervalued and trivialized.

This book can be used as a means for teasing out the complexities of learning within a social context and in this respect should be a major resource for adult educators whose concern for learning has until recently been largely confined to cognitive and other psychological dimensions.

Catharine E. Warren
The University of Calgary

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Submissions address: Dr. Catharine Warren, Faculty of Continuing Education, The University of Calgary, 2500 University Drive N.W., Calgary, Alberta T2N 1N4

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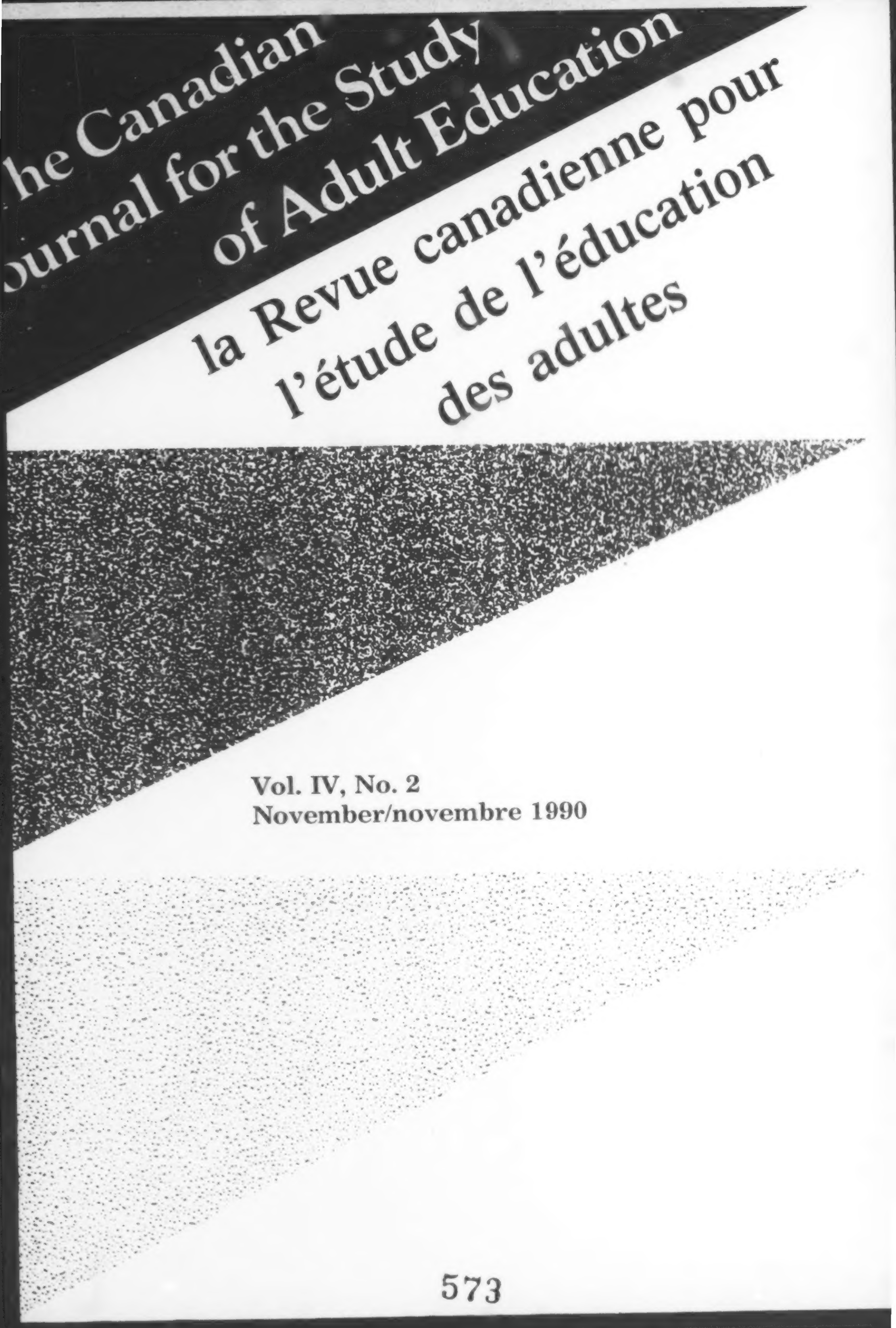

he Canadian
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CANADIAN JOURNAL FOR THE STUDY OF ADULT EDUCATION

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A FAREWELL TO MADELEINE

Our previous issue, Volume IV, Number 1, May/mai 1990 is the last one in which Madeleine Blais served as the Francophone editor. She retires with honor, leaving her post to Nicole Tremblay to continue her work.

We owe a great debt of gratitude to Madeleine for her efforts to make our Journal truly bilingual and of a high quality. Not only has she encouraged her colleagues to be active participants in writing for the Journal, done the refining and editing work, but has also kept an eagle eye on the translation process.

We thank you, Madeleine, on behalf of the growing number of readers of the Journal and those of us who have worked closely with you over the years.

NOS REMERCIEMENTS A MADELEINE

La présente édition de la Revue marque le départ de la professeure Madeleine Blais à titre de co-rédactrice francophone. Sa collègue Nicole A. Tremblay la remplace.

Nous désirons rendre un hommage à Madeleine pour les efforts qu'elle a consentis à rendre cette revue bililngue et à en faire une production de haute qualité. En plus d'avoir procédé à un recrutement actif d'articles auprès de ses collègues et d'avoir assumé les opérations que commandait la tâche éditoriale, elle s'est faite exceptionnellement attentive à tout ce qui touchait la traduction.

Nous vous remercions, Madeleine, au nom de nos lecteurs dont le nombre croît sans cesse et au nom de tous ceux qui, parmi nous, ont étroitement collaboré avec vous au cours de ces années.

THE CANADIAN JOURNAL FOR THE STUDY OF ADULT EDUCATION

LA REVUE CANADIENNE POUR L'ÉTUDE DE L'ÉDUCATION DES ADULTES

Vol. IV, No. 2, November/novembre 1990

Table of Contents/Table des Matières

Articles

Women as Learners: Issues for Visual and Virtual Classrooms
Elizabeth J. Burge 1

Activités d'apprentissage en enseignement à distance
André-Jacques Deschênes, Louise Bourdages
Céline Lebel et Bernard Michaud 25

Perspectives

Participatory Action Research as a Way of Life:
A Personal Account
Timothy Pyrch 47

Book Reviews/Recensions

Getting Ahead Collectively
Albert C. Hirschman
Reviewed by Luis Guajardo 63

The Organization and Planning of Adult Education
Theodore J. Kowalski
Reviewed by John R. Minnis 66

All Day, Every Day: Factory and Family in the Making of Women's Lives
Sallie Westwood
Reviewed by Louise Young 69

Graduate Degrees in Canada—Adult Education and Cognate Subjects/Diplôme d'études supérieures au Canada—éducation des adultes et sujets connexes 75

The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education/
la Revue canadienne pour l'étude de l'éducation des adultes
November/novembre 1990, Vol. IV, No. 2

ARTICLES

WOMEN AS LEARNERS: ISSUES FOR VISUAL AND VIRTUAL CLASSROOMS

Elizabeth J. Burge
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education

Abstract

This article uses three categories—Access and Retention, Learning Designs and Course Content—to produce a major summary of questions and issues facing women in distance and adult education. Distance education is defined with reasons for its popularity. The years 1974 - 1988 are examined in terms of writings about women in distance education; one major source for this summary is a published 1988 international collection edited by K. Faith; other sources are recent articles in distance and adult education journals and conference proceedings. Access and Retention, the first category of questions facing women distance educators is defined as the extent to which women are attracted to and are able to successfully enter courses and stay until course completion. Under-representation of women in courses and factors inhibiting women's enrolment are discussed. The second category, Learning Design, involves criteria for feminist classrooms in distance modes, grading, learner support, and genderization of technologies. The third category of questions is Course Content. The author maintains that "issues around untested assumptions, imagery, invisibility and epistemology are still as relevant for distance classrooms [virtual classrooms] as for the walled classroom [visual classrooms]."

Résumé

Cet article utilise trois catégories—l'accessibilité et la persévérance dans les études, l'élaboration d'activités d'apprentissage et les contenus de cours—pour fair un premier résumé d'importance sur les questions et les problèmes qui concernent les femmes en éducation à distance et en éducation des adultes. L'éducation à distance y est d'abord définie en tenant compte des raisons qui expliquent sa popularité. Les écrits sur les femmes et l'éducation à distance ont été recensés pour la période de 1974 à 1988. Une collection internationale (Faith, K. (Ed.); 1988) a constitué une référence majeure; d'autres écrits récents sur le sujet proviennent de revues et d'actes de congrès scientifiques. La première catégorie de questions (accessibilité et persévérance dans les études) examine jusqu'à quel point les femmes sont attirées par l'éducation à distance et epuvent y prendre des cours et les compléter avec succès. La sous-représentation des femmes et les facteurs qui nuisent à leur inscription font l'objet d'une discussion. La deuxième catégorie de questions (élaboration d'activités d'apprentissage) porte sur les critères à considérer dans l'organisation de classes féministes dans une modalité d'éducation à distance, sur la notation, sur le support à l'étudiante et sur lex sexisme et les technologies. La troisième catégorie de questions a trait aux contenus de cours. L'auteure affirme qui "les même problèmes de postulats non vérifiés, d'images stéréotypées, de non visibilité et d'épistémologie sont également présents dans les 'classes' d'éducation à distance (classes extra muros) que dans les classes conventionnelles (classes intra muros)".

> We don't simply want to make higher education a place where more women are more comfortable; we want to change the nature of what has previously constituted the disciplines so that we are in the content as well as in the institution, in the lecture as well as in the lecture theatre. Or in the case of distance education, in the text as well as in the armchair studying it. (Kirkup, 1988, pp. 287)

Introduction[1]

Gill Kirkup's summary (1988) of the goals for women distance educators is elegant and ambitious. The key problems she addresses—under-representation, marginalization, and inappropriate learning designs for women learners and educators—are comprehensive and demand some radical solutions if adult and higher education is to become more feminist. Women distance educators are beginning to discuss publicly the problems they face regarding women learners and share them with educators who work in classroom contexts. As distance education expands, it is developing closer links with the visual walled classrooms of adult education, and both contexts will have to deal with similar problems and issues concerning women as learners.

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[1] My appreciation goes to three people: Nathalie Griffon, whose invitation to me to speak at the 1989 CASAE/ACEEA conference in the TéleUniversité challenged me to this synthesis; Karlene Faith, whose support and critical insights helped keep that synthesis true to the intents of the writers; and Lynn Romero, who wove her way undauntedly through some near-illegible threads to produce the manuscript.

Distance Education

This article summarizes the problems and issues in the public discussions of distance education and invites readers to draw similarities to their walled classroom practice. Three categories are used to group the problems: access and retention; learning designs; and course content. Each category links to published work by feminist educators in visual classrooms and their writing provides a rich and useful background. But first we should be clear about two terms: distance education and feminist education.

Distance education can best be defined in terms of what it is not: it does use institutionally organized systems for learning and teaching, but it does not conduct that learning solely within time and place bound classrooms.

> Distance education is a global and rapidly growing phenomenon which offers formal learning opportunities to people who would not otherwise have access to schooling. Teachers and students are separated by physical distance, and the means by which they communicate range from basic print materials and the use of postal service to highly sophisticated communications technologies. (Faith, 1988a, pp. 5)

The increasing use of interactive real time and delayed time communications technologies such as audio and computer conferencing has dramatically improved the opportunity for adult learners to link up as independent groups, or with their tutors, course guests, librarians, administrative personnel and others. This increased capacity for interaction demands that learning designers create audio classrooms (telephone-based with graphic enhancement) and textual or virtual classrooms (computer conferencing) and integrate small group and whole class activities with individual study, and where feasible, some face-to-face meetings. This expansion of the repertoire of learning contexts within a single course is a major factor in the convergence between adult education and distance education (Smith & Kelly, 1987).

The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE) for example has used audio conferencing to link up students in structured off-campus classes across Northern Ontario since 1982, and has used computer conferencing since 1986. The University of Ottawa has used electronic blackboards since 1981. CJRT-FM Open College has used radio broadcasting for its primary delivery mode (supplemented by audio cassettes) since 1971. Other Canadian examples of innovative technologies abound (Stahmer, 1987), with a recent example of an extensive network of technologies being Contact North/Contact Nord across Northern Ontario (Contact North/Contact Nord, 1988/89).

Student numbers and courses are also increasing, but these students do not live exclusively in geographically isolated areas: significant numbers of them live in or close to urban areas (Spronk, 1988). The 1989 Canadian Association of University Continuing Education (CAUCE) handbook listed approximately 1870 courses delivered by distance and the 1989/90 Council of Ontario Universities calendar listed approximately 700 courses for Ontario. These figures relate only to the university sector; examples of other growing sectors are the Open College of the Open Learning Agency (OLA) in British Columbia and the provincial education departments running huge distance programs to help adults complete a high school diploma (McKinnon, 1989).

In summary, distance modes of learning are popular for a variety of reasons:

> Geographic distance from educational institutions is no longer the single motivation for entering a distance education programme. Adults whose employment demands and/or family responsibilities preclude school attendance make up a major share of distance education enrolments. People who prefer guided or tutored independent study to classroom attendance likewise

> turn to distance education programmes. However, as the papers in this volume attest, adult distance learners more often share the single fact of having enroled in a home study programme as the only or as the most viable option for advancing their education. And whereas in the past home study was perceived as inferior to "real" schooling, developments in recent decades of high-quality study materials, access to external library services, increasing sophistication in tutorial methods and myriad uses of technology have significantly advanced both the quality, we believe and the reputation, certainly, of distance education. Economy and flexibility continue to be the most obvious characteristics of home study, but this method is no longer assumed to be less effective than classroom learning.... (Faith, 1988a, pp. 6)

Feminist Education

While distance educators can indicate the advantages and quality of their methods and provide programs to complement those of visual classroom-based educators, each group is now aware of an important and additional perspective—the feminist perspective. What is feminist education? Its complex definition has three components: a definition of feminism, a correspondingly specific philosophical and theoretical framework, and certain principles for learning and teaching.

Essentially, feminism places a primary emphasis on the conditions of all women. It critically analyses the various forms of inequality, marginalization and oppression to which women are subjected as a result of their gender, race/ethnicity, and social class, and it also promotes strategies for change. Cheris Kramarae and Paula Treichler (1985) list many definitions that both reflect the long history of feminism and show that various forms of male domination affect all women, not just the economically or educationally disadvantaged. Elizabeth Minnich (1983) defines feminism by noting:

> Feminism has to do with a cast of mind: a way of thinking, and a movement of heart and spirit; a way of being and acting with and for others. The cast of mind is fundamentally one of critique; the movement of heart is toward friendship.... The cast of mind is one of

> critique, is critical in the technical sense. Feminist thought takes nothing as given or settled for all time. It accepts no truths as revealed and holds none to be directly reflective of what is "natural," and so unquestionable. It sees the prescription in apparently descriptive statements. It is radical: it seeks the roots. (Minnich, 1983, pp. 317-8)

Rosalind Delmar's definition hints at further problems of definition:

> Many would agree that at the very least a feminist is someone who holds that women suffer discrimination because of their sex, that they have specific needs which remain negated and unsatisfied and that the satisfaction of those needs would require a radical change in the social, economic and political order. But beyond that, things immediately become more complicated. (Delmar, 1986, pp. 8)

The complications to which Delmar refers really show up and have implications for feminist education in the second component of feminism: the specific philosophical and theoretical frameworks. Although Alison Jaggar and Paula Rothenberg (1984) explain how liberal, socialist and radical feminism -- the most widely used frameworks so far -- operate in various social systems, such as the family and the workplace, they do not include education as one of the systems! Each framework has its strengths and its limitations: the liberals' preoccupation with limits to civil freedoms and the achievement of economic and other equalities for women; the socialists' analyses of women's oppressions in terms of social class and capitalist-based patriarchy; and the radicals' belief that women's sexuality and physicality are primary sites of oppression, that women's (qua woman) oppression is even more fundamental than race or class oppression, and that radical changes are needed to social institutions, to the point of elimination of oppressive social systems, e.g., the nuclear family.

Personally, it is difficult to declare allegiance to a single framework without acknowledging the value of others. Angela Miles's approach, however, is attractive, albeit very ambitious, because it calls for an integrative framework. She draws on various authors to argue that integrative feminism is neither

> ...simply abandoning nor simply entering male-defined and male-dominated contexts...(rather, priority is placed) on autonomous feminist political organization and development as the core of feminist practice; (with) participation in male-dominated activities as equally necessary...beyond simple pressure for women's inclusion in the world to become a full politics concerned with transforming the world. (Miles, 1989, pp. 22, 19).

Can feminist educators transform their world? A major educational goal of feminists is "this process of constructing and validating our own knowledge" (Spender, 1980, pp. 17), and for one very good reason:

> While it has been only men who have decreed the standards of excellence, who have decided what is significant, relevant, appropriate and believable, then any knowledge which women have constructed that is in conflict with the male view, runs the risk of being classified as "inferior", even 'emotional' or 'peculiar'. This is why it is crucially important that women begin to create our own means for producing and validating knowledge which is consistent with our own personal experience. We need to formulate our own yardsticks for we are doomed to deviancy if we persist in measuring ourselves against the male standard. (Spender, 1980, pp. 17)

Setting criteria for Dale Spender's goals of feminist education demands some radical processes: challenging assumptions about what is worth knowing, refusing to use patriarchal definitions of "the educated person", creating women-based knowledge, dealing with systemic sexism and creating women-friendly environments for learning. Helen Lenskyj sums up the problems faced by feminist educators: they focus on how

> ...traditional male-dominated educational systems maintain existing gender, race and social class inequalities, by controlling the construction of knowledge and defining how knowledge should be transmitted. (Lenskyj, 1989, pp. 18)

Feminist educators recognize certain basic principles for approaching the content and process of learning and teaching. These principles form the third component of a feminist perspective and may be grouped thus:

Course content:

- Use feminist analyses to examine the lived experience of women, including their early socialization and schooling.
- Value the contributions made by women to the production of knowledge.
- Analyze the differences between received and objective knowledge and personal and subjective knowledge.
- Apply gender analyses to the production of "malestream" knowledge.
- Value and use the subjective experience of women and the special behaviours that are characteristics of women.

Learning Process:

- Encourage learners to use their own feelings, intuition and imagination as resources and strengths for learning.
- Strengthen cooperative and collaborative processes, as distinct from competitive and hierarchical ones.
- Work toward self empowerment and living with the new insights about the condition of women.
- Maintain a climate safe enough to encourage open questions and appropriate personal disclosures.

Teacher Behaviour:

- Encourage self empowerment and transformative learning
- Acknowledge the age, race, class and sexually related differences in women's experience, without denying areas of common experiences and oppression that cut across those differences.
- Help new and established feminist students to support each other.
- Handle with sensitivity the emotions that often arise as women begin to name covert and overt forms of misogyny, and develop their own strategies for dealing with oppression.
- Ensure that women students get equal attention and respect in classes involving women and men students.

More detailed clusters of principles and criteria for women-centred curricula have been produced more recently by Maggie Coats (1989) and Helen Lenskyj (1989). Coats's characteristics are grouped into six clusters: barriers, the use of subjective experience, gender analyses, group support, participative activities and course evaluation. Lenskyj asks her students to analyze material using feminist criteria that are grouped according to gender, race/ethnicity, social class, and sexuality.

Over the past decade or so, feminist educators working in visual classrooms have produced a significant record to illuminate the concept of feminist classrooms. General collections have sketched the scope of processes and contexts in women's learning (Cole, 1989; Minnich, O'Barr & Rosenfeld, 1988; Gaskell & McLaren, 1987; *Women's Studies Quarterly*, 1987; Culley & Portuges, 1985; Bunch and Pollack, 1983). Feminist epistemology has been explored and delineated (Minnich, O'Barr & Rosenfeld, 1988; Belenky et al. 1986; Spender, 1981; Smith, 1978), as have principles for feminist, and non-sexist research (Tomm, 1989; Eichler, 1987; Warren, 1987; Martin, 1986). Gender socialization and class issues have been analyzed (Weis, 1988; Weiler, 1988; Russell, 1986; Walker & Barton, 1983), and the impact of women's studies courses on conventional curricula discussed (de Wolfe, 1988; Raymond, 1985). Women's learning and feminist pedagogy issues have encouraged many analyses of practice (e.g., Gaskell, McLaren & Novogrodsky, 1989; Klein, 1987; Hooks, 1984; Spender & Sarah, 1988; Minnich, 1983; Thompson, 1983). Feminists of colour have explained the multiple oppressions for women of colour living in predominantly white societies, outlined the race-based divisions evident between feminists of all cultures and races, and developed feminist pedagogies for Black students (e.g., Hooks, 1988, 1984; Lee, 1985; Thornhill, 1983). The issue of whether to separate or integrate women's studies courses in relation to institutional curricula is becoming more contentious as feminist teachers debate its various aspects, e.g., the appropriateness of non-feminist men teaching women's studies courses and the use of feminist principles and processes in classrooms, regardless of the content of courses.

Feminist Distance Education

Can feminist distance educators build on their sisters' record and transform their own world? Certainly they do not yet have as extensive a record as their classroom based colleagues, despite formal distance education having a 150 year old history. For example a scan in 1987 of two major journals in distance education revealed that since 1974 and 1980, respectively, only six articles were concerned overtly with women. Relatively isolated but significant activity by pioneering educators, such as Ailsa Swarbrick is little more than a decade old (Swarbrick, 1978, 1980). Until 1982, international and national conference activity did not specifically acknowledge the large numbers of women distance learners nor the needs and concerns of women educators. The gender split at distance education conferences always revealed far fewer women than men delegates (Burge, 1988). The scene changed in 1982 at the 12th world conference of the International Council for Correspondence Education, now the International Council for Distance Education (ICDE). Women delegates (25% of the total) began to express their feelings of trivialization, marginalization and exclusion—as a result of various linguistic structures, vocabulary and behaviours indicative of sexism and unconscious assumptions of male power. From that conference developed the Women's International Network (WIN) of the ICDE. Its establishment and goals of support, networking and professional development were in tune with networks in other professional fields.

It was not until May 1988 that the first Canadian public discussion on gender in distance education was held, and not without expressions of doubt that the subject should even be discussed! Individual Canadian women distance educators were beginning to discuss various issues in the professional literature (e.g. Faith, 1988c; Faith & Coulter, 1988; Bray, 1988; Coulter, Delehanty & Spronk, 1983), as were peers elsewhere, e.g., Rowland (1982), but the issues remained fragmented and beyond the purview of "male-stream" discussion. Clearly there was a need to begin more comprehensive documentation: to share experiences, to confirm and celebrate achievements, to extrapolate across case studies, and to suggest research agendas.

Between 1985 and 1988, the first set of international descriptions and analyses was produced. *Toward New Horizons for Women in Distance Education: International Perspectives* (Faith, 1988b) raises significant questions in its analysis of institutional, societal, and educational problems relevant to women and girl learners. But so now do an increasing number of published articles and conference papers. It is appropriate, therefore, to now integrate those questions and problems, not only for those in the virtual classrooms of distance education, but also for those working in visual classrooms because issues of how women and girls learn are not necessarily distinguished by delivery format. Also we can expect that adult learners increasingly will use a variety of delivery formats throughout their lives. The questions and concerns are grouped under three broad categories: access and retention; learning designs; and course content.

Access and Retention

Access and retention refers to the extent to which women are attracted to and are able to enter courses and stay until course completion. Access and retention issues are not about molding women into traditional male systems and curricula: they are about the extent to which systems and curricula need transforming so that they are women-centred as well as male-centred and hence sensitive to both sexes. In circumstances where women learners analyze their experiences of marginalization, trivialization, oppression, or male violence against them, they need a safe and supportive group of peers—in a women-only course. One big question for distance educators stems from the open access, or minimal pre-requisite entry qualifications of some distance institutions: should institutions be allowed to use open access policies to block the implementation of courses designed exclusively for women? If they do, they may escape the challenge of establishing women only, women's studies courses against opposition from conservative staff members (Kirkup, 1988b). Another major question relates to the presence of women in courses generally: how to acknowledge the "experiential disparities" between men and women (Kirkup, 1988b). The limited scope in the work experience of many women, especially when that work is traditionally "women's work", makes it difficult for those women to understand course content that is based on male experience and work places. Women may drop out of courses for reasons really associated with self esteem—thinking they are not intelligent or motivated enough, when in fact they cannot carry out course exercises effectively because they are based on male-oriented business and industrial work settings.

Under-representation of women in courses is another key issue, related to representation in both traditional and non traditional courses. Work headed by Ailsa Swarbrick and others in the Open University (UK) to help women enter technology and management courses resulted in some very positive outcomes for the participants (Swarbrick, 1978), but as Gill Kirkup acknowledges, these fragmented efforts are creating a situation of slow progress. Important research in West Germany has indicated that, contrary to global patterns,

> ...only one in four distance students is a woman while the proportion of women in traditional universities is about forty per cent. Among the newly matriculated students at the West German FernUniversitat (Distance University), women comprise a slightly higher percentage but even in this group only three in ten students are female. Thus women are extremely under represented in terms of access and even more so in terms of continued participation (von Prummer, Kirkup & Spronk, 1988, pp. 59).

The factors inhibiting women's enrolment include the content of degree programs being based more on male tradition and preferences; the lack of institution-based encouragement for women to enter these programs; the prohibitive costs of courses, especially for women who have little or no disposable income of their own; job, family and study placing triple demands on personal time and energy; the feelings of peer isolation that may be generated by student-tutor study methods; and the fact that in most households women still have primary responsibility for nurturance and solving many family crises and emergencies.

There are less obvious but equally as effective pressures and demotivators within personal networks -- husbands, children and others create pressures such as verbal opposition to study, sabotage of course materials, denial of support, creation of guilt, undermining of confidence, playing the victim needing care from the woman who wants her own time to study, and reversion to traditional stereotypes regarding the "place" of women in society and the home (Coulter, Delehanty & Spronk, 1983). An irony presents itself here: juxtapose real personal and family pressures and structural barriers with the rhetoric about the inconvenience of home-based opportunities of distance education, and it appears that home study may act to have two negative consequences. One consequence is keeping women "in their place," i.e., at home and out of the world; a second one is allowing others to assume that such learning is merely a free-time indulgence (Faith & Coulter, 1986). Where home support is evident, the multiple demands of home, work, study and community responsibilities still require sustained energy and finely tuned organizational skills as student stories attest (Lohnes, 1987; Johnson, 1988).

Learning Design

The second category of problems and issues is learning design. Definitions and criteria are needed for feminist virtual classrooms and for tutor-student interaction by mail. The practical implications of differences between feminist teaching and "good andragogy" (Burge & Lenskyj, 1990) need to be explored. The new communications technologies can create either collaborative and supportive environments, or reinforce competitive or hierarchical processes. A collaborative style is very different from the "singular" talk in which people talk over or past each other, trying to make a point but without acknowledging the prior contribution of others. How can distance educators, so used to creating directive and well-structured materials for predictable learning outcomes, give women learners real choices and encourage less predictable transformative learning? Feminist distance mode teachers who value the holistic approach of connecting the cognitive and the affective, the political and the personal, the private and public, do not have visual and kinaesthetic cues to help them determine class members' reactions. They can, however, develop the ability to hear vocal cues, pauses, and silences that may indicate negative feelings or psychological withdrawal. They can also organize local support/tutorial groups and weekend workshops for face-to-face meetings. Sensitivity to these non-cognitive issues however is not guaranteed with all tutors; institutions therefore have to be able and willing to invest in appropriate tutor training. In work places where male and female staff may be using distance education materials for work-based training, will the local leader or tutor be sensitive to gender based differences in classroom behaviour? Moving to the issue of helping women develop effective learning strategies, how-to-study guides have to recognize that many women cannot allocate long periods of time to study:

> In self defense, I developed study habits which I'm sure no one [at the university] would even remotely recommend, but ones I'm sure that fellow students would recognize. I opened my books first thing in the morning and studied five minutes here, five minutes there, from morning till night, as my family and friends devised schemes to ensure I never had an hour of solid study time. (Johnson, 1988, pp. 2)

The delicate but crucial process of grading evidence of learning, that is, how to grade in feminist contexts, must be considered. When is it appropriate to grade against the norm, or against set criteria, in order to acknowledge personal growth and change? For example, someone may have made huge strides in a course in terms of self esteem and her ability to articulate but may not score well on criterion referenced testing; the educator has to match giving personal encouragement with meeting institutional requirements. Balancing the ethical demands of being honest with the student about the stresses of studentship with the moral demands to support and trust the learner is not easy for counsellors or tutors. Experience indicates that counselling and other support mechanisms for distance learners are needed to overcome the problems of low levels of confidence and self esteem (Young, 1988), and dysfunctional disparities between the work experiences of women and men (e.g., Heiler & Richards, 1988b).

The work of Barbara Spronk and Donna Radtke (1988b) in working with Canadian Native women and of Loene Furler and Carol Scott (1988b) with South Australian Aboriginal women deserve notice. Spronk and Radtke point out that the educational goals of Canadian

Native women are directed toward "self determination and tribal sovereignty over land" (p. 224). The women have to cope with family and communal responsibilities while studying but those responsibilities also create supports when the women are faced with other problems related to violence, lack of money and transport. Aboriginal women in South Australia do not strive for sex-based equity in the Western sense; they strive for cultural equity with white people. They have their own separate ceremonial life and a highly developed, active feminine "sphere" in Aboriginal life. They regard education as "a vehicle for raising the life chances of the whole group (i.e. women as well as men) and realizing the aims of cultural self-determination and self-management" (Furler & Scott, 1988b, pp. 234). Learning designs in such education have to avoid the imposition of hidden and inappropriate curricula that conflict with cultural perspectives and destroy traditional rules for social control and nurturance. Understanding these conflicts and suggesting appropriate action is no mean feat for people from white cultures.

The conditions to engender trust and comfort in disclosing personal information are especially crucial for women who are building their self confidence and stabilizing new beliefs and skills. In discovering how and why they have been socialized as girls and women, and with what negative consequences, open and often very frank discussion has to occur. Such discussion often generates negative feelings (anger, denial, bitterness), positive ones (warmth, excitement, solidarity) and certain stages and sequences of reactive behaviour (Register, 1979). Tutors in virtual classrooms therefore have multiple challenges: for example, working without paralinguistic cues, and helping the woman who is new to feminist perspectives communicate with experienced feminist students. How is the delicate issue of the use of power resolved so that power is used appropriately?

> Some facilitators may be reluctant to use power in ways antithetical to feminist process (Friedman, 1985; Maher, 1987) with the result that misogynist, racist or homophobic views expressed by some students may pass unchallenged. This latter situation is not in the best interests of feminist students, since an understanding of the links between the various kinds of oppression experienced by disadvantaged and marginalized groups in society is a crucial component of all feminist analysis. (Burge & Lenskyj, 1989, pp. 12).

Another key question concerns the genderization of new communications technologies. Conceptual frameworks and gender-sensitive criteria for assessing technologies are needed (Lentell, 1989; Rothschild, 1988). Educators should take into account the fact that many women cannot get access to technology (to buy a computer for example) or capture enough time to participate consistently in audio classrooms at local sites. Will the characteristics of these technologies help promote feminist classrooms? Will enough feminist researchers get enough research and field development funds to influence research agendas for applications of new technologies? We have to question the epistemological assumptions of many research approaches and the limits of prior research based on male subjects (Warren, 1987).

Course Content

The third and final category of questions is course content. The issues around sex role stereotyping, untested assumptions, imagery, female invisibility and epistemology are as relevant for virtual classrooms as for visual classrooms. Karlene Faith has warned that the content of certain courses, e.g., health or nutrition, may imply or reinforce sex-based responsibilities for family or child rearing tasks, or indicate implicitly that women do not need education for paid and public employment (Faith, 1988a).

> Countries engaged in educational reform commonly introduce courses specifically for women on family care and nutrition, with the straight forward implications that 1) women have a sex-bound responsibility for these domestic activities, and 2) women do not share with men the same need for knowledge and skills required by public life or the paid labour force. Such sex-specific curriculum, based on gender-role traditions, may advance family health, which must be the first priority. However, it will not advance the fundamental struggle for equality. Ultimately, neither justice in the abstract nor a concrete commitment to human development can be seen as a priority within an approach to education which exclusively delegates females to the least socially empowering activities.
> (Faith, 1988a, pp. 10-11)

How are women and girls represented in course content? Barbara Matiru and Debbie Gachuhi in Kenya have analyzed some course materials in terms of how the sexes were represented in illustration, and in character prominence and roles.

> In (some) subjects men and boys are illustrated three times as often as women and girls...girls and women are indirectly taught to develop negative feelings about themselves, male characters constituted over 75% of the total characters in all the courses (surveyed by the writers)...
>
> Predictably, male characters in these courses are portrayed as fearless, strong, brave, hardworking, influential, wealthy, bold, clever and wise. The female characters are described as fearful, doubtful, embarrassed, stupid, pretty, emotional and well-behaved (Matiru & Gachuhi, 1988b, pp. 142-145).
>
> Females have been relegated to their traditional roles in society—that of being subordinate, housebound, passive and inferior. (Matiru & Gachuhi, 1988b, pp. 151).

Subordination to males is one issue, but the related one is that of the complete invisibility of women in printed records. Dorothy Smith has summarized the source of this invisibility:

> Women have largely been excluded from the work of producing the forms of thought and the images and symbols in which thought is expressed and ordered. There is a circle effect. Men attend to and treat as significant what men say. The circle of men whose writing and talk was significant to each other extends backwards in time as far as our records reach. What men were doing was relevant to men, was written by men about men for men. Men listened and listen to what one another said.... This is how a tradition is formed. (Smith, 1978, as quoted in Faith, 1988a, pp. 12)

Women, fortunately, are recording their heritage and women scholars are stressing the need to "publish" the everyday achievements and experiences of women (Treicher, Kramarae & Stafford, 1985). Karlene Faith indicates some constructive changes in contemporary distance education:

> Whereas distance education curricula, as in conventional schooling, continue to be dominated by patriarchal constructions of knowledge, models for change are in the making. The architects of these changes no longer acquiesce to traditional assumptions about what must be taught, how it must be taught, or to whom. They gauge truth not only in terms of what is "proven" but also in terms of what is possible, assuming that truth must include experiential and subjective realities as well as objective and quantifiable data. They recognize that the practice of handing down one objective "truth" is both arrogant and limiting. In fact, they no longer uncritically accept "objectivity," as traditionally defined, as a viable concept. (Faith, 1988a, pp. 13).

Women's studies courses help learners examine the production and ownership of knowledge and challenge the authority of received "truth"—especially as that "truth" usually relates to male views of the world. The issue of invisibility of women in distance course materials is also related to institutional difficulties in developing curricula relevant to women's needs and interests (Rowland, 1982; Oudshoorn, 1988b; Kirkup, 1988b) and in arguments about whether to separate women's studies courses or integrate them, or indeed to apply feminist analyses to all courses (Andersen, 1988). The exclusion of women's studies courses from established curricula because they are not considered a mainstream (male-stream) rigorous discipline contributes further to institutional invisibilities. If an "add women and stir" approach is used, that may have secondary effects of excluding the achievements of many women and indicating that women do not exist unless they claim exceptional achievements. The difficulties at the Netherlands and UK Open Universities in establishing and maintaining women's studies courses reflect all sorts of structural, financial, discipline-based and attitudinal issues that are ripe for use by conservative faculty to exclude, denigrate, or withdraw support for women's studies courses (Oudshoorn, 1988b; Kirkup, 1988;

Leonard, 1985). But in terms of localized achievements -- of course design and student reactions to the courses -- those same courses have been landmarks (Kirkup, 1983; McIntosh, 1979). That the courses (in most cases) have been designed and implemented by young, committed women at the beginning of their academic careers and already managing heavy workloads, is a credit to those women.

In Australia, credit at an inter-institutional level is due to those who negotiated the successful collaborative project, The Inter-University Women's Studies Major. Courses were first available for this purpose in 1983 (Murdoch University) and 1984 (Deakin and Queensland Universities) so that one university could draw on another university's courses to develop its own specialization. The project enabled the three universities to overcome various obstacles in setting up these courses and at the same time to role-model the collaborative and cross-disciplinary characteristics of many women's studies courses (Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission, 1987).

Women distance educators are engaging in other initiatives which promise at least to challenge prejudices and assumptions and value the experience and needs of women. Some examples include a New South Wales course in building construction for mature rural women (Heiler & Richards, 1988b), British Columbian, Albertan and Australian courses in women's studies (Sturrock, 1988b; Rowland, 1982), and public discussions of conceptual and institutional problems and the potential of distance education (Coulter, 1989; Mani, 1988; von Prummer & Rossie, 1988; Mandie-Filer, 1988b). Other initiatives include using minority women's experiences as foci for new women's studies courses (Cox & James, 1988), and courses for women returning to technology-based jobs (Kirkup, 1986; Swarbrick, 1986) or seeking entry into management (Kirkup, 1988b).

Conclusion

The educational problems that all these initiatives address are daunting, not only for the students who suffer from them, but also for those educators who have the conviction and stamina to try and solve them. Feminist distance educators are helping to transform areas of their students' worlds, but they often have to do so in institutional contexts not entirely supportive of their values or methods. Their feminist colleagues in visual classrooms are providing support albeit indirectly. It is time for closer cooperation. It is time too for some wider recognition:

> Sometimes it seems as if we work all the time just to stay where we are. But in trying to do these things, even when we have lost, *we* have changed, we have changed others, and we have let loose a new spirit that will not go away. (Minnich, 1983, pp. 322)

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ACTIVITÉS D'APPRENTISSAGE EN ENSEIGNEMENT À DISTANCE[1]

André-Jacques Deschênes, Louise Bourdages,
Céline Lebel et Bernard Michaud
Télé-université

Résumé

L'objectif principal de nos recherches des trois dernières années a été d'étudier le rôle des activités d'apprentissage dans l'acquisition de connaissances à l'aide de documents écrits conçus pour l'enseignement à distance. Ces travaux ont consisté, dans une première étape, à étudier les activités d'apprentissage dans des cours conçus pour le télé-enseignement. Pour ce faire, nous avons mis au point une grille d'analyse des caractéristiques des énoncés servant d'amorce aux exercices proposés par les concepteurs, des caractéristiques des réponses attendues et une typologie permettant de catégoriser les objectifs d'apprentissage poursuivis par ces activités. Parallèlement à cette analyse, nous avons effectué une recension des écrits portant sur le rôle des activités d'apprentissage en enseignement à distance et sur les stratégies cognitives facilitant la compréhension des documents écrits. Par ce biais, nous nous sommes intéressés à l'enseignement à distance en général, au support à l'étudiant dans un tel système, aux difficultés d'apprentissage des étudiants adultes, aux activités notées dans un cours en enseignement à distance et à d'autres questions connexes que nous discuterons.

Abstract

For the past three years, the main purpose of our research has been to study the role of learning activities on knowledge acquisition from written documents designed for distance education. First, we studied learning activities in courses designed for distance education. To do so, we set an analysis grid of the statements' characteristics, characteristics of expected answers, and a typology which allows the categorisation of those activities' learning goals. Parallel to this analysis, we made a literature inventory on the role of learning activities in distance education and on cognitive strategies in order to

facilitate the understanding of written documents. From this perspective we have been interested in distance education in general, support for students in such a system, in the learning difficulties of adult students, in activities arising during the course of instruction at a distance, and other related questions.

Activités d'apprentissage en enseignement à distance

Introduction

Cet article a pour but de décrire les travaux réalisés dans le cadre d'un projet de recherche dont l'objectif est d'étudier le rôle des activités d'apprentissage dans l'acquisition de connaissances à l'aide de documents écrits conçus pour l'enseignement à distance.

Après une description sommaire du projet, nous faisons état de nos travaux qui comprennent une recension d'écrits sur les activités d'apprentissage dans le domaine de l'enseignement à distance et l'analyse des exercices proposés à l'étudiant pour acquérir des connaissances dans deux cours de trois crédits conçus par la Télé-université. Nous présentons ensuite un projet d'expérimentation permettant de comparer différents types d'activités d'apprentissage et l'amorce d'une typologie des activités d'apprentissage. Enfin, nous abordons des aspects connexes comme le support aux étudiants, les difficultés d'apprentissage des étudiants adultes et les activités notées dans des cours conçus pour le télé-enseignement.

Description sommaire du projet

La pratique du télé-enseignement favorise une démarche d'apprentissage comprenant des exercices ou activités pour accompagner les textes théoriques qui présentent les connaissances à acquérir (Henri et Kaye, 1985). Si la recherche dans ce domaine s'est intéressée à plusieurs des aspects du télé-enseignement comme les clientèles (Holmberg, 1988), les textes pédagogiques (Dessaint, 1986-1987) ou les médias (Bates, 1984), peu de travaux portent sur le rôle des activités d'apprentissage (exercices, travaux, devoirs) que l'on retrouve dans la plupart des documents de cours conçus pour l'enseignement à distance.

Plusieurs questions se posent cependant, en rapport avec cette composante du télé-enseignement. Quels types d'activités utiliser? Quelles relations peut-on établir entre les objectifs d'apprentissage et les activités d'apprentissage? Quel rôle jouent ces activités dans l'apprentissage? Y-a-t-il des activités plus efficaces que d'autres pour l'acquisition des connaissances? Ces interrogations sont importantes compte tenu du fait que l'élaboration de ces activités occasionne des dépenses considérables lors de la conception de cours pour l'enseignement à distance mais aussi parce qu'on exige de l'étudiant beaucoup de temps et d'énergie à les réaliser sans être vraiment assuré de leur utilité ou de leur rentabilité.

Le projet de recherche que nous avons mis en route il y a trois ans porte sur ces questions. Il est planifié pour une période de trois autres années et vise les objectifs suivants:

1. Elaborer une typologie des activités d'apprentissage et dégager des critères de choix de stratégies favorisant l'acquisition de connaissances dans le cadre d'un modèle d'enseignement à distance.

2. Analyser les activités d'apprentissage proposées pour faciliter l'acquisition de connaissances à l'aide de documents écrits dans des cours conçus pour l'enseignement à distance.

3. Comparer l'efficacité de différents types d'activités d'apprentissage dans l'acquisition de connaissances à l'aide d'un document écrit conçu pour l'enseignement à distance.

4. Evaluer le rôle des activités d'apprentissage dans l'acquisition de connaissances à l'aide d'un document écrit conçu pour l'enseignement à distance.

Le tableau 1 présente les travaux réalisés ou en cours de réalisation dans le cadre du présent projet. Celui-ci comprend deux recensions des écrits, l'une sur le rôle des activités d'apprentissage en enseignement à distance, l'autre sur les stratégies de compréhension en lecture; la construction d'une grille d'analyse des activités d'apprentissage de cours conçus pour l'enseignement à distance; l'analyse des activités d'apprentissage de cours conçus pour le télé-enseignement; et une étude expérimentale.

Tableau 1

Les travaux réalisés ou en cours (*)

1. Une recension des écrits sur le rôle des activités d'apprentissage en enseignement à distance
2. Une récension des écrits sur les stratégies de compréhension en lecture (*)
3. La construction d'une grille d'analyse des activités d'apprentissage des cours conçus pour l'enseignement à distance
4. L'analyse des activités d'apprentissage de quatre cours conçus pour le télé-enseignement par la Télé-université (* deux cours ont été analysés)
5. L'analyse des activités d'apprentissage de trois cours conçus pour le télé-enseignement par d'autres institutions que la Télé-université (*)
6. Une expérimentation (*)

La recension des écrits

La recension des écrits a porté sur "la place, le rôle, l'efficacité et les genres d'activités d'apprentissage que l'on trouve dans le matériel pédagogique écrit utilisé en enseignement à distance." (Landry, 1988, p. 1).

Les constatations générales les plus importantes qui se dégagent de cette recension des écrits peuvent se résumer ainsi:

1. Il y a peu de travaux qui portent sur les activités d'apprentissage en enseignement à distance.

2. Le contexte dans lequel se posent les questions sur les activités d'apprentissage est celui plus général de l'aide à l'apprentissage qui comprend aussi les listes d'objectifs, les directives d'études, les procédés typographiques dans la présentation des documents, etc..

3. Le "modèle" retenu pour justifier l'existence des activités d'apprentissage est celui de l'enseignement en salle; les exercices sont alors considérés comme des "substituts" de la relation professeur-étudiant.

4. Les écrits ne permettent pas de dégager de typologie des activités supportant l'apprentissage à l'aide de documents écrits en enseignement à distance.

5. Seules les questions "insérées" semblent avoir donné lieu à des études expérimentales.

6. Plusieurs questions connexes sont abordées en relation avec les activités d'apprentissage; par exemple, l'autonomie de l'étudiant, les objectifs d'apprentissage, la réaction des étudiants aux exercices suggérés, etc..

Les quelques recherches disponibles (Baath, 1979; Duchastel, 1983; Holmberg, 1983; Paine, 1983) et les guides pratiques fournis par les auteurs pour construire des activités d'apprentissage nous permettent, par ailleurs, de dégager trois grandes fonctions qui pourraient possiblement servir de point de départ à une typologie. Nous les identifions aux aspects affectif, cognitif et métacognitif de l'apprentissage.

Au plan affectif, les auteurs (Duchastel, 1983; Jenkins, 1985; Lewis, 1984) présentent les activités d'apprentissage comme des moyens de maintenir l'intérêt et la motivation de l'étudiant tout au long de la lecture des documents. Au plan cognitif, les activités d'apprentissage alimentent le travail de l'étudiant en lui indiquant le quoi et le comment étudier. Au plan métacognitif, les activités permettent à l'étudiant de gérer son activité de lecture ou d'apprentissage et d'adapter sa façon générale d'étudier à la situation d'enseignement à distance. Il faut cependant ajouter que les activités d'apprentissage peuvent aussi se justifier par le fait qu'elles atténueraient les faiblesses des documents écrits ou les difficultés d'apprentissage de certains individus.

Des recherches de nature expérimentale (Anderson et Biddle, 1975; Frase, 1971; Marland and Store, 1982; Rickards, 1979) portant sur les questions insérées conduisent à des conclusions très nuancées. Si les questions insérées peuvent améliorer la rétention des informations sur lesquelles elles portent, surtout si elles exigent un traitement en profondeur et visent les informations plus importantes, elles peuvent produire certains effets négatifs en particulier, lorsqu'il y en a beaucoup, les étudiants limitant leur étude au seul contenu des questions ou ne réalisant qu'un traitement superficiel des informations. De plus, bien que les étudiants semblent trouver les questions utiles à leur apprentissage, ils ne les utilisent pas nécessairement et pas toujours comme le concepteur le demande. Enfin, plusieurs facteurs peuvent faire varier l'impact des questions insérées: l'endroit où elles sont insérées, leur nombre, le fait de fournir ou de ne pas fournir un corrigé et leur combinaison avec d'autres aides à l'apprentissage (liste d'objectifs, résumés, etc.). Soulignons que la généralisation de ces résultats pour l'enseignement à distance est difficile, compte tenu de la méthodologie utilisée dans ces recherches (elles ont en effet été effectuées en laboratoire et habituellement avec des textes très courts).

Cette recension des écrits montre la rareté des travaux sur le rôle des activités d'apprentissage dans l'acquisition de connaissances à l'aide de documents écrits. Par conséquent, la pratique largement répandue en enseignement à distance de fournir avec les textes un cahier d'activités s'appuie sur bien peu de données empiriques démontrant l'utilité ou la rentabilité de ces exercices. La recension des écrits ne fournit pas non plus de réponse aux questions portant sur le type d'activités proposées, leur nombre et le fait de fournir ou non un corrigé aux activités.

L'analyse des activités d'apprentissage de deux cours de la télé-université

Dans le cadre de ce projet de recherche, les cours retenus pour analyse répondent aux critères suivants; 1) avoir été édités récemment, 2) viser des objectifs d'acquisition de connaissances (et non pas d'habiletés), 3) proposer plusieurs activités d'apprentissage, et 4) utiliser des documents écrits comme véhicule privilégié de transmission de connaissances (et non des documents audio ou audiovisuels). Les deux cours analysés ont été conçus à la Télé-

607

université et présentent des connaissances catégorisées dans le domaine des sciences humaines.

L'analyse a été réalisée par les auteurs qui ont lu chacun des items des activités d'apprentissage, cherché (lorsqu'il y avait lieu) les réponses dans les textes proposés et coté chacun des items dans les sous-catégories de la grille présentée dans le tableau 2. Toutes les décisions ont été prises par consensus.

Cette grille, construite de façon empirique, comprend 24 catégories[2] qui portent sur le type ou la forme des activités, leurs objectifs ou fonctions, les caractéristiques des réponses attendues et d'autres éléments descriptifs des items ou des réponses.

Plusieurs des catégories et des sous-catégories ont été conçues pour rendre compte de ce que nous observions dans les cours analysés; par exemple, les catégories I **Renseignements généraux** et VI **Caractéristiques de la réponse**. D'autres trouvent leurs justifications dans les écrits en éducation, les études en compréhension de textes, en traitement de l'information et en métacognition: par exemple les catégories II **Nature des objectifs** et III **Nature de la demande**.

Le tableau 3 présente les caractéristiques générales des deux cours que nous avons analysés. Le premier s'intitule **Politique et société (POL 3001)**.[3] Conçu à la Télé-université et édité en 1986, il vise l'acquisition de connaissances en science politique. Il comprend deux documents: un manuel et un cahier de l'étudiant. Le manuel est un document de 443 pages (plus bibliographie et index) qui présente, en 14 chapitres, les connaissances théoriques qui seront les objets d'étude de ce cours. Le cahier de l'étudiant est un document de 285 pages qui présente le cours, les exercices et les travaux notés pour un total de 728 pages.

Le deuxième cours analysé[4] s'intitule **Vie quotidienne et santé mentale (PSY 2040)**. Edité à la Télé-université en 1989, il est constitué d'un seul document de 656 pages comprenant les textes théoriques et les exercices. Il se divise en 20 chapitres et vise l'acquisition de connaissances en santé mentale.

Tableau 2

Catégories et sous-catégories pour l'analyse des activités d'apprentissage dans des cours conçus pour le télé-enseignement

- I. Renseignements généraux
    - 1.1 Discipline
    - 1.2 Sigle du cours
    - 1.3 No du chapitre
    - 1.4 No de l'activité
    - 1.5 No de l'item
    - 1.6 Notation
    - 1.7 Problème
- II. Nature des objectifs
    - 2.1 Cognitif
        - 2.1.1 Domaine conceptuel
        - 2.1.2 Méthodologique
        - 2.1.3 Administratif
    - 2.2 Métacognitif
    - 2.3 Affectif
    - 2.4 Motivationnel
    - 2.5 Psychomoteur
- III. Caractéristiques de la demande
    - 3.1 Nature de la demande
    - 3.2 Forme de la demande
    - 3.3 Localisation de la demande
- VI. Caractéristiques de la réponse
    - 4.1 Espace pour répondre
    - 4.2 Forme de la réponse attendue
    - 4.3 Relation question-réponse
    - 4.4 Localisation de la réponse
    - 4.5 Page où se trouve la réponse
    - 4.6 Longueur du texte de la réponse
    - 4.7 Taille du caractère
    - 4.8 Traitement typographique
    - 4.9 Mise en page
    - 4.10 Mot à mot
- V. Caractéristiques selon le concepteur
    - 5.1 Type
    - 5.2 Forme
    - 5.3 Consigne de réponse supplémentaire
    - 5.4 Nature de l'objectif (à partir des objectifs formulés explicitement)
        - 5.4.1 Cognitif
        - 5.4.2 Métacognitif
        - 5.4.3 Affectif
        - 5.4.4 Motivationnel
        - 5.4.5 Psychomoteur

Tableau 3

Caractéristiques générales des deux cours analysés (Télé-université)

Cours	Politique et société (POL 3001)	Vie quotidienne et santé mentale (PSY 2040)
Année d'édition	1986	1989
Nombre de documents	2	1
Nombre de pages	728	656
Nombre de chapitres	14	20
Nombre d'activités	119	37
Nombre d'items		
Cognifit	408 (60%)	62 (18%)
Métacognitif	236 (35%)	280 (82%)
Affectif	37 (5%)	0
Total	681	342

Le cours **Politique et société** propose 119 activités d'apprentissage comprenant 408 (60%) items de type cognitif, 236 (35%) de type métacognitif et 37 (5%) de type affectif pour un total de 681 items.[5] Nous avons par ailleurs observé (Deschênes et al., 1988) que le concepteur regroupe ses activités en quatre catégories: a) vérification de connaissances (52,2%), b) récapitulation (33,8%), c) approfondissement (8,9%) et, d) application (5,04%).

Dans le cours **Vie quotidienne et santé mentale**, on trouve[6] 37 activités d'apprentissage comprenant 342 items que le concepteur catégorise en deux groupes, des items de type cognitif (62) et de type métacognitif (280), ce qui représente respectivement 18% et 82% de l'ensemble des items.

Le tableau 4 présente la nature de la demande et la forme de la réponse attendue pour les items cognitifs des deux cours. En ce qui a trait à la nature de la réponse attendue, on constate que, dans le cours POL 3001, 65% des items de type cognitif demandent aux étudiants de repérer des informations présentes dans le texte. Les autres items se répartissent dans 11 types de demandes. Dans le cours PSY 2040, 91% des items cognitifs se répartissent dans trois types de demandes: résumé, application, élaboration. Quant à la forme de la réponse attendue, on observe que les items de type cognitif de POL 3001 se retrouvent principalement (85%) dans deux sous-catégories: réponses ouvertes et réponses suggérées. Dans le cours PSY 2040, ils se retrouvent essentiellement (95%) dans la sous-catégorie réponses ouvertes.

Tableau 4

Nature de la demande et forme de la réponse attendue pour les items de type cognitif (POL 3001 et PSY 2040)

	Nombre d'items	
Nature de la demande	POL 3001	PSY 2040
Question	0	1 (2%)
Résumé	11 (3%)	18 (29%)
Opinion	15 (4%)	0
Essai	16 (4%)	0
Exemplification	33 (8%)	0
Tableau	11 (3%)	1 (2%)
Graphique	1	0
Synthèse	7 (2%)	3 (5%)
Analyse	6 (2%)	1 (2%)
Application	3 (1%)	14 (23%)
Élaboration	39 (10%)	24 (39%)
Simulation	1	0
Repérage	265 (65%)	0
Total	408	62
Vrai ou faux (oui ou non)	52 (13%)	0
Réponses suggérées	177 (43%)	0
Réponses ouvertes	173 (42%)	59 (95%)
Construire un tableau	1	3 (5%)
Choix forcé	5 (1%)	0
Total	408	62

Le tableau 5 présente la nature de la demande et la forme de la réponse attendue pour les items de type métacognitif. Dans POL 3001, la totalité des items sont des jugements demandant une réponse de type vrai ou faux. Dans PSY 2040, 89% des items sont aussi des jugements, cependant la forme de la réponse attendue se retrouve dans trois sous-catégories: réponses suggérées, vrai ou faux et réponses ouvertes.

Tableau 5

Nature de la demande et forme de la réponse attendue pour les items de type métacognitif (POL 3001 et PSY 2040)

	Nombre d'items	
Nature de la demande	POL 3001	PSY 2040
Opinion	0	27 (10%)
Synthèse	0	3 (1%)
Jugement	236	250 (89%)
Total	236	280
Vrai ou faux (oui ou non)	236	70 (25%)
Réponses suggérées	0	155 (55%)
Réponses ouvertes	0	55 (20%)
Total	236	280

Le tableau 6 présente la nature des objectifs pour les items de type métacognitif. Dans POL 3001, tous les items visent l'évaluation des connaissances alors qu'en PSY 2040, la majorité des items visent des objectifs de planification, de régulation et d'évaluation; de plus, 45% des items demandent aux étudiants d'identifier, de nommer ou de prendre conscience des connaissances portant sur la personne, les tâches ou les stratégies. Tous ces items portent sur les différents aspects de la situation d'apprentissage: les objectifs, les tâches, les stratégies, le temps, etc.

Tableau 6

Nature des objectifs pour les items de type métacognitif (POL 3001 et PSY 2040)

Objectif	Nombre d'items POL 3001	Nombre d'items PSY 2040
GESTION		1
CONNAISSANCES		
Personnes		59
Tâches		31
Stratégies		35
TOTAL		125
PLANIFICATION		
Objectifs		8
Stratégies		1
Tâches		1
Temps		1
TOTAL		11
REGULATION		
Objectifs		12
Temps		2
TOTAL		14
EVALUATION		
Objectifs		2
Stratégies		51
Tâches		39
Temps		8
Connaissances	236	11
Affectif		12
Motivation		4
Personne		2
TOTAL	236	129

Le tableau 5 présente la nature de la demande et la forme de la réponse attendue pour les items de type métacognitif. Dans POL 3001, la totalité des items sont des jugements demandant une réponse de type vrai ou faux. Dans PSY 2040, 89% des items sont aussi des jugements, cependant la forme de la réponse attendue se retrouve dans trois sous-catégories: réponses suggérées, vrai ou faux et réponses ouvertes.

Tableau 5

Nature de la demande et forme de la réponse attendue pour les items de type métacognitif (POL 3001 et PSY 2040)

	Nombre d'items	
Nature de la demande	POL 3001	PSY 2040
Opinion	0	27 (10%)
Synthèse	0	3 (1%)
Jugement	236	250 (89%)
Total	236	280
Vrai ou faux (oui ou non)	236	70 (25%)
Réponses suggérées	0	155 (55%)
Réponses ouvertes	0	55 (20%)
Total	236	280

Le tableau 6 présente la nature des objectifs pour les items de type métacognitif. Dans POL 3001, tous les items visent l'évaluation des connaissances alors qu'en PSY 2040, la majorité des items visent des objectifs de planification, de régulation et d'évaluation; de plus, 45% des items demandent aux étudiants d'identifier, de nommer ou de prendre conscience des connaissances portant sur la personne, les tâches ou les stratégies. Tous ces items portent sur les différents aspects de la situation d'apprentissage: les objectifs, les tâches, les stratégies, le temps, etc.

Tableau 6

Nature des objectifs pour les items de type métacognitif (POL 3001 et PSY 2040)

Objectif	Nombre d'items POL 3001	 PSY 2040
GESTION		1
CONNAISSANCES		
Personnes		59
Tâches		31
Stratégies		35
TOTAL		125
PLANIFICATION		
Objectifs		8
Stratégies		1
Tâches		1
Temps		1
TOTAL		11
REGULATION		
Objectifs		12
Temps		2
TOTAL		14
EVALUATION		
Objectifs		2
Stratégies		51
Tâches		39
Temps		8
Connaissances	236	11
Affectif		12
Motivation		4
Personne		2
TOTAL	236	129

L'analyse de ces deux cours montre que:

1. Deux types d'activités sont particulièrement utilisés: des activités de type cognitif pour l'acquisition des contenus et des activités de type métacognitif pour gérer et contrôler la situation d'apprentissage.

2. Au plan cognitif, l'un des concepteurs demande, pour la majorité des items, de repérer des informations au moyen de réponses suggérées et de vrai ou faux alors que l'autre demande de fournir des réponses ouvertes à l'aide de résumés, d'applications et d'élaborations. Il apparaît évident que dans chacun des cours on exige un traitement différent de l'information, le premier favorisant un traitement en surface et le deuxième, un traitement en profondeur (Chomsky, 1981; Smith, 1979).

3. Au plan métacognitif, les items demandent des **jugements** auxquels on répond par des vrai ou faux dans un cours, et par des formes différentes, majoritairement des réponses suggérées et ouvertes dans l'autre cours. Cependant, tous les items de l'un des cours visent l'évaluation des connaissances alors que ceux de l'autre cours visent des objectifs de gestion de l'apprentissage. Les deux cours proposent donc des activités de type métacognitif qui visent des objectifs différents: dans l'un des cours on propose à l'étudiant de gérer ses connaissances seulement, alors que dans l'autre, on lui propose de gérer tous les aspects de la situation d'apprentissage favorisant davantage son autonomie (Deschênes, 1989).

Cette analyse montre des différences importantes entre les deux cours au plan des activités d'apprentissage. Cependant, elle ne peut, pour le moment, nous permettre de formuler des conclusions sur le rôle et l'utilisation des activités d'apprentissage dans des cours conçus pour l'enseignement à distance.[7]

Projet d'expérimentation

Nous poursuivons aussi la mise au point d'une étude expérimentale nous permettant une analyse plus systématique du rôle des activités d'apprentissage dans l'acquisition des connaissances.

Le tableau 7 décrit la méthodologie prévue pour cette expérimentation où des groupes de sujets adultes seront soumis à différents types d'activités d'apprentissage. Cinq (5) versions de trois documents de domaines différents de connaissances sont prévues: l'une sans activité d'apprentissage et quatre avec activités. Ces dernières versions se présentent ainsi: 1) activités d'apprentissage de type questions insérées (Landry, 1988), 2) activités d'apprentissage de type cognitif, 3) activités d'apprentissage de type métacognitif et, 4) activités d'apprentissage selon une formule mixte (cognitif et métacognitif).

Tableau 7

Étude Expérimentale
Les activités d'apprentissage dans l'acquisition de connaissances a l'aide de documents ecrits

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L'étude expérimentale

1. Objectif: une analyse plus systématique du rôle des activités d'apprentissage dans l'acquisition des connaissances,

2. Sujets: 200 adultes étudiants de la Télé-université,

3. Traitement: cinq versions de trois documents représentant des domaines différents de connaissances sont prévues:

   a. une sans activité d'apprentissage,
   b. une avec des activités d'apprentissage du type de celles recensées dans la littérature (questions insérées),
   c. une avec des activités d'apprentissage de type cognitif,
   d. une avec des activités d'apprentissage de type métacognitif,
   e. une avec des activités d'apprentissage selon une formule mixte qui combine c et d.

4. Autres facteurs pris en compte:

   a. les connaissances initiales des étudiants concernant le domaine d'apprentissage,
   b. les connaisssances en compréhension de textes,
   c. la perception de sa compétence à apprendre,
   d. les attitudes vis-à-vis les activités d'apprentissage,
   e. les habitudes de lecture.

5. Tâches de compréhension:

   a. un résumé,
   b. un questionnaire de compréhension.

Nous prévoyons aussi dans cette recherche tenir compte de divers facteurs pouvant influencer l'utilisation des activités d'apprentissage par les étudiants. Parmi ces facteurs, nous avons identifié: 1) les connaissances initiales des étudiants concernant le domaine d'apprentissage (Deschênes, 1988a et b) et au plan métacognitif, concernant la compréhension de textes (Deschênes, 1987; Deschênes et Michaud, 1987); 2) la perception de sa compétence à apprendre (Bourdages, 1989; Nelson-Jones et al., 1979); 3) les attitudes vis-à-vis les activités d'apprentissage (Landry, 1988); 4) les habitudes de lecture. Nous souhaitons aussi analyser l'effet de ces différents facteurs et des divers types d'activités d'apprentissage sur deux méthodologies pour évaluer l'acquisition de connaissances: un résumé et un questionnaire de compréhension.

Compte tenu de la place de plus en plus grande que prend le télé-enseignement, cette recherche devrait avoir des répercussions importantes au plan théorique en permettant d'améliorer les modèles d'enseignement à distance. Au plan pratique, elle devrait permettre de dégager une typologie des activités d'apprentissage et des critères pour les sélectionner en fonction des objectifs d'apprentissage et des stratégies cognitives nécessaires pour les atteindre.

Une typologie des activités d'apprentissage

Proposer une typologie des activités d'apprentissage constitue l'un des objectifs principaux de tous ces travaux. Au point où nous en sommes, il n'est pas possible de dégager une typologie qui nous satisfasse pleinement. Nous n'avons pas encore complété la recension des écrits portant sur les stratégies de compréhension où nous souhaitons trouver la "clé cognitive" qui nous guiderait dans une telle typologie.

Nous (Deschênes et al., à paraître b) avons cependant commencé à explorer différentes pistes. Nous avons observé que les typologies portent davantage sur l'aspect cognitif de l'apprentissage plutôt que sur les aspects affectif ou métacognitif. Il y a deux façons de regrouper les activités, soit en leur attribuant une caractéristique, soit à partir du résultat attendu ou de leur fonction. Nous avons constaté qu'il faudra procéder à une description plus fine des processus psychologiques sous-jacents aux différentes catégories connues pour classifier les activités, si nous voulons adopter une perspective cognitive.

Comme point de départ, il nous semble qu'actuellement, une typologie doit s'inspirer des trois grandes fonctions dégagées de la recension des écrits présentée plus haut: cognitive, métacognitive et affective. Concernant l'aspect cognitif, il est possible de trouver dans la psychologie cognitive des sous-catégories permettant de distinguer différents processus mentaux: l'encodage, le maintien et la récupération, par exemple (Fortin et Rousseau, 1989). Quant à l'aspect métacognitif, les travaux de Flavell (1981) et Brown (1981) fournissent des modèles descriptifs des connaissances et des stratégies importantes dans ce domaine. Enfin, quant à l'aspect affectif, il est possible de s'inspirer des travaux en éducation (voir Côté, 1987, par exemple) pour mieux articuler cet aspect.

Questions connexes

Nous inspirant de la recension des écrits, nous nous sommes intéressés à d'autres problématiques soulevées par les questions principales portant sur le rôle des activités d'apprentissage. Si celles-ci peuvent avoir des fonctions de support à l'apprentissage autres que cognitives, nous nous sommes demandé quelles étaient ces autres fonctions. Les activités d'apprentissage peuvent aussi servir à atténuer les faiblesses des documents écrits et les difficultés d'apprentissages des étudiants (Landry, 1988). Nous nous sommes alors interrogés sur les difficultés d'apprentissage des adultes. Enfin, ces exercices ou devoirs servent à évaluer (noter) les étudiants. Cette question des activités destinées à l'évaluation a également retenu notre attention.

Le support à l'étudiant

La recension des écrits de Landry (1988) nous a permis d'identifier quatre (4) types de support à l'étudiant que pourraient avoir les activités d'apprentissage: 1) cognitif, 2) affectif, 3) motivationnel, et 4) métacognitif (Lebel, 1989; Lebel et al., 1988).

Le support cognitif "vise le traitement d'informations concernant un domaine conceptuel ou encore des aspects méthodologiques ou administratifs". Le domaine conceptuel "porte sur la discipline ou le domaine de connaissances de l'activité de formation". Le support de type méthodologique "permet à l'étudiant d'acquérir, de pratiquer ou d'améliorer une stratégie de type cognitif". Le support de type administratif "permet à l'étudiant de connaître l'institution qu'il fréquente, ses règles et procédures administratives, etc." (Lebel, 1989, p. 36).

Le support affectif touche les émotions et les sentiments pouvant affecter les conditions d'apprentissage ou qui sont en rapport avec le domaine conceptuel présenté dans un cours.

Le support motivationel renvoie à tout ce qui vise à mainte-nir ou à créer un intérêt, un désir ou une volonté d'atteindre les objectifs de la tâche cognitive. La motivation peut se décrire comme l'état interne qui active le comportement et lui donne une direction (Leahey, 1989).

Le support métacognitif touche le contrôle conscient de la tâche cognitive dans laquelle l'étudiant est engagé par l'autorégulation des différentes dimensions de la situation d'apprentissage.

Les questions relatives au support à donner aux étudiants à distance sont d'une très grande importance compte tenu de l'isolement dans lequel ils se trouvent. On peut croire, par exemple, qu'un support administratif trop faible pose des difficultés à certains étudiants et peut indirectement conduire à un échec académique ou à un abandon. Il est par ailleurs évident que le support à l'étudiant peut se faire autrement que par des activités pré-définies dans un document de cours.

Les difficultés d'apprentissage des étudiants adultes

Si l'on peut croire que pour plusieurs étudiants les activités d'apprentissage ne leur sont pas nécessaires, il y a tout lieu de penser que certains d'entre eux pourraient en bénéficier dans la mesure où elles offriraient des moyens de combler des lacunes. Il faut alors se demander quelles difficultés d'apprentissage peuvent rencontrer les étudiants adultes.

Nous (Bourdages et al., 1989) avons identifié quatre (4) facteurs pouvant être à l'origine des difficultés d'apprentissage des étudiants adultes: 1) l'expérience d'apprentissage médiatisé, 2) les connaissances initiales, 3) la perception de sa compétence à apprendre et, 4) les connaissances procédurales.

L'expérience d'apprentissage médiatisé suppose que l'apprentissage se réalise quand un intermédiaire se place entre l'apprenant et l'environnement pour lui interpréter la réalité. Ce type d'expérience est un facteur essentiel assurant le développement des fonctions cognitives supérieures. Le manque d'expérience d'apprentissage médiatisé peut entraîner une faible performance cognitive et de sérieuses difficultés d'apprentissage.

Le rôle des connaissances initiales des étudiants dans l'apprentissage peut être positif si les sujets possèdent des connaissances en relation avec les informations à acquérir. On sait aussi cependant que ces connaissances peuvent poser problème, en particulier si elles entrent en conflit avec les connaissances à acquérir. La qualité des nouveaux acquis dépend souvent aussi de la qualité des connaissances initiales des individus.

On croit de plus en plus que le seul fait pour un adulte de se sentir incompétent dans un apprentissage peut influencer négativement son apprentissage. Les expériences passées d'échec scolaire, les difficultés des tâches, des lacunes dans le répertoire stratégique, etc. peuvent être des facteurs à l'origine de cette perception.

Il se pourrait aussi que certaines difficultés d'apprentissage se situent au plan des connaissances procédurales des individus. Ceux-ci pourraient manquer de connaissances pour apprendre à l'aide de textes et pour réaliser les activités et les travaux demandés.

Les activités notées

Reliées étroitement aux objectifs des cours, les activités notées permettent aux étudiants et à l'institution de mesurer la démarche d'apprentissage et d'évaluer les actions éducatives. Elles aident l'étudiant à se préparer à l'examen final en identifiant les connaissances et habiletés acquises, les éléments d'information à retenir et les habiletés à développer. Les activités notées et les examens favorisent donc d'une part, l'évaluation des apprentissages et d'autre part, l'évaluation de l'intervention. C'est pourquoi leur élaboration ne peut être laissée au hasard et elles devraient couvrir les concepts essentiels du cours (Michaud et al., 1988).

Dans le premier cours que nous avons analysé (POL 3001) dans lequel nous avons étudié les activités notées, nous avons observé que les items notés sont peu nombreux en rapport avec le nombre total d'items du cours, qu'ils ne semblent pas toujours porter sur les informations importantes et qu'ils sont constitués essentiellement de questions ou de phrases à compléter.

Il nous semble par ailleurs difficile de tirer des conclusions de cette analyse compte tenu du peu de recherches dans le domaine. S'il nous semble évident que l'évaluation doit porter sur les informations importantes et doit utiliser un type d'activité qui favorise un traitement en profondeur des informations, il n'est pas toujours facile de faire la relation entre les concepts sur lesquels portent les items notés et les informations importantes du cours et d'identifier le type d'activité le meilleur pour réussir une bonne évaluation des connaissances.

Conclusion

Nous espérons que ce projet aura des retombées concrètes à la fois sur l'apprentissage des étudiants et sur les pratiques de conception de cours à distance.

Concernant l'apprentissage, c'est toute la question du support à l'étudiant qui est visé par ce projet. Nous souhaitons arriver à une meilleure connaissance des façons d'apprendre des adultes et des moyens à mettre à leur disposition pour apprendre. Peut-être nous sera-t-il possible un jour de contourner cette difficulté de l'enseignement à distance qui consiste à vouloir produire des cours pour une très grande population d'étudiants tout en tenant compte des différences individuelles entre les personnes... La mise au point d'activités cognitives correspondant aux stratégies cognitives des individus et l'élaboration d'activités de type métacognitif pourraient éventuellement résoudre quelques-unes des difficultés des cours en enseignement à distance.

Au plan des pratiques de conception des cours, la typologie que nous entendons mettre au point constitue une nécessité. Même si dans les cours analysés, nous observons une correspondance entre certains types d'objectifs et certains types d'activités d'apprentissage, il apparaît clairement que des aspects de l'apprentissage ne sont pas touchés par les activités, que des types d'activités sont surutilisés et que les relations objectifs-activités ne sont pas toujours évidentes. Dans ce sens, un modèle cognitif de l'apprentissage nous semble plus approprié pour combler ces lacunes (Clark, 1987).

Enfin, il faut plus de recherche pour mieux comprendre et améliorer les aspects cognitif, métacognitif et affectif de l'apprentissage dans le contexte réel de l'enseignement à distance. Nous connaissons mal et ne comprenons pas très bien encore la relation entre les aspects cognitifs et métacognitifs de l'apprentissage. Comment s'influencent-ils mutuellement, et dans quel sens? La recension des écrits que nous avons réalisée montre la rareté des travaux dans ce secteur par ailleurs de plus en plus important dans nos institutions.

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Référence Notes

1. Ce texte a été présenté lors d'une communication au Congrès des Sciences de l'éducation de langue française du Canada, Sherbrooke, novembre 1989.
2. On peut obtenir une copie d'un document de travail décrivant sommairement ces catégories en en faisant la demande à l'un ou l'autre des auteurs.
3. On trouvera dans Deschênes et al. (1988) une description plus complète de tous les aspects méthodologiques de l'analyse de ce cours.
4. On trouvera dans Deschênes et al. (à paraître a) une description plus complète de tous les aspects méthodologiques de cette analyse.
5. On peut trouver une description plus détaillée de ces résultats dans Deschênes et al., 1988.
6. On peut trouver une description plus détaillée de ces résultats dans Deschênes et al., à paraître a.
7. Nous travaillons actuellement à l'analyse de quatre autres cours dont trois conçus par des institutions autres que la Télé-université. Nous pourrons, lorsque ce travail sera terminé, dégager un portrait plus global de la pratique actuelle concernant l'utilisation des activités d'apprentissage.

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PERSPECTIVES

PARTICIPATORY ACTION RESEARCH AS A WAY OF LIFE: A PERSONAL ACCOUNT

Timothy Pyrch
The University of Calgary

Abstract

This is a personal account of events that occurred during 1989 related to the concept of participatory action research. Drawing upon my own experiences and education in the Canadian context, I introduce participatory action research as a way of life that is attracting more and more people in international adult education. I then examine two main issues in the debate surrounding the concept: the nature of knowledge and participation. This concept represents our current beacon for adult educator commitment to the elimination of oppression from the world.

Résumé

Cet article se présente comme un récit personnel des événements qui portèrent sur le concept de la recherche participative en 1989. Faisant appel à mes propres expériences et à mon éducation en contexte canadien, je présenterai la recherche participative comme une façon de vivre adoptée, internationalement, par un nombre croissant d'éducateurs des adultes. J'examinerai ensuite deux questions-clés portant sur le débat en cours: la nature des connaisssances et celle de la participation. Ceci constitue un nouveau paramétre susceptible d'éclairer l'éducateur d'adultes dans la voie de son engagement pour un monde sans oppression.

Participatory action research (PAR) is a significant contribution to the adult education movement from the Third World. It reminds us as Canadians of adult education's commitment to social improvement and to our own innovative contributions to that end. The concept is

626

disarmingly simple with its appeal to basic democracy and mutual aid. It is challenging in its insistence that humankind must acquire the will and discipline to live in harmony with each other and with all other species.

Introduction

My experience in PAR related activities commenced in 1973 when I was part of a team of researchers working for the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians. As a trained historian whose responsibility it was to scour the public archives of Canada in Ottawa, I provided some of the historical knowledge that my legal and social science colleagues in Regina incorporated into their work on behalf of the Federation's treaty rights research. In addition, there was a team of field workers that helped people on reserves combine their knowledge of various treaty rights issues with the official knowledge we professional researchers manufactured. We in turn learned how to interpret our findings guided by the people for whom we worked. There was an action component as well. While tracing their history, Saskatchewan Indians were acting to transform their reality by setting right some past wrongs while resurrecting their dignity. I was deeply impressed by the process we had learned together and it influenced me throughout the five years I worked for the Federation, the Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs and the Gabriel Dumont Institute of Native Studies and Applied Research. In between that work, I wrote a doctoral dissertation in adult education that searched out the community development concept in the Canadian and American adult education movement. Thus, I had the advantage of both reflecting upon and acting within a social change orientation.

I learned something else while working for the Federation. I discovered there is a much more exciting history of Canada than I had seen in the average textbook. Writing history on behalf of and with Native Peoples introduced me to a richness and a world view that I had not known. I also came to understand that we have created oppression in our country through policies based upon racism and sexism. Moreover, we wrote off an entire knowledge-generating system when we simply forced our value system upon our aboriginal ancestors. Hopefully that system has only been forced underground and not destroyed. Recalling the life-saving wisdom provided to the early European settlers of this continent by the Native Peoples, I wonder if we today are in need of some more?

We have strength in our adult education traditions that might also help. If PAR is related to people acting to solve problems themselves then we should recall the establishment of the Women's Institutes. We might recall the Antigonish Movement that very much depended upon humankind's natural abilities to cooperate collectively and marshal local resources for the well being of all.

Similarly, the farmer's movements in Western Canada as well as the rise of the Canadian Confederation of Farmers (CCF) and Social Credit political parties demonstrated our desire to participate actively in democracy. In these instances, people came together in face of economic depression, social instability and political impotence. We discovered reservoirs of energy and knowledge in communities when people came together for self-help and mutual aid. The community development concept was a guiding philosophy in the early years of our adult education movement: the idea that learning and action enabled people to become masters of their own destiny.

At the same time, some of these activities were contentious. Collective action to transform Canadian society was interpreted by some as too radical, if not revolutionary. Still, during the emergencies of depression and war during the 1930s and 1940s, all efforts were valid and all knowledge needed for our survival.

When the emergencies ended, when we became prosperous in a material sense, and when political extremism exemplified in McCarthyism made talk of social transformation suspect if not treasonous, inquiry about adult education helping to direct social change faded. Commencing in the 1950s, the trend was to professionalize, to legitimize the field of adult education study, and to create a discipline. Some ideas were forced into molds that changed their appearance and meaning. For example, adult education professors co-opted the mildly radical community development concept and declared it a method of adult education. (Pyrch, 1983, pp. 206-212) Community development programs that sprang up during the 1950s and 1960s aimed to ameliorate conditions for specific groups like the Native Peoples rather than looking to transform Canadian society; likewise there were similar programs that aimed to influence development in the Third World. Times had changed. The improvement of economic conditions but masked social and spiritual inadequacies. We might recall our colleague Ron Faris's story of our passionate forbearers but also note that his story about the reform element in the Canadian Association for Adult Education ended in 1952. (Faris, 1975) Did our passion leave? Are we now entirely establishment oriented? Are we preoccupied with how to measure participation rates more and more finely? For what purpose? Does this work prepare us for the millenium? It seems to me that we must rediscover our passion if we hope to avoid redundancy. Or is it too late?

There are positive signs as well. The historian Michael Welton reminds us regularly of our obligation to work toward social transformation while introducing us to our radical traditions. (Welton, 1987) There are many and varied adult education activities that resemble PAR: for example, popular theatre, cooperatives, environmental groups, indigenous science, grey power. In other words, there are people who are investigating reality in order to change it. One difficulty is identifying and contacting those people. Perhaps the Participatory Research Group based in Toronto might help. It is hoping to identify PAR activities in Canada so that like-minded souls can find each other.

It seems to me that we might be able to recognize legitimate PAR if we acquire a good sense of what we are looking for. PAR is the methodology of an alternative, popular system of knowledge production. It is helpful to know that what we are doing is recovering knowledge as well as creating it. According to Rajesh Tandon, a vice president of the International Council for Adult Education, "...throughout history popular systems of knowledge and an alternative system of knowledge production have existed parallel to the dominant system". (Tandon, 1988, p.6) If this is so, we must look elsewhere in addition to the traditional institutions, agencies and programs. For my part, I am organizing a long term research strategy that is strongly influenced by what I know about PAR. I have in place a loosely conceived "Telling Our Story Ourselves Group" composed of individuals throughout Alberta that have accepted my invitation to explore the history of adult learning in the province. The plan is to encourage people to look outside schools and other formal structures to identify and analyze ways in which we have learned things in the past. Once encouraged to look beyond the barriers with which we have surrounded ourselves, an enormous reservoir of knowledge begs to be drawn forth, thus making our history of learning much more exciting than simply looking at schooling.

PAR Conferences

In July 1989, I was part of a team that managed an international conference on PAR at the University of Calgary, attended by people from 35 countries. Two months later, I attended a five day conference on PAR in Managua, Nicaragua that attracted practitioners and scholars from 25 countries. These conferences have been described and compared elsewhere. (Pyrch, 1990) Here, I shall share my selected impressions and observations.

Early in our discussions in Managua during a small group exercise, a Nicaraguan asked me why I was holding back my knowledge. We had introduced ourselves in the usual group discussion way. I sketched the Calgary story and was perceived to have a lot of information. My inclination was to observe and await appropriate moments to join in the conversation, and not appear to be the expert which I did not fancy I was. However, I was not permitted the luxury of just sitting back. My new friend said there was no time for anyone to hold back anything. Nicaragua was desperate and demanded immediate and complete support from all available resources. I found this refreshingly stimulating, coming from an environment where we hold back knowledge for our own advantage in order to score individual gain. Nicaragua's enormous needs demanded collective cooperative action. Egotism has no place. And so these observations are offered for scrutiny, hoping they will help us work together to understand the demands upon adult educators world-wide. Besides, knowledge is much more valuable when shared.

This sense of urgency is deepened when we look at the enormous threats to our survival in the form of the population explosion, the greenhouse effect and the AIDS epidemic. At the same time, the winds of change have turned into storms that are upsetting immovable objects like the Berlin Wall and Apartheid. A poet became president of Czechoslovakia in December 1989! Perhaps we are courageous enough to force down those barriers with which we have surrounded ourselves: academic disciplines; bureaucracies; nation states. PAR, it seems to me, is one way to do so.

PAR as a Way of Life

Many people I met at the Calgary and Managua conferences, and in meetings before and after, refer to PAR as a way of life. Orlando Fals

Borda, the president of the Latin America Council on Adult Education, told us about "science for life" that represents a new form of science which combines the various forms of knowledge as the promise for the future. He argued that scientific knowledge has its origins in people's knowledge and has forgotten its roots and its humanity. Our job is to reconnect science to its origins. He has been making this point consistently over the years and it highlighted his presentation to the Ljubljana conference on PAR held in 1980. (Fals Borda, 1981) Indeed, his life itself has been a model of the essence of PAR and he shared some of his story with us in Calgary. (Prych, Rusted & Morris, 1990) Even now as he has re-entered university life after a twenty year absence, he continues to be active in supporting democracy in Colombia. When I saw him in Managua he told me he was one of the organizers of *Colombia Unido*, a coalition of various social movements to champion the cause of peace and justice in his country: at some personal risk no doubt.

Fals Borda is not alone, and there probably are people in every country working in the same way and guided by similar ideas. I say this with confidence because I shared with many others in Calgary and Managua the powerful and immediate sense of "belonging to each other." We seemed to understand that we were there to learn how to learn from each other. We were directed by an ethic that encourages a balance between listening and speaking, and between taking and giving. We were searching for freedom, hoping we might help each other achieve it in the context of our own individual realities. We were helping each other gain confidence in who we were, finding our voice if you like.

Sometimes this helping occurred unexpectedly. During my visit to Esteli in northern Nicaragua, while sharing thoughts and experiences, I caught myself giving some advice to our hosts. They had shared their interpretation of how their community originated and evolved, and hoped some day a historian would tell their story for them. I spoke up and urged them to compile their story themselves because they were best able to do so. From the resulting nods and smiles from all, my point seemed to have hit home. The point is a simple one. Indigenous knowledge is profound and must not be undervalued.

While writing these words about our search for balance, I reminded myself again about how closely the activities resemble our libertarian roots. Michael Bakunin, a driving force in the anarchist movement in

Europe during the mid-nineteenth century, believed that if the revolutionary movement was to avoid turning into an end in itself, into another state even, complete unity must exist between its ends and means, between form and content. (Bookchin, 1977) We should live the ideas that we espouse. To me, this is implicit in PAR as a way of life. The discipline that this entails is reminiscent of an anarchist strain that has existed in Nicaragua. (Hodges, 1986) According to Murray Bookchin:

> [Anarchism] originated in the age-old drive of the oppressed to assert the spirit of freedom, equality, and spontaneity over values and institutions based on authority. This accounts for the enormous antiquity of anarchistic visions, their irrepressibility and continual re-emergence in history, particularly in periods of social transition and revolution. (Bookchin, 1977, p. 27)

Perhaps the Sandinistas are the more recent libertarian visionaries. They displayed great individual and collective discipline to have survived American economic and political sanctions and will require even more discipline to survive the set-back in the election of February 1990. In the face of the extraordinary social transitions in several parts of the world at the moment, it may be that those visionaries might appear elsewhere as well.

If PAR is taken up as a way of life, there must be great demands on how one lives that life. Indeed, the more I find out about PAR the more challenging the prospect of doing it becomes. Is it in fact more rigorous than traditional research? As a process oriented search for justice and transformation, it is hard to describe because it is so dynamic. And yet what do educators ever know for certain? The historian Lawrence Cremin taught us that education is a complex process fraught with irony and contradiction.

> What is taught is not always what is desired, and vice versa. What is taught is not always learned, and vice versa. And when what is taught is actually learned, it is frequently learned over lengthy periods of time and at the once, twice, and thrice removed, so that the intended and the incidental end up merging in such a way as to become virtually indistinguishable. Moreover, there are almost always unintended consequences in

> education; indeed, they are often more significant than those that.are intended. (Cremin, 1976, p. 44)

These uncertainties are comforting. The challenges of PAR seem manageable when we realize that even traditional education is faced with more questions than answers.

PAR Issues

There are many issues associated with PAR. I have identified some questions and have been with many people trying to find answers to them. These I propose to share in this section. At the outset, let us be clear that these have been issues for as long as we have searched for democracy and justice, and are not easily resolvable.

Knowledge. PAR advocates agree that official/expert/academic knowledge is insufficient to meet the difficulties we face world-wide. Fals Borda made this clear at Calgary when he said:

> Up to now the science we have inherited, the Cartesian science, Kantian science, Newton's science has led us almost to destruction; people's knowledge more akin to life, closer to realities and to the real needs of people, may save us from destruction. (Pyrch, Rusted & Morris, 1990)

This "science for life," he concluded, is our great hope. His definition of science is much broader than the one with which most of us are familiar.

Quite simply, we seem to be working to democratize knowledge. Key questions might unlock many closed doors depending upon who asks what, when and where. What is science? What is knowledge? How is knowledge produced? Whose interests does knowledge serve? Whose knowledge is valuable? We are living at a time when new forms of knowledge are being recognized, some of which might be new but some of which is knowledge we have devalued and disqualified over time. For example, a group of Dene women from the Northwest Territories presented their traditional way of producing knowledge during the Calgary conference. They seemed to be growing in confidence in their ability to resurrect and share their knowledge, in this instance their traditional medicine. In addition, our aboriginal

633

guests from Australia shared similar knowledge. It seems that aboriginal scholars are becoming more confident in their understanding of their own science and are sharing it more often. (Colorado, 1988) These ways of knowing have been celebrated in other contexts as well. Belenky and her colleagues have demonstrated women's ways of knowing, concluding that "even the most ordinary human being is engaged in the construction of knowledge." (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger & Tarule, 1986, p. 133)

Some commentators refer to a blending of people's knowledge with official knowledge; others refer to the prospect of creating an entirely new form of knowledge; and, others to envisaging parallel knowledge systems at work. During the Managua conference, four workshops, two English and two Spanish speaking, were directed to explore the nature of knowledge. One of the English speaking groups suggested there were two strands of thinking about the production of knowledge. (PAR Conference, Managua, 1989) One strand recognized two kinds of knowledge — scientific knowledge and popular knowledge. This strand "saw PAR as provoking the marriage of these two kinds of knowledge systems and coming up with new knowledge." The other strand looked at the mode of production of knowledge, recognizing two modes: the dominant mode that "supports the interests of the ruling class, elites and the state, to control and suppress the people and perpetuate the status quo;" and the popular mode that "produces knowledge to liberate and humanize and empower people." The group believed that the PAR process supports the popular mode while appropriating dominant knowledge for the benefit of the people. It was not decided which strand of thought was preferable.

Addressing the same issue, one Spanish speaking group concluded that "tying scientific knowledge to popular knowledge still does not achieve the systematized production of critical knowledge." They hinted that a "third knowledge" was required and was something more than simply blending the other two forms. Discussion centred around whether new knowledge was the goal or a new form of knowledge production, or both. This discussion has gone on since the early years of PAR.

During the Calgary conference, the Australians addressed the topic by drawing upon a new metaphor they related to a traditional metaphor in the culture of the Yolngu people of Arnhemland in the Northern Territory. This new metaphor is based upon ganma theory which relates to that culture without appropriating the history of those peoples. Ganma was presented to us as describing a situation in which a river of water from the sea (western knowledge) and a river of water from the land (aboriginal knowledge) mutually engulf each other upon flowing into a common lagoon and becoming one. In coming together the streams of water mix across the interface of the two currents and foam is created at the surface so that the process of ganma is marked by lines of foam along the interface of the two currents. In terms of the metaphor then, their case study presentation is a part of the line of foam that marks the interface between the current of Yolngu life and the current of western life. Both Yolngu and westerners can benefit from theorizing over the interaction between the two streams of life.[1] ((Watson & Chambers, 1989)

For me, the point is that the waters mix, dialogue with and learn from each other, and the result is a new form of knowledge enriched by both but unique. There is no hint of one consuming the other. They remain separate and sovereign, cooperative and sharing, generous and receptive: exactly as the Australian team presented themselves to us. This exemplifies the third kind of knowledge.

At present, I am most comfortable with the notion of PAR facilitating a process whereby parallel knowledge systems are at work moving humankind towards wisdom. This might capture what one of my colleagues on the Calgary organizing committee called "a wonderful synchronicity of ideas." (Kerr, 1990) It seems to me that if people's knowledge and official knowledge direct their efforts towards peace, justice and freedom, we might reach that dream by sharing energy while working together but apart.

One additional point about knowledge might be made, fully appreciating that these points are infinite. Much of the knowledge shared in PAR projects never makes it into the official or even the unofficial story simply because the projects themselves might be endangered. This seems to be understood by practitioners and there are things left unsaid that might represent the real power of the process. All countries have sanctions that are brought to bear if those working to transform society overstep certain hard to identify boundaries. These subtleties are difficult to express in this cold print medium but come out in all their glory when practitioners meet. "The important thing is to have met," a participant in Managua concluded.

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[1] The ganma metaphor is described in documents left with us in Calgary after the conference. Action Group, Yirrkala Community School, 1989. Interim Report on the project *Towards a Ganma Curriculum in Yolngu Schools*. Unpublished paper, p. 7.

During the experiences outlined thus far, it seems that most of the knowledge shared was resurrected knowledge and as resources dwindle globally we might come to rely on these processes more and more. As the economist Kenneth Boulding has observed:

> Knowledge is clearly a capital stock of a population. Learning is the process by which additions are made to this stock and, of course, forgetting or negative learning represents subtractions from the stock, or deaths of knowledge. (Boulding, 1986, p. 80)

The challenge is to reach beyond our grasp and embrace the knowledge we have at hand but may not recognize.

Participation. What does it mean to get involved directly in democracy? Is it enough to vote once every few years? What is authentic participation? How much can one participate or should one participate? Are there dangers involved? How can one participate in a repressive system? These are some questions asked about participation. The answers are multitudinous and multifarious.

PAR demands the participation of the people in all aspects of the research process so that the researcher and the researched become one in the mutual emancipation of all. This implies many things. Those involved in the process must work together collectively and cooperatively, "always together", according to the Australian team during their Calgary presentation. (Marika, R., Ngurruwutthun, D. & White, L., 1989) Selfless discipline seems to be required while all decision-making is shared and open. Three lines written by Lao-tzu and borrowed by Bertrand Russell to introduce his study of libertarian thought, sum up for me the meaning of participation. (Russell, B., 1918, p. 3)

Production without possession
Action without self-assertion
Development without domination

This is very demanding indeed. It requires the discipline and commitment to work to break up the traditional oppressive relationships based on class, gender, race, religion or age, or any other discriminatory category.

Another major obligation in the concept of participation is the demand for action. "To understand participatory research you must do participatory research," Rachel Polistoco of The Philippines told the closing plenary in Calgary. (Polistoco, 1989) It was clear to everyone in Calgary and Managua that although it was good to have met and exchanged ideas, it was imperative that all return home to engage in PAR. This kind of commitment is reminiscent of the Highlander tradition of "getting information, going back and teaching it." (Adams, 1975) That was radical enough in the 1930s to have Highlander condemned by the authorities. Adding the requirement for us to act directly with the people carries the demand even further. We are led invariably into the realm of political activity. As Fals Borda noted in Calgary, we should be aware that what we do is political. "And don't get afraid by using the word political," he challenged. He referred to politics in the Aristotelian sense — "politics for justice, politics for progress, politics for peace." (Pyrch, Rusted & Morris, 1990)

PAR contains a political dimension and arouses controversy as a result. Some visitors to Calgary were unwilling to admit to political involvement. Others were certain about the political nature of their work and discounted as being PAR activities which were not political. This came out in Managua as well. Latin Americans were pretty clear about the political nature of their work and in the protection of Sandinista Nicaragua could talk openly. Participants from Africa were uncomfortable with such talk. They wondered if a revolution had to precede PAR since they could not see the process gaining a foothold on their continent if it implied political action. This directs us back to the questions posed at the beginning of this section. What is authentic participation? Clearly it varies according to time and place. Is it always identifiable, especially to outsiders? Or is it somehow masked in order not to attract attention from those it might challenge? On the other hand, if one is not engaged in social transformation work, in other words working to change society, is one doing PAR? Probably not, from my experience. It might be some other form of development work, but it is not PAR.

When we talked about democracy in Managua, the urgency, fear, passion and simplicity of the Guatemalans and Salvadorans was overwhelming and quite extraordinary compared to the routine sort of democracy that I practice. The sense of urgency might have been even greater amongst the Nicaraguans I met who have a sense of responsibility to translate the opportunity they have into a democracy that would be a model of justice, peace and equality. I detected that responsibility at the rural cooperative I visited as well as at the university. If that is indeed so, Nicaraguans might have been practising democracy more vigorously than we in our complacent democracy.

Obviously there are hazards, risks and sometimes penalties to participating in democracy. Representatives of the status quo usually feel threatened when people challenge the existing social order. All societies have sanctions to greet that challenge whether in the form of a bullet, loss of job, or refusal of tenure. There are other less obvious tensions. During the Managua conference, several Central Americans spoke of the psychological strains caused when familiar practices are abandoned and new ideas adopted. One of the English speaking workshop groups in Managua summarized their work with these words:

> A challenge for PAR in Nicaragua and elsewhere is how a future free of past constraints can be envisioned. We must be aware of the psychological strain between past/present, dependency/independence and so on. (PAR Conference, Managua, 1989)

Is it any easier in Canada? We all know how easy it is to be stretched too far when always available to lend a helping hand. The queue outside an office suggests a willing helpful person behind the door. Few really appear to care so that those who do may become drained in no time.

These two issues, the nature of knowledge and participation, are hotly debated whenever PAR is discussed. There are many others. For example, is PAR really "research?" What sort? Can universities contribute anything to the war on oppression? Can one ever be neutral about anything? One of the English speaking groups at the final plenary session in Managua shared ten questions and statements

63

that summarized their concerns. These are listed here because they capture immediate and universal concerns:

1. How can we ensure that PAR is not another method of oppression?
2. How can we prevent the co-optation of PAR by the state?
3. What new relationships/institutions are needed?
4. The political nature of PAR needs addressing.
5. How can we strengthen the linkages between PAR and similar activities?
6. PAR is a political and social activity and not narrow.
7. How can we sustain PAR beyond projects?
8. How can we form an international network housed in the Third World?
9. How can we draw upon the strengths of expert knowledge?
10. How can we assure that PAR addresses women's reality?

There are fearful consequences if we do not participate in democracy. Within our own country we shall create more apathy, frustration and alienation if we are simply too lazy to get involved in our own communities. We must be vigilant and energetic in removing oppression from our own backyards. At the same time we must help others engaged in a similar task in our global village. "The point about democracy," stated a recent article in the Manchester Guardian, "is that it is an association of free peoples: and free peoples tend to care about other people struggling to be free." (Manchester Guardian Weekly, 1989, p. 1)

Conclusion

During the past several months PAR has become a major influence on my life. As a university-based professor of continuing education responsible for programs related to the environment, at every step I try to build in elements of PAR. For example, conferences I plan combine official with people's knowledge and I insist that advisors, presenters and participants cooperative collectively while encouraging each other to reflect on how we abuse the environment and then to formulate plans for doing something about it directly. This might not be authentic PAR but it aims at similar outcomes. My research interests as reflected in these words are clear. I am exploring establishing a PAR project in rural Alberta. I teach a graduate course on the history of adult education and make my biases clear. My students know my position and are free to share it or to critique it. At least they will have been exposed to one part of adult education, a part that unabashedly believes that our passion continues and we should simply get on with making the world a better place.

There is something, some ingredient in adult education from time immemorial that has been trying to expose and to nurture people's knowledge so that people and their communities can liberate themselves from oppression of whichever form: economic, spiritual poverty, ignorance, apathy, bigotry or political impotence. We need to recover that ingredient lest we are left behind while the storms of change spread world-wide. There is a fine line between what happened at Tiananmen and Wenceslas Squares. If faced with a similar challenge in Canada are we certain of the outcome?

As I end this part of my story, I leave to take up Polistico's advice to do PAR in order to understand it. It would be useful for me to hear about your experience with PAR. I need some help in making my connections. If these words start a dialogue with like-minded souls maybe our task will be easier. We need each other as we work for justice, progress and peace.

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BOOK REVIEWS/RECENSIONS

GETTING AHEAD COLLECTIVELY

Albert O. Hirschman. 1984. New York: Pergamon Press Inc.

Getting Ahead Collectively is an unusual work about grassroots organizations in Latin America. The form of the book does not easily fit the common standard of a scholarly work (i.e., a minimum of footnotes, no bibliography). It is composed of brief stories supported by richly expressive photographs about the author's experiences and observations during visits to grassroots groups in six countries in Latin America: The Dominican Republic, Columbia, Peru, Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay.

In a way, it is like a travel book, light and easy to read, taking us smoothly from one country to another. The novelty of the content lies in the "inverted sequences" through which the author discusses and reevaluates some of the fixed assumptions and prerequisites regarding the development process. Rather than providing highly theoretical and analytical discussion, the content is developed through the stories, pictures and brief comments aimed at capturing the heart of these different grassroots experiences.

From a critical point of view, the author expresses doubts concerning macro-social analysis perspectives which consider large-scale political-structural change as a precondition for grassroots development. Further, he questions some "wrong-way-round" or "cart-before-the-horse" approaches to development. The swinging of the pendulum from autocratic authoritarianism to more or less democratic forms and back again has led many people to mistrust "top down" approaches. The repeatedly unfulfilled promises of central governments' policies have prompted people to rely more on the resources that they have at hand: their solidarity and willingness to act, which grow out of a sense of deprivation, lead them to organize in the pursuit of solutions to their problems. This political disillusionment goes along with a mistrust of national economic plans, as conceived by central bureaucracies, for the betterment of the poor.

By examining case studies, the author discusses some of the inverted sequences or "cart-before-the-horse" approaches, such as those which rely on "Security of Title" as a precondition for housing improvements. He shows that it has been, in fact, the "insecurity of title" which moved people to take action for such improvements. Along the same line, he finds that education, rather than being a prerequisite, often is induced only after the action. The achievement of some forms of development will naturally lead people to demand some form of education, i.e., training in literacy, arithmetic, health-care, etc., when these are seen as necessary tools to deal with and increase the objectives which have already been attained.

On the question of aid for grassroots development, the author quite rightly refers to the changing perspective regarding this. International aid is no longer mainly channelled from the central government bureaucracy of the donor country to that of the recipient country. Presently, the aid is increasingly coordinated by non-government organizations and humanitarian and church organizations, and is aimed more directly at the grassroots groups through similar organizations at the national level. This shift is perceived as being doubly beneficial in that it avoids tied-aid, political manipulation, and allows freer movement to local participants to deal with the needs that are more strongly felt. Clearly, this new orientation attempts to overcome traditional approaches which regarded aid as charity work or individual-oriented remedial alleviation. The shared view that this aid ought to be directed toward organized groups with concrete projects for collective action serving various functions (education, public health, housing improvements, agricultural extension, development promotion or handicraft, and small business, etc.) is greatly beneficial to grassroots development.

Hirschman believes that the state of oppression and deprivation, authoritarian governments' attempts to privatize human lives along with the economy, and other aggressive acts against the poor, has the unintended virtue of generating and expanding people's solidarity and willingness to "get ahead collectively" as the only means to find possible solutions to their isolation and material abandonment. The author calls this "the Principle of Conservation and Mutation of Social Energy." Such a principle is clearly seen at work in a region where people have participated in one form or another in collective experiences attempting to change their situation. Although such attempts may have been frustrated and ended in strong repression and imposed silence, the energy is always kept alive and does not disappear. On the contrary, it is increasingly renewed and accumulated to reappear when conditions allow, and with a more mature commitment gained from the experiences lived.

In the final chapter, "What Does It All Add Up To", the author presents his views in clearer terms. Contesting more radical political positions from both the Right and the Left alike, he questions the practicality of theories which perceive social change mainly dependent upon changes in the central governments. According to the author, it is this long tradition, dating from the French Revolution, which is seriously questioned today. From this perspective, he rejects the Gross National Product macroanalysis approach to development and social change so widely embraced in preceding decades. Nevertheless, it is difficult not to perceive that his perspective is, to some extent, aligned with some of the modernization assumptions regarding development and social change. His suggestion that "for political conditions to change more fundamentally, a great many social, cultural and even personal relationships must become transformed" could be considered as such.

Naturally, the author's general position could easily be criticized from the perspective of more radically political-oriented theories such as those of the pro-marxist, dependency and liberationist types which are strongly advocated in the region. However, it is only fair to remember that the author is not concerned with macrotheoretical analyses and that his observations, experiences and impressions are field-rooted and the result of personal contact with these organizations and their work in different communities. The experiences in the field do not always correspond to those of more abstract theories. In any case, his distrust of more radical approaches is not an isolated attitude. A number of thinkers and politicians who deal with the regional matters are becoming more cautious about the extent to which radical changes are equally feasible or desirable within the different conditions of the various countries. Even some left-wing representatives, in light of the alarming deterioration of human rights and general repression, perceive that the goal of the moment is not by far, at least for now, the pursuit of pro-socialist changes, but simply the recovery of very elemental democratic forms such as respect for human rights, freedom of the press and a minimum of political tolerance.

In this context, the very existence of these grassroots organizations is already a laudable achievement. Hirschman enthusiastically believes that grassroots organizations hold promise for greater human and material development in the region. Despite the author's reservations in considering radical changes for the area, he can hardly refrain from showing his enthusiasm, born out of his personal experience with these organizations, in envisioning the potential prospects of grassroots development in Latin America.

Luis Guajardo
Dalhousie University

THE ORGANIZATION AND PLANNING OF ADULT EDUCATION

Theodore J. Kowalski. 1988. Albany: State University of New York Press

The book's main focus is the organizational context in which structured learning programs for adults are offered. Organizational theory is infused throughout, offering the reader a foundation for understanding the relationship of the sponsoring agency and the dynamics of learning activities.

The book is divided succinctly into four Parts: Organizational Context; Organizational Theory; The Planning Process; and The Future of Planning. The first two Parts provide a well-organized conceptual framework while Parts 3 and 4 discuss the basic elements of program planning. Using the organizational context, the reader will find practical suggestions for proceeding with tasks such as needs assessment, setting up advisory councils, budgeting, curriculum planning, and evaluation. The debilities of technical models are examined, and both linear and nonlinear paradigms of program planning are discussed. The final two chapters in Part 4—The Future of Planning—offer a summation, focusing mainly on how the future is apt to alter, even more, the challenges and responsibilities of administrators who select adult education as an occupation.

It would appear that this book has been written essentially for adult education programmers and administrators. They will find this to be a useful but not indispensable reference. The main strength of the book lies in the author's ability to convey the impact of organizational variables on the program planning process. He shows the interconnectedness of learner needs, organizational needs, and environmental pressures with program planning. Because programs are developed in such a wide variety of institutions and environments, the author suggests that practitioners ought to have a thorough knowledge of their parent organization. A basic premise is that the organizational format for programming should reflect the values, needs and priorities of the parent organization: that is, adult education (as a subpart of the organization) should be congruent with its organizational environment. According to Kowalski, practitioners should not overly rely on what he calls "craft knowledge" (i.e. proven practices, tradition) but instead, attempt to refine their stock of craft knowledge by linking it with theory. In short, he advocates an approach to planning which integrates past practice with new knowledge and insights gained from reflection and systematic observations. One of the author's intentions here is to offer a solution to the theory-practice disjunction so often referred to in the program planning literature as an impediment to research.

While the author relies heavily on systems theory as the basis for his program planning model, neither planning itself or the concept of organization is reified. He does not assume, unlike many organizational theorists, that organizations are written into the natural order of things. One of the lingering problems in the study of organizations is that of understanding human intention and meaning. Part of the complexity in this problem is found in the observation that people can act purposefully and yet bring about consequences that are wholly unintended for themselves and for others. We live, work, and play. And in so doing we believe, assert self, establish order around us, dominate others, or are dominated by them. Action flowing from meaning and intention weaves the fabric of social reality. From this perspective, we may better understand organizations if we conceive of them as being an invented reality, an illusion that rests on a kind of social sleight-of-hand. It is true, as Kowalski's image confirms, that organizations often appear to be solid, real entities that act independently of human control and are difficult to change. Yet the paradox, one to which the author appears sensitive, is that the vital spark, the dynamic of organization is made from nothing more substantial than people doing and thinking. Organizations are limited by and defined by human action—a perspective the author could have injected into the discussion. By assuming a somewhat "scientific" view of the organization, the author overlooks the fact that organizations are accomplished by people and people are ultimately responsible for what goes on in them.

The image one gets of Kowalski's kind of organization is that of a productive unit staffed by humans who are subsidiary to the organization chart and independent of it. Kowalski would have done better to acknowledge the competing notion that organizations are essentially expressions of human will, intention, and value. Moreover, good programming in adult education may not necessarily be the product of expert planning based on systems theory, but rather, the result of human desire, passion, commitment, competence and the ability to cope in the face of crisis and uncertainty. There is no ultimate reality about organizations, only a state of constant flux. Is this not true for adult education programs as well?

While Kowalski has done the field of adult education a service by writing this book—it will be of interest to academics, graduate students, and practitioners alike—the major flaw is in his normative and rather functionalist view both of organizations and program planning. Those who write and conduct research in the area of program planning, if they are to reduce the gap that has always existed between theory and practice, must begin to acknowledge that the study of administration and organizations is presently cast in a narrow mold. In the writer's opinion, adult educators have been unduly influenced by the scientific view of organizations whose experts claim that an objective view of the social world enables them to conduct value-free inquiry. They claim to possess knowledge that enables them to control organizations and to improve them. But such large claims appear increasingly unsound, for the science that justifies them rests on methods and assumptions that dismiss the central realities of administration as irrelevant. These realities are values in human action. The current overwhelming acceptance of positivist science in organization theory has led, regrettably, to an uncritical acceptance of systems models at the expense of human intention. One would have wished this otherwise well-written volume to reflect a more critical perspective of organizations. Notwithstanding this, the book fills a gap in the program planning literature and should appeal to a wide audience.

John R. Minnis
University of Manitoba

ALL DAY, EVERY DAY: FACTORY AND FAMILY IN THE MAKING OF WOMEN'S LIVES

Sallie Westwood. 1985. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press

All Day, Every Day presents a dramatic analysis of the subordination women face as workers, wives, and mothers under conditions set by patriarchal capitalism. Having spend a year living and working with the women of a British hosiery factory, Sallie Westwood identifies the interwoven layers of work processes and patriarchal ideologies, within gender, class and racial definitions. She manages to clarify how notions, culturally internalized and institutionalized, have ensured the oppression and subordination of all women on all shopfloors. Westwood emphasizes that women's struggle is political and only through collective effort can they overcome the oppressive conditions. She painstakingly unravels the particulars of a struggle, played out through resistance and celebration, that reflects their understanding of the situation. Through determined effort they create a dynamic shopfloor culture, which paradoxically empowers the women to resist the system, yet at the same time, reinforces their dependence and subordination.

Westwood outlines the management structure of the "old family firm" Stitch Co., a microcosm of patriarchal authority that reflects an outwardly benign, cosy, atmosphere; the management promotes the image of "one big happy family." Ironically, the culture created by the women to resist control gives the firm an opening to confirm its family-like image—tolerating the activities of "the girls." However much the reality of the hierarchal control is obscured by the firm's expression of pride in maintaining good labour relations and working conditions, the union structure replicates the hierarchy. As later discussion emphasizes, the union is *of* and *for* brothers, not sisters. The implied choice for workers is one of having either good wages *or* security, good working conditions, and benefits.

The tedium of the work and the reality of exploitation and profit are practically understood by the women, yet their only escape is to create a separate life or culture on the shopfloor, one that is separated from the work itself. However, it is clear that this "reaction" in response to the control is not really separated from anything. The division between the world of work and that of family is practically non-existent. Part of their shopfloor culture is the act of bringing touches of domesticity to their work—wearing aprons and slippers, decorating "their" machines with personal tokens, and bringing to work other signs of their role in families. Conversely, they transfer the routine and discipline from the shopfloor into their homes, "repeating aspects of the labour process in their housework"

Although the focus is on women's role in the labour process, Westwood is careful not to ignore how class, race and age also determine position and value within the hierarchy of the capitalistic labour structure, and affect the shopfloor culture. She argues that the worlds of work and home are inextricably linked, noting that in working class families, young men as well as young women are controlled by the system. Familial bases for apprenticeships and job recruitment mean that generations follow one another into the world of low-paying wages. The move into the workplace is anticipated as a move toward gaining autonomy, but in reality, especially for women, the bitter irony is that it is a move toward deeper entrapment.

She points out that as a way to struggle free from the patterns of cultural discrimination, families in minority cultural groups attach particular importance to education and qualifications as a means for younger generations to compete equally with the majority culture for jobs. She argues that Black women (Westwood uses this designation to include Asian, Caribbean, African, and British-born Blacks) suffer gender and racial discrimination on the shopfloor.

The women of Stitch Co. demystify management's strategy of direct control over their labour. They recognize that the system is divisive, encouraging competition, and imposes socially constructed categories like "skilled" and "unskilled". The women realize that the designation has nothing to do with skill but with speed for the sake of production. Their response to this divisiveness takes the form of complaints, criticism, jokes, laughter—important means of communication among those who share in the oppression. Westwood reasons that the close supervision, and the intensity of competition are constants in undermining the strength of solidarity shared by the women. In addition, she notes that gender division of labour keeps the "unskilled" women dependent on the "skilled" technicians and notes that these labels (unskilled/skilled) mask actual competencies. Further, she adds, the "the divisions keep the women, with few exceptions, in the low-wage stratum limiting their economic independence and autonomy".

Another form of subordination is created by the division between the male-dominated union and the women. Although a few women are in union positions to speak for women's interests, the organization, controlled by men and run for the men, most often silences these voices. Westwood listened to the indictment against the framework in which "women's work is minimised, trivialised and viewed as peripheral in relation to [that] of male members." She presents an enlightening picture of the complexities inherent in this framework. The women develop a strong sense of powerlessness and mistrust in the union and even in their female representatives. These perceptions give added power to management. Once again we are reminded of the patriarchal domination reproducing itself in the workplace.

It is within this structure that the shopfloor culture takes place. Paradoxically, the culture evolves as a form of resistance and escape. Yet it "was built on notions of femininity, which colluded with a subordinate and domesticated version of women." Nevertheless, the rituals and celebrations are the women's means of survival on the shopfloor. Despite age and cultural differences, the strength, energy, and power of this solidarity is remarkable.

In her analysis of the culture, Westwood raises the important question of just how liberatory the learning that takes place on the shopfloor is. Again and again, the contradictions seem almost to be stumbling over themselves. Each celebration reflects a notion of anticipation of some measure of control over one's own life, notions that the events of engagements, marriage, and motherhood are steps to full membership in the adult world. The women seem to take pleasure in the celebrations, brief indulgences in an illusory world of freedom; they are merely deferring the disillusionment. These moments are special for the strength of friendship and shared understanding; yet the constant theme of attempting to invert the notion of patriarchal authority is undercut by the powerful sexist ideologies which define woman's role, whether in factory or family.

Just as carefully as she defines management structure and the labour process, Westwood defines family structure. Her intention is not to subvert the structure but to emphasize its potential for exploitation, brutality, inequality and fear. Like other feminists, she challenges the "rosy glow" that surrounds family as a haven of warmth and safety in an alienated and aggressive world.

One difference between the oppression and subordination in the factory and family is that within the family the women labour for love, for people who really matter, real people with real needs. Here they feel some value and worth, whereas on the shopfloor, they labour for the profits of supervisors, managers, and owners. Regardless of whatever motivations and illusions the women have, Westwood reasons, the world of work and home comprise one sphere.

In her penultimate chapter, Westwood confronts the most complicated institution so far addressed—motherhood. She refers to Adrienne Rich's condemnation of the experience of motherhood under patriarchal constraints: "Patriarchy could not survive without motherhood and heterosexuality in their institutional forms; therefore they have to be treated as axioms, as nature itself. "From this departure, in a carefully constructed explication, Westwood reveals the inseparable worlds of work and family. Not only is the idea of motherhood perceived as the apex of a woman's life, but also as a means to greater access to the resources of men and the state. Those women who consider motherhood the signal to leave the factory and become dependent on a husband's support, are, in a way, "calling the bluff" of the "family wage" construct. She reports that for some, the strategy proves realistic and practical. Attitudes revealed here about motherhood form a most complex picture. The celebration of birth and the joys of motherhood confirm the pleasures, and push into the shadows the fears and the "emotional and psychological turmoil" involved in motherhood.

Westwood points out that although the women believe in the value of motherhood over "sewing on buttons", they come to realize that leaving the factory means leaving the socialized support and solidarity of women together. Once again the contradictions become very clear: commitment to motherhood means coming into full membership of womanhood. With the acceptance of the role, the woman is removed from the supportive group and becomes further dependent on the male breadwinner.

At this point Westwood adds a powerful dimension to her work. However, she drifts a little far afield in her discussion of the extent of dependence on professional health services. Although her analysis gives particular depth to the expressed disapproval from the women about their treatment, and points to the realities of institutionalized control over reproduction, the vital issues she raises could (and

651

should) fill another volume. But she makes critical points for framing the problems of women's alienation, protestation, and rejection which contribute to their disadvantage.

After delving into matters of racism, ethnicity, poverty, and poor housing as major causes of poor health, Westwood moves back to the shopfloor. In a direct challenge to the public/private split, she points out the "poverty of a conceptual framework which separates home and work as distinct spheres." She attacks the "male" notion that the two worlds are neatly divided. A real division would give some justification to the attitude that childbirth and motherhood are related solely to family life, thereby suggesting that, within the workplace, issues of maternity rights and benefits are inappropriate and need not be a concern.

Westwood's conclusion offers a comprehensive, critical perspective on the impact of patriarchy and capitalism on women in both factory and home. She reasons that the experiences of the women doing two jobs and still not earning wages that give them independence and autonomy cannot be explained only as a matter of "class oppression located in the economics of capitalism." The women's struggle for equality is locked in mortal combat with the power of sexist and racist ideologies which create strong barriers, reinforcing the dependence and subordination of women.

Westwood presents strong evidence—powerful articulation from the women—to indicate that these women of Stitch Co. learn from their own lives and from those of others, "reinterpreting experience in ways which cut through common sense to uncover the real conditions that constrain them." The complexities, the contradictions, do not paralyze them; they are engaged in a continuous struggle toward a broader perspective. The quality of life is in need of revision.

Westwood, in her critical discourse on shopfloor culture, offers one non-traditional context for the development of a new knowledge base for a learning theory. The shopfloor culture shows a complex, socio-political process. The women learn to cope all day, every day by breaking the patterns, demystifying the system, recognizing the power structure, realizing self-worth, and responding with resistance to the forces working against their autonomy. For presenting this construct, *All Day, Every Day* merits a place in any serious study of developing learning theory.

Structurally, *All Day, Every Day* reflects the life patterns of the women, the intensity, the tedium, broken by moments of celebration, the shocking details, the diversions—all "dead on" course. Reading the "Sink" chapters is like getting caught in a tumble-dry cycle. These sections are most compelling, in all the sleazy details. The experience is as engaging as an occasion of "tripping out on Coronation Street.," With a sustained tone, Westwood weaves through the sonorous dramatic voices with cogent analysis to emphasize the contradictions. She asked about their lives, then listened to what they had to say. Deftly, she clarifies the real drama of *All Day, Every Day*: in learning to cope, the women of Stitch Co. transformed their learning in a way to change their situation from one of hopeless exploitation and submissive subordination to realize some autonomy, some independence, if only for moments at a time. Becoming aware of the potential power of sisterhood is learning enough for a start.

Sallie Westwood does not despair, but by no means does she downplay the oppression. In tackling the realities and theorizing the meanings, she sheds some light. In page after page, she gives the reader opportunity to celebrate in the sisterhood with the women. The greatest value in this forceful, poignant account is the irrepressible, natural expression of the women. Westwood does not meddle with their language; she shares it with her readers and uses it to unravel the theoretical mysteries, thereby delivering the power, the volition of their resistance to the oppression and exploitation. She shows that these women know and they are seething. These women are beautiful!

Louise Young
Dalhousie University

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Graduate Degrees in Canada—Adult Education and Cognate Subjects/Mémoires et thèses en éducation des adultes ou sur des sujets connexes dans les universités canadiennes - 1989.

Graduate degrees awarded by Canadian universities in adult education and cognate subjects in 1989/Mémoires et thèses en éducation des adultes ou sur des sujets connexes dans les universités canadiennes — 1989. Compiled by: G. Ambury; P. Brooks; I. Hunt; D. MacKeracher; E. McCreary; L. Proctor; G. Selman; A. Thomas; N. Tremblay; C. Warren.

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

Department of Adult, Career and Technology Education

Master of Education in Adult and Higher Education (Theses)

H.D. Anderson	Tutor's perspectives on tutoring (Supervisor: M. Haughey)
H.F. Bowen	Evaluation of Wetoka Health Unit's home care program (Supervisor: E.W. Ratsoy)
B.V. Cooper	Employment potential of persons with mild mental handicaps (Supervisor: J.M. Small)
M.G. Hodgson	A case study of adult ESL programs in Edmonton (Supervisor: G.A. Eyford)
R. Kuban	A study of coaching and mentoring in a public service department (R.G. McIntosh)

E.J. Lucas	Learning style of the adult learner (Supervisor: K. Puffer)
G.D. Okrainec	Perceptions of nursing education held by male nursing students (Supervisor: J.M. Small)
Y.V. Scarlett	Perceived professional development needs of diploma nurse educators in Alberta (Supervisor: P.A. Brook)

Department of Educational Administration

Master of Education in Educational Administration (Theses)

J.L. Greschuk	Gerontological nursing: an assessment of perceived learning needs (Supervisor: J.M. Small)
D.M. Richardson	Perceptions of employers of NAIT marketing management graduates: a follow-up study (Supervisor: E. Miklos)
P[illegible] Wintonyk	Stress perceived by critical care and medica-surgical nurses (Supervisor: R.G. McIntosh)

Master of Education in Educational Administration (Projects)

D.K. Chaytors	Evaluation of an operating room nursing speciality elective (Supervisor: D.A. MacKay)
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THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

Department of Administrative, Adult and Higher Education

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C.A. Kelly	Students' conceptions of the effectiveness of clinical teachers in nursing (Supervisor: D.D. Pratt)
A. Taylor	Transformative learning: becoming aware of possible worlds (Supervisor: D.D. Pratt)
K. Yong	Continuing professional education: a study of geoscientists' participation, attitudes and felt CPE needs in one professional organization (Supervisor: W.S. Griffith)

Master of Education (Major Papers)

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R.L. Brooke	Evaluation of faculty instructional skill (Supervisor: T.J. Sork)
C.L. Falconer	Instructional techniques in prenatal education (Supervisor: J.E. Thornton)

V. Giesbrecht	Analysis of individualized instruction in adult basic education for seniors (Supervisor: G.R. Selman)
C. Hebden	The recognition of prior learning and its application at Cariboo College, Kamloops, B.C. (Supervisor: G.R. Selman)
S.A. Holzman	Competency based education for nurse orientation (Supervisor: G.R. Selman)
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B. Pengelly	The development of international education activities in British Columbia colleges 1978-1988 (Supervisor: G.R. Selman)
B. Rhodes	A life skills course for Canadian correctional institutions (Supervisor: W.S. Griffith)
A. Van Klei	Implementing computerization in a nursing department (Supervisor: W.S. Griffith)
B. Welock	Developing a code of ethics for adult education: philosophical and practical issues (Supervisor: T.J. Sork)
K.L. Whitmore	Use of self-directed learning in adult education (Supervisor: G.R. Selman)

J. Williams	Developmental theories: a basis for mentoring in nursing education (Supervisor: G.R. Selman)

Doctor of Education

T. Shak	Lifelong education: definition, agreement and prediction (Supervisor: W.S. Griffith)
A.J. Stalker	Reframing the issue of participation in adult education: an interpretive study (Supervisor: K.R. Rubenson)

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

Department of Educational Policy and Administrative Study

Master of Education (Projects)

J. Allen	Provision for the dimensions of adult student motivation, self-directed learning of locus of control in a student nursing assistant program (Supervisor: P. Adams)
C. Bailey	The essence of distance education (Supervisor: R. Garrison)
J. Bergin	The assertion that research in adult education is not effectively utilized (Supervisor: M. Baskett)
C. Fitzpatrick	Change in a professional work setting: staff development and hospital organizational effectiveness (Supervisor: W.G. Roberts)
E. Gillies	A critical analysis of theories that promote independent learning for disadvantaged adults (Supervisor: A.B. Hamilton)

J. Kleiner	Organizational structure and culture: implications for staff development (Supervisor: W. Taylor)
N. Toffick	Managing the training function: a critical analysis of who does it and the required roles and responsibilities (Supervisor: W. Taylor)

UNIVERSITY OF GUELPH

Department of Rural Extension Studies

Theses

J. Angel	Personal development versus societal development: a curriculum philosophy for adult education (Supervisor E.K. McCreary)
M. Biehn	A study of factors affection the adoption - diffusion of agricultural videotex in Ontario (Supervisor: G.A.B. Moore)
A. Drysdale	An evaluation of the agricultural extension service in the Sanrego area of South Sulawesi, Indonesia (Supervisor: J.C.M. Shute)
K. Grant	Comparative perceptions and characteristics of small scale and commercial farmers in Nova Scotia (Supervisor: D.J. Blackburn)
R. Lee	An approach to naturalistic evaluation: a study of the social implications of an international agricultural development project (Supervisor: J.C.M. Schute)
K. Martens	Developing countries farm radio network: an organizational study (Supervisor: E.K. McCreary)

M. Robertson	An evaluation of youth education programs at the Ontario Agricultural Museum (Supervisor: D.H. Pletsch)
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H. Varela	Roles, linkages and integration between adaptive experimentation teams and rural extension agents — a case study from Argentina (Supervisor: D.H. Pletsch)
W. Woodhouse	Interorganizational collaboration for educational change: a case study on agriculture in the classroom (Supervisor: D.H. Pletsch)

Major Papers

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B. Dyszuk	Rural child care in Waterloo region (Supervisor: D.H. Pletsch)
R. Kybartas	The problem of over-education and under-employment: proposed solutions (Supervisor: E.K. McCreary)
B. Schiedel	Assisting post secondary students to develop personal intelligence (Supervisor: E.K. McCreary)

UNIVERSITÉ LAVAL

Mémoires de maîtrise

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J. Sevigny	L'expérience de la grossesse chez des femmes pratiquant un travail corporel (Issue principalement de l'eutonie de Gerda Alexander) (Directreur: A. Paré)
L. Simard-Lamarche	Composantes d'un programme d'éducation et de support parental visant la prévention des problèmes de développement des enfants en milieu défavorisé (Directrices: M. Baillargeon et R. Pierre)

Thèses (Ph.D.)

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UNIVERSITÉ DE MONTRÉAL

Mémoires de maîtrise

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K.P. Quinlan	Job satisfaction of Newfoundland community college campus administrators as an outcome or organizational change (Supervisor: D. MacKeracher)

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Doctor of Education

R. Carley	From adolescents to adults: a study of teacher adaptation (Supervisor: A. Thomas)
W. Coombs	The phenomenology of change within selected school boards in Ontario as a result of the presence of adult students in the day program (Supervisor: A. Thomas)
J. Horsman	Something in my mind besides the everyday: illiteracy in women's lives in a Nova Scotian county (Supervisor: K. Rockhill)
B. Lynde	Nutrition promotion for mature adults: a case study in peer education (Supervisor: D. Ellis)
M. Wischnewski	Making sense of humour, gender and power: implications for adult learners (Supervisor: K. Rockhill)

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Master of Education (Projects)

N. Davies	A qualitative analysis of a parallel-linear sequencing of instructional events for more effective teaching/learning in a technical writing course for senior university students (Supervisor: G. Ambury)

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Master of Education

H.E. Cummings	Individualized instruction of computer-assisted drafting (Supervisor: R.A. Schwier)
K.L.Grauer	The development of an instructional manual for use of mental imagery in childbirth education (Supervisor: R.E. Wickett)

G.M. Gordon-Pringle	Potential for wellness: theory and development of a health promotion series for older adults (Supervisor: R.E. Wickett)
J.E. Wagner	Reflections from behind the wall — an evaluation of preview '88: a pilot program preparing students with hearing, sight and mobility impairments for post-secondary education (Supervisor: R.A. Schwier)
Haesung Kim	Study of the Korean community in Saskatoon: implications for adult education (Supervisor: R.E. Wickett)
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M.S. Asmuss	Crocus cooperative: the first five years (an historical overview for new board members, staff, and volunteers) (Supervisor: R.A. Carlson)
B.E. Karlenzig	Illich revisited: An interpretive framework for adult education (Supervisor: M. Collins)
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M. Thammachoti	Adult education among the women of Patpong Road (Supervisor: R.A. Carlson)

ST. FRANCIS XAVIER UNIVERSITY

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C.W. Bell	Workshops as a vehicle for adult learning: improving the effectiveness of the workshop format (Supervisor: M. Gillen)
G. Campbell	Development of an organization for training in an industrial company (Supervisor: J. Cruikshank)
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G.V. Gosse	Assessing learner needs: a procedure for work orientation programs (Supervisor: J. Cruikshank)
B. Grant	Nutrition education: the development of a modular learning package based on the assumptions of andragogy (Supervisor: M. Gillen)

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M.A. Kaplansky	Multiple viewpoints on the visual image in adult learning: implications for practice (Supervisor: M. Gillen)
B. Larson	Development of mandated emergency medical technician refresher/update recertification programs in the province of Saskatchewan (Supervisor: I. Hunt)
G. Lewis	Formative evaluation: adapting methods to meet training needs (Supervisor: M. Gillen)
P. Little	Prelude to Paideia: self-directed learning for adult basic education students (Supervisor: J. Cruikshank)
M. McCarthy-Senebald	Native peoples' access to adult basic education: factors for consideration in program planning
A. McCready	Computer literacy in today's society: non-credit adult education computer programs (Supervisor: lM. Gillen)
M. Norton	Toward an understanding of perceptual modality preferences and their implications for computer-assisted instruction: an exploratory study (Supervisor: M. Gillen)
P.O. Nyagudi	Adult education principles: towards facilitating co-operative extension education (Supervisor: J. Dobson)
M. Seydegart	Human rights advocacy training: the role of the university administrator (Supervisor: J. Cruikshank)

M. Smadu	The nurse educator as facilitator (Supervisor: M. Gillen)
C. Yewchin	The development of a competency-based inservice training program for career counsellors: a case study (Supervisor: J. Cruikshank)

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The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education

la Revue canadienne pour l'étude de l'éducation des adultes

Vol. V, No. 1
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CANADIAN JOURNAL FOR THE STUDY OF ADULT EDUCATION

Editorial Policy

The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education is published by the Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education (CASAE). The Journal is committed to the dissemination of knowledge derived from disciplined inquiry in the field of adult and continuing education. It is a refereed journal, subject to the canons of review which determine the quality of the papers to be included for publication.

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LA REVUE CANADIENNE POUR L'ÉTUDE DE L'ÉDUCATION DES ADULTES

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L'Association canadienne pour l'étude de l'éducation des adultes publie la Revue canadienne pour l'étude de l'éducation des adultes deux fois par année et la distribue à ses membres. Les non-membres peuvent s'abonner à la revue pour un montant de $10.00 par numéro payable à OISE. On doit faire parvenir la correspondance relative aux abonnements à l'adresse suivante: Dr. D.H. Brundage, le Départment de l'éducation des adultes, Institut d'études pédagogiques de l'Ontario, 252, rue Bloor ouest, Toronto (Ontario) M5S 1V6.

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LA REVUE CANADIENNE POUR L'ÉTUDE DE L'ÉDUCATION DES ADULTES

May/mai 1991, Vol. V, No. 1

Table of Contents/Table des Matières

Foreword / Avant-propos i

Articles

A Study of the Student Retention Effort in The New Brunswick Community College System
Larry John Phillips 1

Autonomie et enseignement à distance
André-Jacques Deschênes 32

Perspectives

Toward A Freirian Approach to Counselling
Bonnie Burstow 55

Book Reviews/Recensions

The Skillful Teacher
Stephen D. Brookfield
Greg Baxton-Brown and Thomas P. Kennan 70

The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education/
la Revue canadienne pour l'étude de l'éducation des adultes
May/mai, 1991, Vol. V, No. 1

FOREWORD

The annual meeting and research conference in Kingston in early June, 1991, marks the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education/Association canadienne pour l'étude de l'éducation des adultes (CASAE/ACEEA). It is a suitable occasion to remind ourselves of the origins of the Association.

For some twenty years, beginning in the late fifties, Canadians involved in teaching and research in the field of adult education had looked to American-based organizations—especially the Commission of Professors of the Association of American Adult and Continuing Education (AAACE) and the Adult Education Research Conference (AERC)—as forums for discussion of professional concerns. As the number of academic programs in the field increased in Canada in the subsequent years, Canadian scholars began to think in terms of a national organization of their own. On several occasions in the late sixties and early seventies, Roby Kidd, James Draper and Alan Thomas took the initiative in organizing informal discussions on the part of Canadian professors. The first more formal meeting of Canadians took place in 1976, on the day prior to the Adult Education Research Conference, that year held in Toronto. In the following year a further meeting was held in Windsor, attached to a Canadian Association for Adult Education (CAAE) conference.

Steps toward the creation of a Canadian organization began at a meeting of interested Canadians who were attending the AERC conference in Ann Arbor in 1979. Judith Mastai, of Simon Fraser University, agreed to arrange a conference of Canadians the following year, when the AERC was meeting in Vancouver, one which would both hear research papers and consider the establishment of a Canadian body. At this meeting, held on May 6, 1980 at the University of British Columbia and attended by 75 persons, a position paper written by Dr. Mastai was discussed and it was decided to proceed with establishing a Canadian organization. Gordon Selman of the University of British Columbia was named chair of an organizing committee which was charged with the tasks of preparing a draft constitution for the new organization, promoting interest in the organization, and planning a conference to be held the following year which would hear research papers and also formally establish the new Canadian association. A group of regional representatives to be consulted as planning went forward was also named by the meeting. It consisted of John Dobson (Atlantic), Giselle

Painchaud (Quebec), James Draper (Ontario), Ernest Shapiro (Manitoba), Lorraine Hill (Saskatchewan), and Hayden Roberts (Alberta). The British Columbia group which functioned during the ensuing year was made up of Elaine McCreary, Judith Mastai, Paz Buttedahl, Bob Ramrattan and Gordon Selman. Most of the local committee and the regional representatives attended further meetings during the ensuing few days and laid the groundwork for the subsequent year's activities.

The constitution which was drafted for the new organization was based on three main principles. The first was that the association should be truly national in its membership, and function in the two official languages. The second was that the organizational structure should, at least at the outset, be as simple as possible and require a minimum of effort to maintain. Thirdly, in order to make it possible for the executive group to function with as little expense and trouble as possible, it was provided that once the President had been selected, he or she was to have the authority to recruit an Executive consisting of two other persons from the same area (and others if/as required). The emphasis on a national representation was further reinforced by the naming of a Board of Directors made up of the Executive plus a representative from each other region—the Atlantic Provinces, Quebec, Ontario, the Prairies and British Columbia—the assumption being that those from other regions would be kept informed and consulted, presumably by mail or telephone.

The founding conference of the new organization was held in Montreal in early June of 1981. After the familiar round of concurrent research paper sessions, the meeting turned to the draft constitution. It was adopted almost entirely in the form which had been drafted, the major exception being that the terms of the President and governing bodies of the Association were changed from one year to two in length. The name which was adopted for the new organization remains the same to the present time, the Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education/Association canadienne pour l'étude de l'éducation des adultes. The drafting committee placed in nomination as the first President of the Association, the name of one of their number who had worked on the planning stage, Dr. Giselle Painchaud of the University of Montreal. She was duly elected and indicated that Claude Touchette of her own institution and Doug Potvin of Concordia University would serve with her on the Executive.

Since that time, the Association has had five Presidents, each of whom served for a two year period. Following Dr. Painchaud, the Presidents have been: Dr. James Draper of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Toronto; Dr. Marie Gillen of St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, (N.S.); Dr. Jeannine Roy-Poirier of Ottawa University

(Cornwall Campus) and Dr. Randy Garrison of the University of Calgary.

The Association is dedicated to the encouragement and dissemination of research in the field of adult education. These goals have been pursued in a variety of ways, including the holding of an annual research conference (and publication of its proceedings); the sponsorship of a number of committees and "portfolios" on specialized interests in the field (history, peace, women's interest, francophone concerns, etc.); regular and occasional publications (a newsletter, bibliographies, directories of academic programs, personnel, etc.); and, of course, this Journal.

It was generally assumed from the outset that CASAE/ACEEA would publish a scholarly journal for the field. The only refereed journal on adult education in Canada up to that point was one published by the Canadian Association for University Continuing Education, and its interests were focussed on their field of activity. It took a few years for CASAE/ACEEA to proceed with the publication of a journal and at the annual meeting of 1985, when Marie Gillen assumed the Presidency, a strong demand came from the membership to get on with that task. It was therefore a cause of great satisfaction that before her term was over, the first issue of this journal appeared, in May of 1987.

The first editor of the Journal was Dr. Hayden Roberts of the University of Alberta. He saw the publication through the first several issues, and upon his retirement, it was decided to appoint two editors, one for each language area. Dr. Catharine Warren assumed the role of English language editor and Dr. Madeleine Blais that of French language editor, in early 1988. Dr. Blais has since been replaced by Dr. Nicole Tremblay, in June 1990. Dr. Michael Welton has served as the English-language book review editor throughout the period. Dr. René Bedard has been the French language book review editor since 1988. The business and administrative affairs of the Journal have been managed by a group at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Dr. Donald Brundage and Dr. Alan Thomas serving as Managing Editors and Ms. Diana Ironside as chair of the Publications Committee. The Journal has appeared twice a year with a special issue in the Winter of 1991 and has been financed by a combination of sources, including initial grants from St. Francis Xavier University, the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education and The University of Calgary; continuing supporting grants from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council; and of course the financial resources of CASAE/ACEEA itself. As the Association celebrates its tenth anniversary at the Kingston meetings in June of 1991, the Journal completes four years of publication.

A survey of member opinion about the Association which has been conducted during the last year reveals strong support for and satisfaction with many elements of its work, including the annual research conferences and the Journal. As with any such organization, there are thought to be areas for improvement. There is satisfaction in the thought that they are in the main seen to be problems resulting from the growth of the organization and the need, as the organization becomes more complex and as specialized interests become steadily more apparent, to find ways to cope with these issues. The record of the past decade of accomplishment bodes well for continued success in meeting these and other challenges.

Gordon Selman,
The University of British Columbia

AVANT-PROPOS

L'assemblée annuelle et le Congrès scientifique qui auront lieu à Kingston au début de juin 1991 marquent le dixième anniversaire de fondation de l'Association canadienne pour l'étude de l'éducation des adultes/Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education (ACÉÉA/CASAE). L'occasion est propice à se remémorer les origines de l'association.

Durant une vingtaine d'années, à partir de la fin des années cinquante, les Canadiennes et les Canadiens impliqués dans le champ de l'enseignement et de la recherche en éducation des adultes considéraient les organisations d'origine américaine, spécialement la Commission des professeurs de l'American Association for Adult and Continuing Education (AAACE) et la Adult Education Research Conference (AERC), comme des tribunes où discuter de sujets d'intérêt professionnel. Au cours des années suivantes, au fur et à mesure qu'augmentait le nombre de programmes d'études dans le domaine, les professeurs commencèrent à penser à avoir leur propre organisation au niveau national. En plusieurs circonstances à la fin des années soixante et au début des années soixante-dix, Roby Kidd, James Draper et Alan Thomas prirent l'initiative d'organiser des discussions informelles avec les professeurs canadiens. La première rencontre formelle eut lieu en 1976, la journée précédant la Adult Education Research Conference (AERC) qui se tenait cette année-là à Windsor dans le cadre du Congrès de la Canadian Association of Adult Education.

Les premières étapes vers la création d'un organisme canadien coïncident avec une rencontre qui eut lieu au cours du Congrès de l'AERC à Ann Arbor en 1979. Judith Mastai, de l'Université Simon Fraser, accepta d'organiser un congrès pour les canadiens l'année suivante, alors que l'AERC se rencontrait à Vancouver. On y présenterait à la fois des communications scientifiques et on discuterait de la création d'une association canadienne. A cette rencontre, tenue le 6 mai 1980 à l'Université de British Columbia, et à laquelle participaient 75 personnes, la discussion s'engagea autour d'une proposition rédigée par la Dr Mastai et il fut décidé de procéder à la création d'un organisme canadien. Gordon Selman de l'Université de British Columbia fut nommé responsable d'un comité organisateur chargé de faire l'ébauche de la constitution de l'organisation, d'en faire la promotion et de préparer le congrès qui se tiendrait l'année suivante et qui présenterait des communications scientifiques et aussi créerait de manière formelle cette nouvelle association canadienne. Un groupe de représentants régionaux, qui allaient être consultés durant cette période de planification, fut nommé. Il était composé de John Dobson (Atlantique), Gisèle Painchaud

(Québec), James Draper (Ontario), Ernest Shapiro (Manitoba), Lorraine Hill (Saskatchewan) et Hayden Roberts (Alberta). Le groupe de Colombie-Britannique qui devait opérer l'année suivante était composé de Elaine McCreary, Judith Mastai, Paz Buttedahl, Bob Ramrattan et Gordon Selman. La plupart des membres du comité local et les représentants régionaux se rencontrèrent au cours des jours suivants et établirent un canevas des activités de l'année à venir.

La constitution qui avait été ébauchée se basait sur trois principes. En accord avec le premier principe, l'association devait être vraiment nationale quant à l'adhésion de ses membres et elle devait opérer dans les deux langues officielles. Selon le second principe, la structure, du moins dans l'ensemble, devait être aussi simple que possible et ne demander qu'un minimum d'efforts. Troisièmement, dans le but de permettre à l'exécutif de fonctionner à moindre coût, il était prévu qu'une fois le président ou la présidente élu(e), il ou elle aurait le loisir de constituer son exécutif de personnes de sa région. L'accent sur la représentation nationale fut assuré par la nomination d'un Conseil d'administration constitué de l'Exécutif et d'un représentant des Provinces de l'Atlantique, du Québec, de l'Ontario, des Prairies et de la Colombie-Britannique - l'idée étant que ces représentants seraient continuellement informés et consultés, par la poste ou au téléphone.

La réunion de fondation s'est tenue à Montréal au début de juin 1981. Après la ronde habituelle des communications scientifiques, l'assemblée a étudié la constitution proposée. Celle-ci a été presque entièrement adoptée telle que proposée, exception faite de la durée du mandat du président ou de la présidente et de l'exécutif de l'association qui est passé de un à deux ans. Le nom de l'association qui a alors été adopté est toujours demeuré le même: Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education/Association canadienne pour l'étude de l'éducation des adultes. Le comité organisateur a proposé la Dr Gisèle Painchaud de l'Université de Montréal, qui avait travaillé à la planification, au poste de présidente. Elle fut dûment élue et indiqua que Claude Touchette de la même université et Doug Potvin de l'Université Concordia formeraient son exécutif.

Depuis la fondation, l'Association a eu cinq présidentes ou présidents qui ont chacun servi pendant deux ans. Après la Dr Painchaud, les présidentes et les présidents ont été le Dr James Draper de l'Ontario Institute for Studies in Education à Toronto, la Dr Marie Gillen, de l'université St-François-Xavier, Antigonish (Nouvelle-Écosse), la Dr Jeannine Roy-Poirier, de l'université d'Ottawa (campus de Cornwall) et le Dr Randy Garrison de l'université de Calgary.

L'Association s'efforce d'encourager et de faire connaître la recherche dans le champ de l'éducation des adultes. Ce but a été poursuivi de diverses façons soit par la tenue d'un Congrès scientifique annuel (avec publication des Actes du congrès), par le parrainage d'un certain nombre de comités et de dossiers sur des sujets d'intérêt (l'histoire, la paix, la condition féminine, le fait français, etc.), par des publications régulières ou occasionnelles (bulletin, bibliographies, répertoire de programmes académiques, etc.) et, bien sûr, la Revue.

Il avait été prévu au départ que l'Association publierait une revue spécialisée dans le domaine. La seule revue connue sur le sujet à l'époque était celle publiée par l'Association canadienne universitaire d'éducation continue, dont les intérêts étaient liés à son champ d'activités. Cela prit quelques années pour que l'Association en arrive à organiser la publication d'une revue mais lors de l'assemblée annuelle de 1985, alors que Marie Gillen assumait la présidence, les membres demandèrent qu'on procède en ce sens. Ce fut une grande satisfaction pour elle, qu'avant la fin de son mandat, le premier numéro de la revue soit publié, soit en mai 1987.

Le premier rédacteur de la Revue fut le Dr Hayden Roberts de l'Université de l'Alberta. Il s'occupa de la publication des premiers numéros et lorsqu'il se retira, il fut décidé de nommer deux rédacteurs, un pour chacune des langues officielles. Au début de 1988, la Dr Catharine Warren assuma la responsabilité de l'édition anglophone et la Dr Madeleine Blais de l'édition francophone. La Dr Blais a été remplacée par la Dr Nicole Tremblay, depuis juin 1990. Le Dr Michael Welton a agi en tant que rédacteur pour la critique de livres du côté anglophone pendant cette période. Depuis 1988, son vis-à-vis francophone a été le Dr René Bédard de l'université d'Ottawa. La partie administrative de la Revue a été assurée par un groupe de l'Ontario Institute for Studies in Education; le Dr Donald Brundage et le Dr Alan Thomas ont servi de rédacteurs adjoints et Mme Diana Ironside a été responsable du Comité des publications. La Revue est parue deux fois l'an (plus un numéro spécial à l'hiver 1991) et a été financée de diverses manières: un fonds initial fourni par l'université St-François-Xavier, le Ontario Institute for the Studies in Education et l'université de Calgary, des fonds en provenance du Conseil de recherche en sciences humaines et sociales et à même les ressources financières de CASAE/ACÉÉA. Alors que l'Association célèbrera son dixième anniversaire à la rencontre prévue à Kingston en 1991, la Revue fêtera quatre ans de publications.

Une enquête qui a été menée par l'Association auprès de ses membres l'année dernière révèle qu'ils sont satisfaits et qu'ils donnent leur entier appui au travail accompli, incluant le Congrès scientifique et la Revue. Mais comme c'est le cas pour toute organisation, il y a place à l'amélioration. Il est cependant réconfortant de penser qu'en même temps que se présentent des difficultés liées à la croissance de l'association, il y a également besoin, au fur et à mesure qu'elle devient plus complexe et que certains intérêts particuliers voient le jour, de trouver la manière de conjuguer avec ces problèmes. La liste des réalisations de la dernière décennie constitue un gage de succès face aux défis qui restent à relever.

Gordon Selman,
l'Université de British Columbia

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ARTICLES

A STUDY OF THE STUDENT RETENTION EFFORT IN THE NEW BRUNSWICK COMMUNITY COLLEGE SYSTEM

Larry John Phillips
Department of Advanced Education and Training,
New Brunswick

Abstract

In recent years the student population of all post secondary institutions has been changing. The numbers of traditional high school graduates are declining while the number of nontraditional students are increasing. This new wave of students is more susceptible to dropping out and requires more assistance if they are to succeed in college. This study examines what the New Brunswick community colleges are doing to retain students. The New Brunswick Community College system is unique in comparison with similar American institutions and differs somewhat from other community college systems in Canada. It is administered centrally by a government ministry, the Department of Advanced Education and Training. The system comprises nine separate colleges, each with its own local administration and principal. Each of the nine college principals was contacted to identify a person knowledgeable on student retention activities who could act as a respondent for the survey. All respondents' names were staff members in a Student Services section of a community college. Each respondent completed a written questionnaire and was interviewed to ascertain what the colleges consider to be effective strategies to accomplish retention goals.

Responses provided information about the individual college and the general problem of student retention; about student retention and attribution in the past five years; and about how the college is organized to promote retention.

684

Reported activities were organized to show how they related to three educational phases: Moving In, Moving Through, and Moving On. A current statistical profile of student attrition and retention is not kept by the New Brunswick Community Colleges. A description of the past and present programs and services and how they are perceived by those responsible for them is provided. The data indicate that the colleges provide a higher and more consistent level of service during the Moving In phase than during the other two phases. It also shows a disproportion of student services based on college size; the larger colleges offer more activities and programs than the smaller colleges. However, all colleges attempt several student retention programs and are actively supporting the students they enrol. The study led to the conclusions that clearly defined goals should be established for the student retention programs and a method established to monitor and assess the results of such services.

Résumé

La clientèle des institutions d'enseignement post-secondaire a changé au cours des dernières années. Alors que la clientèle traditionnelle qui provient du secondaire diminue, celle qui provient d'autres secteurs augmente. Cette nouvelle clientèle semble plus susceptible d'abandonner les études et exige un meilleur encadrement afin de l'aider à réussir.

Cet article présente d'abord une recension d'écrits sur la fréquentation scolaire et la persévérance dans les études. Les résultats varient chez les auteurs selon qu'on se situe en début, en cours ou en fin de programme. Des responsables de services aux étudiants de chacun des collèges communautaires du Nouveau-Brunswick ont rempli un questionnaire et participé à une entrevue afin d'identifier les stratégies utilisées pour conserver la clientèle. Il ressort qu'il existe de meilleurs services de support et d'encadrement en début de programme. La recherche conclut à la nécessité d'établir des objectifs clairs et précis en vue de conserver les nouvelles clientèles et à la nécessité de mettre en place des méthodes d'évaluation et de suivi des services offerts.

Les phénomènes d'abandon et de fréquentation scolaire des nouvelles clientèles des institutions d'enseignement ont déjà intéressé plusieurs chercheurs américains. Ces phénomènes n'ont cependant pas été étudiés de manière approfondie dans les collèges et universités canadiennes. Plusieurs institutions scolaires ont échoué dans leurs efforts de conserver la clientèle une fois qu'elles l'ont inscrite. Il y a donc nécessité de créer des services d'encadrement et de support qui soient efficaces. De tels services s'avèrent essentiels pour les années 90.

Introduction

The community colleges of New Brunswick, as in many higher educational institutions, have failed to appreciate the importance of keeping students once they have enroled. The cost of education relates to the number of students and the time it takes them to complete their program. When students drop out or take three years to complete a two year program, the cost per student escalates. Many educators consider that students are entirely responsible for their own departure from the educational setting. Inquiries into student departure frequently ask "Why did the student drop out?" An equally likely question is "What did the college do to keep the student in the system?" This article reviews the literature on student retention within a practical conceptual framework and reports on information about student retention activities gathered by interviewing student counsellors in community colleges in New Brunswick.[1]

During the decades before the 1980's, the number of students exceeded the facilities available to house them. However, as the 1990's approach, the condition is changing. The growth in traditional enrolment will decline as the number of youth decrease.[2] In addition, the policies of the federal government have changed during the 1980's. Groups that traditionally did not receive higher education are targeted for special assistance. The number of nontraditional students within the community colleges of Canada is increasing in proportion to the traditional students.[3] There is a need to have active and supportive programs in place to help retain these students. Such programs will be new and essential services for the 1990's.

This article will focus on activities related to student retention and on what the new Brunswick Community Colleges do to help students stay to the completion of their program. Much of the research on student attrition has been of a theoretical, scholarly nature offering little to the institution trying to establish a retention plan. Tinto, one of the influential writers in this area, maintained that his theoretical framework on student attrition was not easily adapted to the practical needs of organizational planners.[4] He placed all past attrition theories in one of five categories, each with its own particular focus and level of analysis. These categories are: psychological, societal, economic, organizational and interactional theories. Pappas and Loring, after reviewing and analyzing 40 years of literature on student persistence, admitted it would be difficult to isolate single variables, and categorized the variables under much the same headings as Tinto.[5] Noel et al. viewed student retention as a "practitioner's art" and noted that student retention activities had the potential for changing an institution's policies.[6]

Student attrition and retention are not the opposite sides of the same coin. Studies in student retention focus on the action -oriented programs designed and implemented as interventions by an institution to keep students in a program. Studies in student attrition are frequently viewed as a postmortem examination of student characteristics which lead to withdrawal rather than as an evaluation of the actions taken by the institution.

Student retention and attrition have been, and continue to be, subjects that receive much attention from American researchers. Beal and Noel, in a watershed research project entitled *What Works in Student Retention* (WWISR), surveyed the higher education institutions of the United States.[7] Their purpose was to identify the activities that different colleges and universities were using to increase retention and to assess the results. They conceived of retention as being a function of organizational characteristics. For example, organizational characteristics which affect student retention are such things as a simple and supportive admission procedure in which students do not have to spend days lining up to enrol, and the provision of programs which provide ongoing academic and personal support.

Anderson argues through the use of a force field analysis that student characteristics can be divided into internal and external forces, both of which have a positive and negative component.[8] He described positive internal forces as including career aspirations, achievement motives and personal interests, while negative forces include self-doubt, career indecision and loneliness. Positive external forces include support from parents, peers and teachers, cultural values, and opportunities for financial aid, while negative forces include lack of money or housing, transportation problems, work and family demands and conflicts, and social demands. Positive forces act to increase retention while negative forces act to increase attrition.

Although the work of Beal and Noel is still valid, current writers follow Tinto in conceptualizing student leaving as having both individual and organizational attributes and have validated Tinto's theoretical model of student persistence/withdrawal.[9] Tinto argues that the interaction among the interlinking parts of the college system provide the impact and feedback on the decision to withdraw.[10] He considers all formal and informal, academic and social activities to have an interactive role in the longitudinal decision of a student to depart. Tinto further argues that the student's decision to persist is continually being reassessed in the context of the student's social and academic integration into the college environment. The relationship of the student's educational goals and commitments to the program provided by the institution also enter into the decision to persist. For example, students often leave to take a job without completing their program, even though they are successfully integrated into the institution. This usually occurs if they are successful in obtaining employment in the same career area as that in which they are studying.[11]

Pascal and Kanowitch reviewed studies from 49 Canadian universities and found that most dealt with student attrition in terms of the relationships which could be established between various student characteristics and withdrawal from studies.[12] There were no studies which examined issues related to retention and attrition activities and Canadian students. There is a need in the Canadian context for research on organizational and interactive characteristics affecting student retention and attrition. The research was undertaken using a questionnaire which replicated the Beal and Noel study; the literature review found no report of a similar study in Canada.[13] The headings used in organizing the findings are based on the report; however, there was a lack of statistical information available from the colleges on student retention.

New Brunswick Community College System

In 1985, a complete reorganization of the New Brunswick Community College system changed the rationale behind program placement within the colleges and the accompanying management structure.

Programs were assigned to a college on the basis of the specialization assigned to that college. Each college was then responsible for all of the programs offered in the province in their specialty field. This system was duplicated for both the francophone and anglophone colleges.

The New Brunswick Community College system is unique in comparison with similar American institutions and differs somewhat from other community colleges systems in Canada. The colleges do not have autonomy; rather, they are administered centrally by a government ministry, the Department of Advanced Education and Training (DAET). The college system consists of nine community colleges located throughout the province of New Brunswick. In four of these colleges the language of instruction is French; in the other five, the language of instruction is English. Because New Brunswick is the only officially bilingual province in Canada, the college system offers duplicate services in both official languages. In 1985-86, it offered over 86 full-time programs in both official languages, to nearly 12,000 full-time students. However, in that year, only 77.2 percent of the students successfully completed the program in which they were enroled.[14] The research on retention and attrition in the province has been limited to follow-up surveys of graduates and to reviews of the student dropout rate in selected colleges.[15]

Pascal and Kanowitch suggested that there are three basic reasons attrition should be an administrative concern.[16] First, the "dropout" is perceived by both future students and the public to be a reflection of the colleges' inability to meet the student needs, particularly career needs. This in turn has a negative effect on those considering attending the college and also can have an effect on financing of the program.[17]

Second, the administration structure of each college is established on the basis of the number of students who are scheduled to attend. This scheduled or design number determines how many students will be admitted and the resources assigned to each program with the expectation that an acceptable percentage of the students will complete the program. If students drop out, too many resources may be consumed by an inefficient program and too few students graduate to justify associated expenditures. Excessive student dropout rates lead to an inefficient balance between planning and program operation and between student admission and completion.[18]

Third, the colleges are financially affected by student dropouts through the loss of income from tuition, federal sponsorship and provincial support.[19] The potential dropout may be given more attention in the future because federal funding, with the advent of the Canadian Job Strategies, is now directly related to the number of students who enrol and continue to attend a program.

DAET has a mandate to provide all post-secondary non-university education and training in the province of New Brunswick.[20] The provincial government has linked the socio-economic success of the province to the education of its citizens and considers this investment the cornerstone of the province's economic strategy.[21]

Although student attrition is important to the community colleges and the Department of Advanced Education and Training, it undoubtedly is a more important individual concern to the student who is withdrawing. Withdrawal can represent failure in a career choice, loss of money and self-esteem. Seidman maintains the dropout rate can have a demoralizing effect on those remaining and on the instructional staff.[22] He also contends it has a negative effect on students deciding to attend an institution. Bean and Metzner found that nontraditional students have a higher attrition rate than traditional students.[23] If this is also true in New Brunswick, then as the number of nontraditional students in the colleges increases, the need for support programs will also increase. Some support and action-oriented retention programs have been initiated in some of the New Brunswick Community Colleges, but no departmental policy was reported to exist in this area.

Purpose of the Study

This study investigated the activities and strategies being used in the new Brunswick Community Colleges to increase student retention and reduce student attrition and to identify activities which, in the opinion of those involved, are the most effective in accomplishing such goals. A survey of the nine New Brunswick Community Colleges was carried out. This survey used a questionnaire similar to the one developed by Beal and Noel.[24] In each college a staff member of the Student Services section, who was considered to be knowledgeable regarding the retention programs and services offered in that college, was interviewed to gather information about retention strategies.

Findings

The findings are discussed in relation to the following issues: college organization for retention; retention and attrition rates; college studies and analyses of student retention and attrition; characteristics of colleges and students which contribute to student retention; problems encountered in retention efforts; and action-oriented student retention programs. The findings have also been reviewed under the typology suggested by Schlossberg et al.[25] She and her colleagues divided the educational experience into three phases—Moving In, Moving Through, and Moving On. The Moving In phase described the period of time in the student's life starting with the decision to apply until after becoming oriented to the institution. The Moving Through phase encompasses the entire period while the student is enroled in the institution. The Moving On phase describes the period during the final days at the institution and includes the time after graduation and orientation to the work world. In the opinion of the researcher, this typology had greater potential for leading to the development of practical programs and policies and as such was better suited to the needs of organization planners than the theories proposed by other writers.

College Organization for Retention

Student Services sections were added to each of the New Brunswick community colleges in the early 1980's. The original purpose was to provide the college students with career guidance and counselling service. Student Services have grown in some of the colleges both in staffing and in the variety of services provided to students. These services vary from college to college, but the Student Services section has become responsible in each college for all activities pertaining to student life not of an academic nature. Since 1986, DAET has upgraded and increased the amount of space allotted in the colleges to the Student Services section. The sections have been placed in a more visible location within the college buildings. However, policy direction, goals or objectives regarding attrition or retention activities were not provided to the colleges by DAET. Many respondents felt that the activities their sections provided could not be considered as special retention activities, but rather reflected standard services to students. The validity of the responses can be questioned on the basis of this view of the activities.

Since 1987, all the colleges have acquired a library and librarian at the campus, a much needed addition at the smaller colleges. A calendar and information booklet outline all courses at all colleges were introduced in 1988-89 by DAET. These provide applicants with an overview of the New Brunswick Community College programs. Providing the student with factual information prior to enrolment is a very positive step in assisting the student to persist.[26] In the past the colleges each had produced their own calendar and DAET had produced an individual program information pamphlet for each program. The college calendars were not standard amongst the colleges and frequently new programs were introduced without the information pamphlet being available.

In the 1985 reorganization of the New Brunswick Community College system, a formula was devised to equalize the supervisory responsibilities of management personnel. In large colleges (Moncton, Dieppe, Saint John and Bathurst), the reorganization resulted in the development of a Student Services section which has a coordinator and several staff positions. The coordinators report to the Deans of Administration. In the smaller colleges (St. Andrews, Woodstock, Edmundston, Campbellton and Miramichi), the Student Services section have only one student counsellor who reports directly to the college principal.

The distinction between the smaller colleges and the larger colleges, aside from their physical size, is their more complex management structure. The reorganization also affected the type and extent of services offered in the large and small colleges as will become apparent in the later sections of this article.

The Student Services section in each college, according to those surveyed, is responsible for all student activities not considered to be academic. These responsibilities include: recruitment, high school visitations, admissions, student health, graduation ceremonies, student life, applicant testing, facilitating support groups, group counselling, advising and teaching study skills. The obligation to provide equal services in all colleges exists even though the staffing level is inconsistent. A discrepancy was reported to exist in the services provided to off-campus students and to those attending programs at the college. Off-campus students are those students attending classes somewhere other than the college location. They are more likely to be non-traditional students than on-campus students and to require more help in order to succeed.[27] However, none of the action-oriented student retention programs discussed later in this study are available to the off-campus students.

Mature adults make up the largest portion of off-campus enrolments and need to feel part of the mainstream of college life, not part of the margin.[28] Moore and Carpenter contend that colleges must change how they view students, maintaining that, since colleges are no longer faced with a homogeneous student population of new high school graduates, they will have to be innovative and more inward looking to retain the non-traditional student.[29]

In summary, the installation of a Student Services section by DAET in each of the colleges is a very positive move in student retention effort. However, the activities and mandate of some sections are narrowly focused, while others are more broadly defined. Beal and Noel[30] argued that the degree to which the campus is organized to deal with student retention helps to determine the success of the retention effort. None of the respondents reported having either a retention committee or a retention coordinator at their college. During the interviews, several respondents reported there was a need for an expanded role for student retention in the college to raise the awareness of the instructors and staff to retention issues. Noel argues that an organized retention strategy is the best alternative to the pressures facing educational institutions.[31] Colleges are trying to maintain enrolments and to encourage re-enrolments. He insists that colleges should focus on reducing dropouts as the key to stabilizing enrolments rather than focusing on recruitment difficulties.

Retention and Attrition Rates

The survey questionnaire asked for statistical information on the nature and extent of student attrition (withdrawals). The researcher attempted to obtain information about the percentage of full-time students still attending the college four months after enroling. In addition, this part of the survey asked for enrolment and retention data covering the period 1985 to 1989. The respondents were asked if the information was obtained from recorded (actual) data or whether it was an estimate.

No respondent was able to complete the questions on statistical date although four, all from smaller colleges, were able to partially complete this section with the help of other people in the college. None of the college respondents had accurate up-to-date statistical information on student retention and attrition. This fact tends to have a negative effect on those attempting to prevent attrition and increase retention. The incompleteness of the responses to these questions made it impossible to develop a summary for inclusion in this study.

College Studies and Analyses

The survey asked for information on studies, analyses and surveys that the colleges may have undertaken to ascertain characteristics of the college in relation to retention activities. Only two studies were found which examined community colleges in New Brunswick. The causes for attrition in the community college technology programs in Moncton, Saint John and Bathurst were examined during the early 1980's.[32] In each study a series of instructor interviews were conducted and responses to a questionnaire on probable causes of student attrition were catalogued.

None of the reported studies surveyed students who had dropped out, although Beal and Noel found this to be the most common group surveyed in American colleges and universities.[33] The reported studies and the comments made by various respondents suggest that the community college staff members view student departures as the result of student characteristics and college leavers as distinguishable from stayers on the basis of personality and ability.[34]

Although not conducted by the colleges, DAET annually conducts a follow-up survey of graduates which seeks information on their jobs and asks for opinions on the training they received while attending a New Brunswick Community College.[35] Cousineau argues follow-up surveys came into existence due to government pressure for accountability and not as a measure of student retention. He goes on to argue that such studies reveal nothing new about the instructors and only help to confirm suspicions about the strengths and weaknesses of the program.[36]

College Characteristics which Contribute to Student Retention

Respondents were first asked to rate college characteristics in terms of their negative contribution to student retention at their college on a scale of 1 (low) to 5 (high). The importance ratings were averaged for all respondents and the results were rank ordered as shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Negative College Characteristics (In Average Ratings)

College Characteristic	Average
Institutions reporting:	n=8
Inadequate financial aid	3.50
Inadequate academic support service	3.13
Inadequate counselling support	2.75
Unsatisfactory living accommodation	2.75
Inadequate academic advising	2.63
Inadequate personal contact between students and faculty	2.63
Inadequate part-time employment opportunities	2.38
Inadequate extracurricular programs	2.38
Lack of staff care and concern for students	2.38
Inadequate opportunity for cultural and social growth	2.25
Inadequate career planning service	2.25
Quality of teaching not consistently high	2.13
Restrictive rules and regulations governing student behaviour	2.00
Lack of instructor care and concern for students	2.00
Inadequate curricular offerings	2.00
Conflict between class time and job	1.88
Insufficient intellectual stimulation	1.63
Heavy course load	1.13
Lack of academic preparedness	0.88

Note: Ratings are based on a scale of 1 (low) to 5 (high)

The college respondents rated inadequate financial aid as the most important negative characteristic. Tinto, however, when describing economic theories of student attrition, maintains there is little evidence to support the idea that financial forces are paramount to the individual retention decision.[37] Employment and Immigration Canada (EIC) reported that as many as 56 percent of the Youth Program students drop out, even when their tuition is paid and they receive a stipend to attend an educational program.[38] Lenning et al. argue that students' concerns about adequate financial support is the most important variable in student retention.[39] They also argue that students with adequate aid often drop out for hidden or other reasons and cite finances as the reason when surveyed.

Inadequate academic support service was rated as the second most important negative college characteristic and inadequate academic advising as the fifth. Holdaway and Kelloway found, in their survey of students, that the amount of work and the difficulty of the work were significant factors relating to attrition.[40] Fullerton and Vail found, in their survey of instructors, that providing a support service for students who wish to stay, but are not academically prepared, was a desirable goal for action-oriented retention programs.[41]

Inadequate living accommodations was rated as the fourth most important negative college characteristic by the respondents. The colleges do not, however, provide accommodation for the students.

Respondents were then asked to rate a list of college characteristics in terms of their positive contribution to student retention at their college on a scale of 1 (low) to 5 (high). The importance ratings were averaged for all respondents and the results were rank ordered as shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Positive College Characteristics (In Average Ratings)

College Characteristic	Average
Institutions reporting:	n=8
Excellent counselling services	4.25
Caring attitude of instructors and staff	4.25
Excellent career planning services	4.00
Consistently high quality teaching	3.88
Consistently high quality of academic advising	3.63
Adequate financial aid programs	3.63
Encouragement of student involvement in college life	3.50
Admissions practices geared to recruiting students likely to persist to graduation	3.50
System for identifying potential dropouts (Early warning system)	3.38
Overall concern for student institution congruence or "fit"	3.13

Note: Ratings are based on a scale of 1 (low) to 5 (high)

Respondents from large colleges rated excellent counselling services as the most important positive college characteristic giving it a maximum rating of 5.00. The smaller colleges with their more limited resources rated it in fourth place at 3.80. Since all respondents were employed in the colleges' Student Services sections, a bias in favour of the services they provided may have been present in these responses. Inadequate counselling support was rated as the third most important negative characteristic (Table 1). Tinto argues that institutions should consider a part of their educational mission as assisting students to find their proper niche.[42] He further defines this task as including the provision of supportive social and intellectual communities.

Respondents from the smaller colleges rated the caring attitude of instructors and staff as the most important positive college characteristic while the large college respondents placed it in second position. Beal and Noel maintain that a caring attitude of the faculty and staff is the most potent retention force on campus.[43] The people who come face to face with the student can provide a positive growth experience, allowing students to confirm their goals and identify their talents. The lack of staff and instructor concern was rated as the ninth most important negative characteristic by both large and small college respondents.

Consistently high quality teaching was rated as the fourth most important positive characteristic and consistently high quality academic advising as the fifth. Researchers have found a strong correlation between academic success and persistence, and have reported that helping students to achieve personal academic success is the core of action-oriented retention programs.[44]

Table 2 indicates that the respondents rated excellent career planning services as the third most important positive college characteristic. Sprandel found in her study that career planning is the key to forming a career goal.[45] She found that the two most frequent causes for a student to drop out were a change in career goals and poor grades. Excellent career planning is an important factor in student retention.[46]

Adequate financial aid was rated as the sixth most important positive characteristic while inadequate financial aid was rated as the most important negative characteristic (Table 1). All federally-sponsored students, of which there is a large percentage in the college programs, receive financial aid. If the aid is stopped or the student finds work, then they are at risk of leaving the college. Financial aid is not a single service; rather there are many unconnected programs at both federal and provincial levels. This survey did not request sufficient information to assess the respondents' references to financial aid. Since the financial programs offered varied so greatly an in-depth study would be required to assess why financial aid was found to be the most important negative characteristic leading to attrition while at the same time an important positive characteristic assisting in student retention. It seems likely that if a student does not have money, he or she leaves; and if the student does have money, he or she may stay or leave depending on other characteristics.

Positive college characteristics (Table 2) received a higher overall rating than did the negative college characteristics (Table 1). While more negative characteristics were mentioned than positive ones, respondents appear to have indicated that positive college characteristics are more effective in student retention. Further, the respondents appeared to have rated student services (excluding financial aid), in comparison with academic services, as somewhat more positive in improving student retention and as slightly less negative in affecting student attrition. Research studies which include respondents from both academic and Student Services staff should be done before any conclusions can be drawn about the differential effects of academic and student services on student retention. Another way to make sense of these findings is to assume that improvements in student services (e.g., counselling services, career planning services, financial aid) would have a greater positive effect on student retention than improvements in academic services (e.g., academic advising, quality of contact between faculty and students). This assumption should be carefully examined in future studies.

Student Characteristics which Contribute to Student Attrition

The survey asked respondents to rate a list of commonly mentioned student characteristics in terms of their relationship to students dropping out of college on a scale of 1 (low) to 5 (high). The importance ratings were averaged for all respondents and the results were rank ordered as shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Student Dropout-Prone Characteristics (In Average Ratings)

Student Characteristic	Average
Institutions reporting:	n=8
Low academic achievement	4.50
Inadequate financial resources	3.88
Limited educational aspirations	3.63
Indecision about major or career goal	3.50
Economically disadvantaged	3.25
Boarding student	2.50
First generation college students	2.00
Local student living in town	1.63
Personal problem	1.13

Note: Ratings are based on a scale of 1 (low) to 5 (high)

All respondents indicated that the most important dropout-prone characteristic was low academic achievement and the third most important was limited educational aspirations. These results are consistent with the findings reported by Sprandel and by Beal and Noel.[47] The second most important student characteristic was inadequate financial resources and the fifth was economical disadvantage. These ratings are consistent with the ratings assigned to the issue of financial resources as a college characteristic.

The fourth most important student characteristic was indecision about major or career goal. Sprandel studied student exits through a follow-up survey given to more than 100,000 students.[48] She described the two most frequent reasons for dropping out as changes in career goals and poor grades. Of the two, she considered career planning to be a key factor in creating the commitment necessary to keep students in an academic program. Beal and Noel also found that students without clear career goals were more apt to drop out.[49] Seidman argues that community colleges are continually under pressure to teach as many students from varied backgrounds as inexpensively as possible.[50] This fact is often reflected in the academically mixed group in the same class in which different students have very different academic goals.

Comments from the respondents suggest that many of the college staff may explain student attrition through a psychological theory of student departure. Tinto argues that such theories assume that the student alone shoulders the responsibility for his or her education and that persistence is directly related to personality and ability.[51] Such assumptions relieve the institution of responsibility for creating an environment which facilitates the retention of students. Low academic achievement, limited educational aspirations, and indecision about major or career goal would all relate to psychological theories.

A comparison of college characteristics (Tables 1 and 2) with student characteristics (Table 3) suggests the following interpretations:

(a) If a student is accepted with a low level of academic achievement and the college has a consistently high level of academic advising, then the student likely will be retained. However if the level of academic support is inadequate the same student is prone to drop out.

(b) A student with inadequate financial resources is prone to drop out if the college does not provide the student with the ability to get support through some method such as Student Aid, Co-op Programming or employment opportunities.

(c) A student with limited educational aspirations or indecision about a course major or career goal is prone to drop out unless the college provides excellent career and personal counselling services.

(d) If students do not feel fully integrated into college life for various reasons and the college does not encourage students to become involved, they are prone to drop out. Encouragement can happen through such things as caring instructors and staff, extracurricular programs and opportunities for cultural and social growth.

Problems Encountered in Retention Efforts

The survey sought to obtain information on the problems the respondents encountered in their colleges' student retention effort. The respondents were asked first to select from a prepared list of commonly mentioned items for each question, and second, to explain the items selected. Table 4 summarizes the responses to problems encountered in the student retention efforts.

Table 4: Problems Encountered in Retention Efforts

Characteristic	Average
Institutions reporting:	n=9
Insufficient data	8
Lack of staff	6
Lack of time	6
Lack of funds	5
Lack of support from faculty	5
Actual resistance to policy changes	5
Lack of support from administration	4
Actual resistance to acceptance of new roles or responsibilities	4
Inadequate data-processing capabilities	4
Inadequate measurement instruments	3
Inadequate measurement-evaluation expertise	2
Confusion of role of staff and Student Services	2
No policy on dropping out or student retention	2

Eight of the nine respondents chose insufficient data as a problem in combating student attrition. This was consistent with the information provided in the survey, which indicated that none of the respondents could provide statistical information on student attrition. Dennison and Gallagher argue that statistics and research on college performance and student success is needed in all of Canada's community colleges.[52] The fact that insufficient data were available was one reason the study took on a subjective form.

Small colleges rated lack of staff, time and funds as interrelated problems in dealing with student attrition. This is consistent with the high priority they assigned to counselling and advising in rating the college characteristics. Lack of support from faculty was selected by five of the nine respondents as a problem encountered in the student retention effort, while it was rated as the second highest positive college characteristic by the same respondents.

Most respondents reported that no goals or statements of purpose existed for student retention activities. Lenning et al. in their study concluded that colleges with a well defined mission and role have a much lower attrition rate than colleges with a less well defined mission and role.[53] The effort of the Student Services section could be enhanced through the provision of college-wide goals and objectives for the student retention effort.

Beal and Noel reported, in their study of American universities and colleges, that retention coordinators answered to a variety of college officials.[54] They also found that the reporting structure within the management of the college has an important effect on student retention activities. The Student Services section of the New Brunswick community colleges and the central Student Services Branch of DAET reported to administrative divisions. Beal and Noel reported that retention coordinators most frequently reported to academic divisions.[55] By answering to the academic side of the college's management, issues relating to student retention tend to focus on both academic and support services. By answering to the administrative side of the college's management, issues related to student retention tend to focus on recruitment and enrolment where statistics are more easily kept, rather than on academic and support services.

Action-Oriented Student Retention Programs

The respondents were given a list of possible institutional student retention services and asked to check those that applied to their college. Then they were asked to provide detailed information on each of the identified activities. Many of the respondents did not consider certain activities as student retention programs, but rather saw such activities as a normal function of the Student Services section. The activities which were eventually defined as action-oriented student retention activities have been organized under the educational phases suggested by Schossberg et al.[56] Information on the Moving In phase is provided in Table 5, on the Moving Through phase in Table 7, and on the Moving On phase in Table 8. Programs common to two or more of these phases are described in Table 6. All respondents reported their college had some action-oriented student retention programs.

The Moving In phase is a key time in the student's life. Schlossberg et al. chronicled the Moving In phase in three steps.[57] Schlossberg and her colleagues considered recruitment as a time to provide information to future students and seek college-student congruence.

The second step, enrolment, as Holdaway and Kelloway argue, is the period of time when the student is most likely to become lost, retreat into the past and leave college.[58] The colleges at this time should be striving to have the student become committed to their institutional and career goals. The third step, orientation, according to Noel and Chapman, should start with the first class and continue for the whole year.[59] Beatty-Guenter reported, in her findings of a study at Camosun College, that a strong relationship exists between formal orientation activities and the retention rate.[60] Those without an orientation program had an attrition rage almost double those that had a formal program.

Table 5 provides a summary of the action-oriented student retention programs reported by the respondents which relate to the Moving In phase. The activities have been further divided into recruitment and orientation activities. Recruitment activities involve recruiting of potential students; orientation activities involve welcoming new students at the time of their enrolment and orienting them to the social and academic activities of the college. Beal and Noel reported that orientation activities were the most common of all action-oriented student retention activities.[61] This same result was found in this study.

The respondents reported that much time and energy were spent on two recruitment activities: high school visits to recruit traditional students, and academic advising, testing and evaluation for applicants, particularly for nontraditional students. One respondent told the researcher:

> Fifty percent of my time is spent counselling clients who are from outside of the college. The rest are college students. Their (outside clients) numbers are increasing. This group includes adults, juveniles, hard-to-serve clients, handicapped, chronic unemployed, and others. This counselling depends on the individual.... When a client comes in, you start with career or educational counselling, but often it ends up being personal counselling.
>
> If the client has identified his or her goals, and students go into the program knowing what they want to do, and they have all the prerequisites, financial and personal problems taken care of then retention would be very high. The student can say: "I know where I'm going."

Table 5: Retention Activities Reported Relating to the Moving In Educational Phase

Retention Activity	Average
Institutions reporting:	n=9
Recruitment	
Applicant academic advising	9
Computerized admission information	9
High school recruiting visits	7
Applicant testing and evaluation	5
Open house	4
Evening counselling program	1
Orientation	
September student orientation	9
Staff orientation in retention	6
Special admissions material sent	6
Pre-enrolment information seminar	2
Weekly orientation activities	2

The goal of recruitment activities historically has been to increase college enrolments the following September; however, it also is viewed as an activity to help ensure student-program fit. This emphasis creates a conflict, however. Staff members in the Student Services section are responsible for recruitment activities which occur in the Fall, at a time when newly-enroled students are most in need of supportive counselling and advising from the same staff members.

Table 6 summarizes the student retention activities that relate to more than one educational phase. For example, counselling in the Moving In phase relates to the students' career and program choices. For traditional students, counselling frequently relates to the problems students encounter their first time away from home. Counselling in the Moving Through phase often relates to personal problems. Many of the colleges have established strong relationships with outside agencies and refer students when dealing with problems beyond their capabilities. Counselling in the Moving On phase involves helping students find jobs when they complete the course or helping dropouts understand why they are leaving.

Table 6: Retention Activities Reported to Relate to More than One Educational Phase

Retention Activity	Average
Institutions reporting:	n=9
Individual counselling	9
Committee for women in non-traditional occupations	6
Group counselling	5
Research/surveys on retention activities in the college	4
Single parents support group	3
Credit courses available	3
Mature students support group	2
Athletic/social coordinator	2
Human services counsellor	2
Off-campus student drop-in centre	1
Support group to discuss financial problems	1

Noel argues that socialization of the student into the college is a key student retention activity.[62] Many of the programs described by respondents in this study are support groups that help to make students feel part of the mainstream of college life during the time they spend at college. Tinto and Schlossberg et al. argue students are more apt to persist if they do not feel they are on the margins of college life.[63] Anderson rated counselling, friends, and information as important positive retention influences.[64]

The retention activities related to the Moving Through educational phase are summarized in Table 7. The only universally reported program, job-related training, was described by respondents as being part of the community college philosophy of education. These work placements are organized by the college and the student must receive a passing grade on the work placement in order to complete the program. Tinto argued that commitment and intention are the primary attributes that form the student's decision to persist at college.[65] Career commitment is strongly reinforced by having the students spend time actually working in their chosen occupation. Dunphy et al. argue that career choice is a process not an event.[66] Job-related training provides the student with an opportunity to experience his or her future career while still in college.

Table 7: Retention Activities Reported to Relate to Moving Through Educational Phase

Retention Activity	Total
Institutions reporting:	n=9
Job related training (practicum)	9
Study skills lectures	6
Peer tutoring	4
Assessment committee	4
Health information sessions	3
Outside agencies referral	3
Student assistance program	2
Stress management seminars	2
Student needs committee	2
Form modification for retention	2
Emergency loan fund	1
Time management seminars	1
Administration policy change	1
Student involvement college policy	1

Two action-oriented student retention activities were reported that offer assistance to students in academic difficulty: study skills seminars and peer tutoring. Both programs were reported as very successful activities that offer failing students a good alternative to dropping out. Study skills seminars are mandatory in some colleges; in other colleges, they are available as an optional program. The study skills seminar is presented as a lecture by the Student Services section, and provides information on such things as how to take notes, what is important to study, when to ask questions in class, how to study for examinations, and how to write examinations.

Several programs were established to provide equitable treatment to college students. These programs include: assessment committee, student assistance program, student advocacy, student needs committee, administration policy change, and student involvement in college policy. Assessment committees and the student assistance program refer to a process used when a student is at risk of being terminated. The colleges that do not have such programs in place simply terminate students who do not meet established academic or social standards. Respondents from those colleges that have an overall termination plan offer assistance to both the instructor and the student. The program was described as not only fair, but also as a very effective retention tool. In explaining the assessment committee's role in the college, one respondent stated:

> Regular assessment meetings are held to discuss all classes. Someone from Student Services attends.... Individual assessment meetings are held during the year, if there are particular social problems, behavioral problems, academic problems with one or two students in a class. Students are informed that a meeting is taking place and they can ask to speak to the group on their own behalf. For example, if a student has failed a practicum and there is going to be a decision made as to whether the student will be able to continue or not, the student could come and explain to the group any special circumstances.

The Moving Through stage is the longest period of time that the college is in contact with the student. Aitken and Bean found, in separate studies, that in this phase institutions should strive to increase student participation in college activities.[67] Socialization of the student into the college will significantly reduce dropouts.

The student retention activities undertaken by the New Brunswick Community Colleges during the Moving On educational phase are summarized in Table 8. Not much emphasis is placed on this last phase of the student's college career nor is there much consistency among the nine colleges. Three of the colleges reported that they have a college-based Canada Employment Centre (CEC) which allows the students access to job placement services without leaving the building.

Table 8: Retention Activities Reported to Relate to Moving On Educational Phase

Retention Activity	Total
Institutions reporting:	n=9
CEC counsellor at college	3
Report of departure or exit survey	3
Job placement service	2
Job search seminars	1

Only three of the college respondents reported programs that were specifically aimed at the Moving On phase: report of departure or exit surveys. These surveys or reports outlined why the student had left or was leaving. Unlike the exit interview which often helps the students to change their minds and stay at college, the only retention value of the exit survey is the information it provides to the college on why the students left.[68] Such information can be used to introduce changes which may help keep other students in college.

In summary, respondents reported 44 action-oriented retention programs of which 12 related to more than one educational phase, 11 related to the Moving In phase, 15 to the Moving Through phase, and 4 to the Moving On phase. Only five programs were reported by all colleges. Three of these were related to the Moving In phase. If it can be assumed that the reported action-oriented student retention activities were based on central or college objectives, then few policies appear to exist which relate to student retention, and those that do exist focus rather narrowly on the Moving In phase of recruitment and orientation.

The existence of programs in any college is determined to a large extent by its size and the availability of staff, financial resources and time. In this regard, larger colleges offer more programs and a greater variety of programs than smaller colleges. One type of program was cited as an extremely valuable service to students. These programs provided staff with an early warning system about potential dropouts and offered support and assistance to identified students while there was still a possibility of helping them stay in their educational program. The respondents could offer only subjective information on the value of the retention programs. No statistical data or research information had been kept on the satisfaction of the programs to the college or students.

Conclusion

As a result of this study the researcher formulated the following conclusions about the New Brunswick Community Colleges' student retention efforts. These conclusions are based on the activities reported by the college respondents and their relevance to current research on student retention and attrition.

1 Clear goals, objectives or policy directions would assist in the development and implementation of student retention activities. DAET has provided each college with capital assets and operational services to aid in the retention of students. All of the colleges have a Student Services section placed in a highly visible location within the college. Libraries have been installed in all of the colleges and many, but not all, of the colleges have sports and social facilities. DAET has provided a course calendar and an information pamphlet on all New Brunswick Community College system's programs. The fact that a Student Services section exists in all colleges implies policy directions, goals or objectives regarding student retention activities, although this study indicates that no explicit goals, objectives or policy directions are provided.

The implications of these initiatives are that both the colleges and DAET perceive a need to increase services to students. The initiatives place an emphasis on student retention, although without a clear mandate, the services provided appear to be aimed at increasing student enrolment rather than on increasing student retention.

Off-campus students do not get the same level of support services as the on-campus students. Students who attend off-campus programs are as prone to dropping out as students who attend on-campus programs. When a college program is established, whether on or off-campus, student retention activities should be discussed as an integral part of the program.

2 Program services should be developed to focus on all three phases of student life at the community college. The Moving In phase, in particular recruitment, was considered to be the most important phase of the action-oriented programs. Staff in the Student Services section were reported to spend as much as 50 percent of their time on recruitment. Most respondents reported that the activities of their sections reflected standard services and could not be considered as special retention activities. The implications of having the Student Services staff members spending 50 percent of their time dealing with future applicants appears to be twofold. First, applicants may become dependent on the student counsellor for advice and support,

only to find when they become students that the counsellor is not readily available to them. Second, the rate of dropout is highest in the first few weeks after initial enrolment, at a time when student counsellors are least available because they are busy with recruitment for the next academic year.

3 Up-to-date statistical data on student dropouts need to be made available to college staff. The bulk of the statistical information available relates to student enrolment, graduation and employment success. Statistics on the success of the college programs in terms of student attrition and retention were reported to be difficult or impossible to obtain. This fact tends to have a negative effect on those attempting to prevent attrition and increase retention. Eight of the nine respondents rated insufficient data as the most important student retention problem.

If statistical information on dropouts is not provided in a timely fashion, then the staff responsible for developing and operating action-oriented student retention programs can only provide a subjective opinion on whether a program is good and helpful, or a waste of money and time. When concise statistical data are kept, program goals can more easily be confirmed and modified.

4 Research needs to be undertaken by the colleges or DAET on student attrition and retention. Little research has been undertaken by the colleges or by DAET on student attrition and retention. Only three of the colleges reported having undertaken a study or survey relating to these topics. Current or former students were surveyed.

Research provides the objective opinion needed to form long term goals, objectives and policy direction. The result of not having a body of information, grounded in research, is that the policies of the various colleges with respect to student retention are based on subjective opinion. Good retention programs may be dropped, ineffective student retention activities may be continued.

5 Student retention must become an integral part of the colleges' educational strategy, if education is to become an effective cornerstone in the province's economic strategy. The

respondents did not report a student retention organization in any of the colleges. In order to effectively deal with student retention the colleges could take an organized approach to assisting students to persist. The absence of an organized approach allows students to drop out without counselling or advice from the Student Services section. Students cannot be assisted once they have left the college; it is imperative, therefore, that the students be provided with help before leaving.

6 The provision of adequate financial aid should be considered a major student retention strategy. Inadequate financial aid was listed as the most negative characteristic contributing to student attrition and as one of the most positive characteristics for retaining students. DAET and the colleges could examine the financial aid programs offered in relation to their effectiveness in retaining students.

7 An administrative procedure should be put in place to identify and assist potential dropouts. Several of the large colleges' respondents reported a student assessment process in which the potential dropout's situation is reviewed. This should be an integral part of all of the colleges' administration and there should be an ongoing review of the student involvement in the process.

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AUTONOMIE ET ENSEIGNEMENT À DISTANCE[1]

André-Jacques Deschênes
Télé-université

Résumé

Même si l'autonomie n'est pas un concept très clair, autant du point de vue théorique que pratique, il demeure au centre de la philosophie de l'éducation des adultes et un concept clé de l'enseignement à distance. En nous basant sur le concept de métacognition, nous définissons l'autonomie comme la gestion d'un ou des aspects de son activité d'apprentissage. Cela suppose des connaissances sur l'apprenant, les tâches cognitives et les stratégies mises en oeuvre pour réaliser ces tâches. L'autonomie renvoie aussi au contrôle de l'activité et comprend la planification, la régulation et l'évaluation de la démarche d'apprentissage. Sur un plan plus pratique, trois aspects d'un cours conçu pour l'apprentissage à distance peuvent permettre à l'étudiant d'exercer ou de développer son autonomie: le contenu correspond à la matière du cours, la structure à la façon dont le cours se déroulera et l'interaction aux relations possibles entre l'apprenant et d'autres personnes.

Abstract

Although the concept of autonomy is not very clear, it remains a focal point of adult education philosophy and a key concept in distance education, as much from a theorical point of view as a practical one. With reference to the concept of metacognition, we define autonomy as the management of one, or some aspects of one's learning activity. It presupposes knowledge in cognitive tasks and in strategies to be implemented to realise those tasks on the part of the learner. Autonomy also refers to the control of the learning activities such as planning, regulation and evaluation of the learning procedure. In a more practical way, three aspects of a course conceived for distance

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education, should help student to practice or to develop his autonomy: the content, which corresponds to the course material; the structure, which corresponds to the way the course will proceed; and the interaction, which refers to the potential relationships between the learner and other persons.

> Un apprenant complètement autonome, c'est une personne qui identifie un besoin d'apprentissage lorsqu'elle se trouve face à un problème, une habileté à acquérir ou une information qu'elle ne possède pas. Elle est capable de formuler son besoin d'apprentissage en termes de but et d'objectifs spécifiques et de fixer, de façon plus ou moins explicite, des critères de réalisation. Dans la démarche qu'il entreprend, l'apprenant autonome recueille l'information qu'il désire, pratique les habiletés, travaille à résoudre son problème et parvient à atteindre les objectifs visés. En évaluant, il vérifie la validité des nouvelles habiletés, l'adéquacité des solutions trouvées et la qualité des connaissances acquises. Il dégage des conclusions, retient ou rejette certains éléments et juge si les objectifs sont atteints ou les abandonne. (Moore, 1977, p. 22)

Même si l'autonomie n'est pas un concept très clair, autant du point de vue théorique que pratique (Garrison et Baynton, 1987; Hostler, 1986), il demeure au centre de la philosophie de l'éducation des adultes et un concept clé de l'apprentissage à distance.

En éducation des adultes, on fait souvent une adéquation entre adulte et autonomie de telle sorte que l'on prétend, souvent sans réserve, qu'il n'est pas possible de faire de l'enseignement aux adultes et de les respecter sans leur donner de façon explicite tout le pouvoir et le contrôle de leurs apprentissages (Hostler, 1986). S'il est juste de croire que l'autonomie rejoint par plusieurs de ses aspects la maturité de l'adulte, il est faux de penser que tous les adultes sont en mesure de poser des gestes et de prendre des décisions avec le même degré d'autonomie ou d'indépendance. On peut en effet affirmer, sans risque de se tromper, que plusieurs personnes se sentent inadéquates devant une situation d'apprentissage exigeant qu'elles assument le pouvoir et le contrôle de leur apprentissage parce qu'elles ne possèdent pas les connaissances de soi, de leurs limites et de leurs ressources, ainsi que les habiletés nécessaires à l'exercice de l'autonomie. Le système d'éducation dans lequel nous avons évolué nous a à peu près tous imposé un encadrement qui laissait bien peu de place à l'autodirection et à l'autocontrôle des apprentissages, de telle sorte qu'on nous a peu appris comment assumer une telle responsabilité (Hostler, 1986). Certains, pour qui le conditionnement à la passivité a été tellement important, refusent ouvertement de devenir autonomes, se sentant complètement incompétents devant une telle tâche. Ils exigent le support et l'approbation constante des autres pour parvenir à un apprentissage significatif et rejettent dans un premier temps toute forme de prise en charge qui les rendrait maîtres de la situation.

En formation à distance, l'autonomie est souvent définie comme une caractéristique de l'apprentissage à distance (Henri et Kaye 1985; Henri et Lescop, 1988; Hostler, 1986). Cette forme d'enseignement place en effet les étudiants dans une situation qui se distingue de celle des étudiants sur campus et se rapproche, par certains de ses aspects, d'une situation coutumière d'étude selon la description qu'en font Thomas et Rohwer (1986). En effet, lorsqu'il étudie, l'étudiant doit assumer le contrôle d'à peu près tous les aspects de la situation. Non seulement doit-il s'assurer que les informations à acquérir le soient de façon satisfaisante, mais aussi il doit prendre en charge sa motivation, la gestion de son temps et l'aménagement de son environnement.

Dans une situation d'apprentissage à distance, d'apprentissage autodirigé écrit Holmberg (1974) l'étudiant se retrouve très souvent seul. Cet isolement, parfois géographique, souvent psychologique, fait que tout son travail se réalise à peu près exclusivement avec le matériel fourni par l'institution de télé-enseignement, sans aucun contact direct important avec d'autres personnes. Même si, en enseignement à distance, l'essentiel des objectifs et des contenus est déterminé par un concepteur, l'étudiant doit prendre en charge une partie des moyens à mettre en oeuvre pour réaliser les apprentissages proposés, planifier son temps, choisir son environnement, diriger et maintenir sa motivation. On peut donc parler d'un minimum d'autonomie nécessaire lorsqu'on se retrouve dans un système de formation à distance.

L'utilisation du terme autonomie renvoie à des conceptions fort diverses et pose de ce fait un certain nombre de difficultés tant au plan théorique que pratique. Notre intention est donc de préciser certains aspects de l'apprentissage autonome chez des adultes en utilisant les concepts de la psychologie cognitive pour définir l'autonomie et de voir comment on pourrait, de façon concrète, l'appliquer en enseignement à distance. Pour nous, l'autonomie repose davantage sur le fait que l'apprenant assume, à quelque degré que ce soit, la prise en charge du déroulement de son activité d'apprentissage. Une telle prise en charge devrait assurer un meilleur apprentissage car on constate que les apprenants les plus performants, les lecteurs les plus efficaces, sont plus actifs dans la réalisation de leur tâche cognitive et gèrent eux-mêmes une bonne partie de leur apprentissage (Bauman et Ballard, 1987; Brown, Palincsar et Armbruster, 1984; Fischer et Mandl, 1988; Gambrell et Heathington, 1981; de Jong et Simons, 1988; Kurtz, à paraître; Paris et Jacobs, 1984; Shuell, 1986; Simons, 1989; Smith, 1985; Stewart et Teo, 1983; Taylor, 1980; Yussen et al., 1982).

Une définition de l'autonomie

Pour nous, l'autonomie renvoie à la notion de métacognition qui comprend des connaissances portant sur les aspects personne, tâche et stratégie associés à l'activité cognitive et le contrôle de cette activité cognitive (Baker et Brown, 1984a et b; Brown, 1982; Flavell, 1981 et 1985; Kurtz, à paraître; Pinard, 1987; Pinard et al., 1985). Il s'agit donc d'un ensemble de phénomènes associés et reliés aux connaissances et à la régulation de la cognition (Borodkin, 1987; Haller et al., 1988; Kurtz, à paraître).

Nous définissons donc l'autonomie comme la gestion d'un ou des aspects de son activité d'apprentissage. Pour être autonome, l'individu doit posséder des connaissances sur la personne, les tâches et les stratégies et maîtriser des habiletés servant à la planification, à la régulation et à l'évaluation de la tâche cognitive dans laquelle il est engagé. Ces dernières stratégies, de type métacognitif, sont celles qui assurent la gestion de l'apprentissage et elles peuvent être mises en oeuvre grâce aux connaissances sur la personne, les tâches et les stratégies.

Les connaissances sur la personne portent sur tout ce qui peut caractériser l'être humain comme apprenant (Flavell, 1978 et 1979). Ce sont, par exemple, les caractéristiques individuelles de l'apprenant (attitude, intérêt et motivation) (de Jong et Simons, 1988), ses forces et ses faiblesses (Martin, 1987), la perception de ses capacités

(Borodkin, 1987; Bouffard-Bouchard et Pinard, à paraître), ses processus cognitifs (Flavell, 1981; Griffin, 1988; Sanacore, 1984) et des connaissances sur les apprenants en général (Flavell, 1981).

Les connaissances sur les tâches renvoient à celles portant sur les diverses actions cognitives à réaliser. Ce peut être la mémorisation, la compréhension, la résolution de problèmes et toutes les autres activités que l'on regroupe sous le terme de cognition (Reed, 1982) ou encore, plus spécifiquement, des actions précises reliées à des situations d'étude ou d'examen. Ces connaissances portent sur les différentes caractéristiques des diverses tâches ainsi que sur les processus cognitifs que celles-ci supposent (Schneider, 1985).

Les connaissances sur les stratégies portent sur le quand, comment et pourquoi utiliser les différentes stratégies (Armbruster et Brown, 1984; Kurtz, à paraître; Pressley et al., 1984). Elles comportent donc des informations sur la nature des stratégies elles-mêmes, leur utilité, leur efficacité et les façons de les utiliser en les combinant et les ordonnant pour atteindre le but. Les stratégies sont cognitives, celles qui permettent d'atteindre le but cognitif fixé, ou métacognitives, celles qui assurent le contrôle de la tâche cognitive (Flavell, 1981 et 1985).

La majorité des connaissances que possède l'individu sur son activité mentale est constituée de combinaisons de ces connaissances sur la personne, les tâches ou les stratégies ou d'informations sur les interactions entre ces connaissances (Flavell, 1985).

La planification consiste à se préparer à la réalisation d'une tâche cognitive. Cela signifie analyser les buts poursuivis, les exigences de la tâche, ses modalités, les stratégies disponibles (de Jong et Simons, 1988), les aspects temporels (Bouffard-Bouchard et Pinard, à paraître), les étapes pour réaliser la tâche (Martin, 1987) et les caractéristiques de l'environnement. La planification exige la mise en oeuvre d'habiletés de prédiction, de sélection et de mise en ordre des étapes de l'action et des stratégies nécessaires à l'atteinte des buts fixés (Flavell, 1981; Brown, 1978; Brown et Smiley, 1978; Paris et Lindauer, 1982).

La régulation (monitoring) comprend toutes les activités cognitives qui permettent de superviser le déroulement de la tâche cognitive et de corriger ou modifier la démarche lorsque cela est nécessaire (Baker et

Brown, 1984a; Borodkin, 1987; Haller et al., 1988; de Jong et Simons, 1988; Kurtz, à paraître; Waern et Askwall, 1981). Les habiletés nécessaires à la régulation sont celles associées à l'identification, l'interprétation et le traitement des expériences métacognitives ainsi qu'à la mise en place de réajustements lorsque des problèmes se posent. L'expérience métacognitive comprend les sentiments, les émotions et les pensées présents lors de la réalisation d'une tâche cognitive (Flavell, 1981 et 1985; Lefebvre-Pinard et Pinard, 1984). Ces différents états psychologiques reliés à l'un ou l'autre des aspects de la tâche fournissent des indices permettant de faire le point sur son déroulement et de se réajuster lorsque nécessaire.

L'évaluation consiste à vérifier si les informations à acquérir l'ont été ou si l'objectif visé est atteint. Elle porte aussi sur les processus, les stratégies et la planification mis en oeuvre pour réaliser la tâche cognitive (Brown, 1978; de Jong et Simons, 1988; Kitchener, 1983; Markman, 1979; Paris et Jacobs, 1984; Surgent, 1985). Les évaluations peuvent se produire à n'importe quel moment du déroulement de la tâche. Elles sont cependant de toute première importance pour compléter une activité cognitive car elles constituent un feedback interne facilitant la mise à jour des connaissances métacognitives (Flavell, 1978; Lefebvre-Pinard et Pinard, 1984). Ainsi, des moments de prises de conscience (et des habiletés pour le faire) doivent être considérés comme une forme d'activité métacognitive (Demetriou et Efklides, 1985; Dewitz et al., 1987; Haller et al., 1988; Martin, 1987; Sanacore, 1984).

Pour ce qui est des stratégies, il faut savoir que l'on postule, en psychologie cognitive (Shuell, 1986), que les stratégies ou les habiletés ne peuvent être maîtrisées ou mises en oeuvre que dans la mesure où elles sont convenablement structurées dans la mémoire des individus, donc comme des connaissances. L'utilisation des stratégies métacognitives dépend donc d'un bon bagage de connaissances de type métacognitif et des stratégies elles-mêmes, c'est ce qu'on appelle des connaissances procédurales (Flavell, 1981; Kurtz, à paraître; Ruddell, 1986).

Autonomie et enseignement à distance

Trois aspects d'un cours, tel que nous le concevons à la Téle-université, peuvent permettre d'exercer l'autonomie ou d'acquérir l'autonomie. Ce sont le contenu, la structure et l'interaction. Le contenu renvoie à la matière du cours, au domaine de connaissances, la structure à la façon dont le cours se déroulera et l'interaction renvoie aux relations possibles entre l'apprenant et d'autres personnes.

Le contenu

Le contenu, c'est la matière du cours. Ce sont les informations d'un domaine de connaissances donné que l'on présente à l'étudiant, habituellement à l'aide de documents écrits, dans le but d'augmenter ses connaissances ou ses habiletés. Même si ce contenu est prédéterminé et fixé par un concepteur, il est quand même possible de permettre à l'étudiant d'exercer ou de développer son autonomie en rapport avec le contenu. Cela peut se faire par: 1) une présentation modulaire des contenus, 2) la mise en place d'un support méthodologique, 3) l'autoévaluation des connaissances et, 4) le développement de l'esprit critique.

Une présentation modulaire des contenus

Si l'idéal d'une sélection autonome des contenus par l'étudiant n'est pas possible dans le cadre d'une institution chargée de certifier l'acquisition des connaissances et des compétences, il est quand même possible de présenter les contenus de telle sorte que l'apprenant puisse faire des choix selon ses besoins, ses intérêts et ses connaissances initiales. Il s'agit de construire le cours par unités d'information relativement courtes en identifiant bien le ou les thèmes abordés et le ou les objectifs visés par chacune des unités. Ainsi, de façon autonome, l'étudiant choisira l'ordre dans lequel il prendra connaissance des modules, il sélectionnera en fonction de ses connaissances initiales et perdra moins de temps dans ce qu'il connaît déjà. Il pourra aussi choisir de ne lire qu'un certain nombre de modules, les plus pertinents, pour répondre à ses besoins à ce moment-là. Il serait possible d'envisager, pour un thème donné, la conception d'une série de modules qui pourraient être crédités mais qui ne feraient partie d'aucun cours spécifique. Par exemple, on pourrait avoir une série de cinquante modules en psychologie de l'enfant parmi lesquels les étudiants, selon leurs besoins, leurs intérêts et leurs connaissances initiales, pourraient choisir et se constituer un cours de trois, six ou neuf crédits. Holmberg (1987) souligne que cette façon de procéder permet à l'étudiant d'exercer son autonomie en rapport avec le contenu.

La mise en place d'un support méthodologique

Plusieurs auteurs soulignent que dans une situation d'apprentissage à distance, il est nécessaire que l'apprenant puisse prendre conscience et résoudre les confusions, les ambiguités ou les incompréhensions qui se produisent lors de la lecture (Hostler, 1986; Thomas et Rhower, 1986). L'étudiant, travaillant sans supervision ou aide directe externe, doit avoir les habiletés ou les stratégies cognitives lui permettant de traiter les informations à acquérir de façon efficace (Garrison et Baynton, 1987; Hostler, 1986). Nous avons déjà fait l'hypothèse que certaines difficultés d'apprentissage des étudiants adultes peuvent être attribuées à une déficience de leurs connaissances procédurales (Bourdages et al., à paraître). Celles-ci portent sur le « savoir comment ». Il est possible de croire que plusieurs adultes ne savent pas apprendre de leurs lectures ou ne savent pas comment réaliser les travaux demandés. Nous avons déjà observé (Deschênes et Michaud, 1987) que les lecteurs adultes avaient peu de connaissances de l'activité de compréhension de textes et, en particulier, de celles portant sur les stratégies. Un aspect important de l'autonomie en rapport avec le contenu réside dans la maîtrise des stratégies nécessaires à sa compréhension.

Il est possible de permettre à l'étudiant de développer ou d'augmenter son autonomie en lui offrant dans un cours un support que nous avons appelé méthodologique et que nous définissons de la façon suivante: « ...celui qui permet à l'étudiant d'acquérir, de pratiquer ou d'améliorer une stratégie de type cognitif (exemple: comment faire un résumé, s'autoquestionner, rédiger une analyse, construire un tableau, etc.), c'est-à-dire de progresser dans l'atteinte de l'acquisition des connaissances du domaine d'études... ou d'une stratégie de type métacognitif (comme planifier, vérifier, évaluer, etc.)... » (Lebel et al., 1988, p. 5-6)

S'il faut de toute évidence favoriser l'acquisition de stratégies elles-mêmes lorsque les apprenants ne les possèdent pas, il importe de fournir les informations (les connaissances procédurales) nécessaires à leur utilisation dans d'autres contextes. Un concepteur doit, par exemple, introduire ses activités par une description contenant des définitions, des objectifs et (ou) des procédures qui constituent une forme de connaissance de type métacognitif (Baumann et Ballard, 1987; Flavell, 1981; Ruddell, 1986) absolument nécessaire pour assurer le maintien et le transfert des stratégies (Baker et Brown, 1984b; Brown et al., 1984; Kurtz, à paraître; Pressley et al., 1984).

L'autoévaluation des connaissances

Lorsqu'un apprenant s'inscrit à un cours, souvent, il sait déjà un certain nombre de choses en rappport avec son domaine; il possède des connaissances et des croyances identifiables. Il veut aussi, en principe, augmenter ce bagage de connaissances. Il y a des informations qu'il désire acquérir à tout prix, d'autres qu'il devra acquérir parce qu'elles sont préalables aux premières et d'autres enfin qu'il devra apprendre parce qu'on l'y oblige. Tout ce secteur de l'activité cognitive qui touche les connaissances peut être géré par l'apprenant et favoriser son autonomie vis-à-vis du contenu du cours. En fait, peu importe l'obligation qui est faite à l'étudiant concernant la matière du cours, l'enseignement devrait être organisé de telle sorte que l'étudiant puisse lui-même construire ses connaissances (Peterson, 1988).

Wellman (1985) écrit que l'apprenant doit de façon constante évaluer l'état de l'information dans son système cognitif. Cela suppose qu'il puisse identifier ce qu'il connaît déjà, comprendre les nouvelles informations présentées, les intégrer à celles existantes (Peterson, 1988) et évaluer la qualité de cette organisation. Une telle utilisation de ses connaissances ne constitue pas une habileté facile pour tous les lecteurs (Racle, 1988).

Deux aspects sont particulièrement importants en regard de la gestion des connaissances. Nous avons déjà décrit comment des connaissances peuvent interférer sur les performances de compréhension (Deschênes, 1988). On observe, par exemple, qu'habituellement, lorsque les sujets possèdent des connaissances (ou des croyances) incompatibles avec les informations présentées dans un texte, les performances des sujets chez qui les croyances ont été préalablement activées sont inférieures à celles des sujets où ces connaissances n'ont pas été activées. Il y donc des domaines (santé mentale, religion, politique) où il est possible que les apprenants aient des croyances ou des préjugés qui puissent leur faire rejeter, de façon inconsciente, les nouvelles informations qu'on leur présente. Le second aspect renvoie à l'illusion de connaître. On observe souvent que des sujets croient avoir répondu correctement à des questions de compréhension alors que ce n'est pas le cas (Pressley et Ghatala, 1988). Souvent les lecteurs échouent à évaluer correctement leur niveau de compréhension et déclarent comprendre alors que le texte lu contient une inconsistance qui le rend incompréhensible (Zabrucky et al., 1987). De façon générale on observe donc une surestimation de la compréhension (Baker et Brown, 1984b; Maki et Berry, 1984; Surgent, 1985; Waern et Askwall, 1981). Les étudiants doivent être informés de ces deux phénomènes et les concepteurs doivent les encourager à se donner des moyens pour gérer leurs connaissances.

On peut concevoir des activités pédagogiques ou se donner des démarches d'apprentissage qui permettent d'activer les connaissances initiales des étudiants et de les utiliser pour intégrer les nouvelles informations. Cela vaut pour tous les secteurs; Peterson (1988) écrit que les apprenants plus faibles bénéficient beaucoup (même plus que les forts) d'un enseignement des mathématiques qui s'appuie sur les connaissances informelles des enfants en mathématiques. L'évaluation de la compréhension ou des connaissances doit se faire par des activités qui portent sur la construction du sens global des informations. Il est en effet reconnu que le fait de construire un résumé, de se poser des questions sur le contenu ou de construire un tableau sont des exercices qui permettent aux apprenants de vérifier leur degré de compréhension. Presley et Ghatala (1988) ont observé que les questions adjointes de types réponses suggérées pouvaient créer facilement l'illusion de comprendre. Richek (1987) quant à lui croit que les questions posées par le professeur au lecteur ne permettent pas à celui-ci de comprendre de façon indépendante. Le choix des exercices ou des activités que l'on propose devient donc de toute première importance dans l'exercice et l'acquisition de l'autonomie des étudiants vis-à-vis de leur bagage de connaissances.

Le développement de l'esprit critique

Un dernier aspect en rapport avec le contenu concerne l'esprit critique, la valeur à accorder aux connaissances. On ne peut selon Hostler (1986) enseigner des contenus sans se préoccuper de permettre aux apprenants de dégager eux-mêmes leurs conclusions, sans leur fournir les informations nécessaires pour prendre des décisions ou sans leur offrir l'occasion de se prononcer sur la valeur de ces connaissances.

Holmberg (1987) écrit que les guides d'études peuvent favoriser cette démarche autonome en présentant aux étudiants des informations de divers types pour leur permettre de les comparer, de les critiquer et d'en dégager des conclusions. Plusieurs concepteurs de cours censurent les textes ou les informations fournis aux étudiants pour ne leur offrir que ceux qu'ils (les concepteurs) jugent les meilleurs. D'autres présentent plusieurs positions mais se chargent eux-mêmes de conclure, de discuter, de rejeter ou d'accepter.

Le développement de l'esprit critique consiste à fournir aux apprenants des informations de différents types et des outils de telle sorte qu'ils puissent par eux-mêmes discuter, critiquer, analyser, commenter, réfuter, compléter, conclure et prendre position. C'est, là aussi, une façon d'exercer et de développer son autonomie vis-à-vis du contenu d'un cours.

La structure

Nous empruntons la notion de structure à Moore (1977). Celle-ci renvoie à l'organisation pédagogique du cours. Elle porte sur les objectifs, la démarche de réalisation du cours et les modalités d'évaluation. Pour Moore, la structure d'un cours ou d'un programme doit être planifiée de telle sorte qu'elle recoupe ou rejoigne les objectifs spécifiques, la démarche de progression dans le cours et les méthodes d'évaluation de l'étudiant. Celui-ci assume ainsi une certaine responsabilité dans son apprentissage. Une grande souplesse dans la structure permet la participation de l'étudiant aux « tâches d'enseignement » comme le propose Simons (1989) pour décrire l'auto-régulation de l'apprentissage. En fait, plus la structure est forte, moins l'étudiant peut exercer son autonomie.

Dans sa catégorisation des tâches d'enseignement auxquelles l'étudiant peut participer, Simons en nomme cinq: 1) la préparation de l'apprentissage, 2) la facilitation de l'apprentissage, 3) la régulation de l'apprentissage, 4) le feedback et l'évaluation des performances, et 5) le maintien de la concentration et de la motivation. Ces cinq tâches se retrouvent dans les trois stratégies métacognitives que nous avons décrites plus haut: 1) la planification, 2) la régulation, 3) l'évaluation.

La planification

Avant de s'engager dans une démarche d'apprentissage, il est important de se préparer. Il faut analyser les demandes de la tâche, les buts poursuivis, les caractéristiques de l'apprenant, les stratégies possibles, etc. (de Jong et Simons, 1988). C'est ce dont il s'agit lorsqu'il est question de planification.

Pour ce qui est de la préparation de cours, un concepteur peut déterminer lui-même les tâches à réaliser, les objectifs d'apprentissage, les stratégies d'étude, etc. Au minimum il est important que les étudiants soient informés explicitement de toutes ces décisions; au mieux, il faut solliciter leur participation. Celle-ci peut être rendue possible pour cinq aspects de l'apprentissage: les objectifs, les tâches, les stratégies, le temps et l'apprenant.

En ce qui touche aux objectifs, s'il n'est pas habituellement possible pour un concepteur de laisser aux étudiants la liberté de définir eux-mêmes leurs objectifs d'apprentissage on peut par ailleurs leur laisser une certain degré de prise en charge. Cela peut se faire sur un continuum où l'on retrouve à un extrême la possibilité de se situer en rapport avec des objectifs prédéfinis et à l'autre la formulation de ses propres objectifs d'apprentissage en marge de ceux fournis par le cours. D'autres façons de gérer les objectifs d'apprentissage consistent à classer par ordre de priorité des objectifs prédéfinis, à identifier le degré d'atteinte de certains objectifs (selon ses connaissances et ses expériences initiales), à trouver des sous-objectifs à partir des objectifs généraux, etc.

Quant aux objectifs d'apprentissage, il importe de faire deux commentaires. Le premier porte sur le type d'objectifs d'apprentissage visés. On nous a longtemps enseigné que des objectifs devaient contenir une description des comportements observables si l'on voulait évaluer adéquatement l'apprentissage. Ce postulat conduit à une formulation d'objectifs qui s'appuie sur une conception béhavioriste de l'enseignement et réduit de façon importante la valeur de l'apprentissage. On en arrive par exemple à des objectifs comme « identifier les trois caractéristiques de... » ou bien « définir ... » ou encore « nommer les faits qui ont conduit à... », et l'on présente alors un texte de trois pages où l'objectif est de définir un concept. Une telle formulation d'objectifs spécifiques donne évidemment assez peu de pouvoir à l'étudiant et limite considérablement son apprentissage. Évidemment, si on veut que les étudiants apprennent par coeur des dates et des faits précis, c'est la seule façon de procéder. Cependant si on veut donner une perspective plus large à l'apprentissage et si on se situe dans le domaine de l'acquisition de connaissances (par opposition à l'acquisition d'habiletés), il est préférable d'avoir un type et une formulation d'objectifs qui portent soit sur des processus (comprendre, résoudre un problème, faire des relations, organiser, intégrer), soit sur des activités éducatives (faire une synthèse, appliquer, construire un tableau). Hostler (1986) suggère que ce dernier type d'objectifs permet plus d'individualité et d'autonomie et est plus adapté à l'éducation des adultes. Souvent, cependant, ces activités visent l'organisation, la compréhension ou l'intégration des connaissances et rejoignent une perspective cognitiviste de l'apprentissage (Shuell, 1986).

Le second commentaire concerne la formulation des objectifs. Il n'y a pas à notre avis une façon uniforme et universelle de formuler des objectifs. On ne peut donc pas demander à des étudiants de formuler des objectifs comme tel ou tel auteur le préconise. Cependant, deux éléments sont importants dans un objectif. D'abord quelles connaissances (concepts, idées, groupe de concept) l'on veut acquérir et ensuite quel degré de profondeur on vise dans l'acquisition. On peut vouloir connaître un concept comme on peut désirer être capable de l'utiliser dans son travail quotidien. Par exemple, connaître ce que signifie le concept d'autonomie constitue un premier niveau d'acquisition relativement facile à atteindre, mais en comprendre toutes les implications pour l'utiliser dans la formulation d'une démarche d'apprentissage représente un niveau de traitement des informations exigeant un travail cognitif beaucoup plus important.

La planification en rapport avec les tâches renvoie de façon spécifique dans un cours à distance aux différents travaux à réaliser tout au long de la démarche. On peut demander à l'étudiant de faire un résumé, ou une synthèse, ou de construire un schéma. Ce sont là des activités qui demandent des habiletés particulières. Ce sont les tâches les plus importantes qui serviront à l'évaluation et à la notation des étudiants. Bourdages et al., (à paraître) pensent que des faiblesses dans les connaissances procédurales nécessaires à la réalisation de ces tâches peuvent constituer un facteur de difficultés d'apprentissage et d'échecs chez les adultes. Armbruster et Brown (1984) écrivent qu'il faut connaître clairement la tâche « critère » (celle qui doit être accomplie après la lecture d'un texte) de telle sorte que l'on puisse ajuster ses stratégies de lecture et le niveau du traitement des informations en fonction des exigences de la tâche à réaliser.

Si l'on veut donner à l'étudiant la possibilité d'exercer ou d'acquérir de l'autonomie vis-à-vis des tâches à réaliser, il importe de bien lui décrire les exigences de ces tâches et de lui permettre d'identifier ses ressources et ses limites en rapport avec ces tâches. Il faut aussi lui offrir (lui faire connaître) les moyens qui lui permettront de développer les habiletés nécessaires à leur accomplissement. Quant aux travaux notés, il est possible de penser que, dans la mesure où l'évaluation ne porte que sur le contenu, la forme puisse être laissée au choix de l'apprenant. Ainsi, pour vérifier la compréhension du concept d'autonomie décrit dans ce texte, on pourrait offrir à un apprenant de réaliser l'un des exercices suivants: 1) faire un résumé du texte, 2) concevoir une démarche d'apprentissage permettant d'appliquer le concept ou, 3) préparer quelques questions ouvertes (et leurs réponses) sur les notions importantes abordées par le texte.

Quant à la planification des stratégies, deux étapes sont à considérer si l'on veut donner à l'apprenant la possibilité d'exercer ou de développer son autonomie. Dans un premier temps, l'étudiant doit bien connaître son répertoire de stratégies et les stratégies de base disponibles pour apprendre en lisant et, dans un deuxième temps, mettre ses stratégies en relation avec les objectifs d'apprentissage visés et les tâches déterminées pour réaliser ces apprentissages.

Rappelons qu'une stratégie est un moyen facilitant l'atteinte d'un but et qu'il y a deux types de stratégies nécessaires à l'apprentissage. Les premières, cognitives, permettent l'atteinte des objectifs visés, les secondes, métacognitives, assurent la gestion de l'apprentissage.

On peut aider l'étudiant à faire le point sur son répertoire stratégique en lui fournissant un instrument pour identifier et juger de ses compétences en regard des différentes stratégies. Il s'agit de prendre conscience de celles qu'il utilise régulièrement avec facilité, de celles qui lui posent des difficultés, d'identifier celles qu'il connaît mal ou ne connaît pas et enfin celles qu'il aimerait développer pour devenir un meilleur apprenant. Il faut donc fournir aux étudiants des informations sur les « quand, comment, pourquoi » utiliser les différentes stratégies si l'on veut être efficace (Baker et Brown, 1984b; Bauman, 1988; Dewitz et al., 1987; Pressley et al., 1984). Rappelons que plusieurs de ces auteurs affirment que c'est le meilleur moyen pour assurer le maintien et le transfert des stratégies lors de programmes d'entraînement. Le concepteur devrait donc bien connaître ces stratégies et pouvoir, à chaque fois qu'il en demande la mise en oeuvre, expliciter ce qu'il entend par cette stratégie, ce à quoi elle sert ou peut servir, quand l'utiliser et décrire les procédures pour l'exécuter. On fournit ainsi des connaissances métacognitives nécessaires à une bonne planification des stratégies.

Il ne faut pas négliger cet aspect touchant les stratégies car la recherche démontre que les bons lecteurs possèdent davantage de stratégies appropriées aux tâches (Kurtz, à paraître). On sait aussi que les adultes peuvent assez facilement associer les stratégies à des tâches spécifiques (Kurtz, à paraître). Ils peuvent donc, si on leur permet de le faire, sélectionner les stratégies en fonction des objectifs d'apprentissage et des tâches à réaliser. Les étudiants peuvent assumer beaucoup de responsabilités dans cette démarche et le concepteur d'un cours peut les aider à le faire en mettant en place les activités leur facilitant un comportement délibérément stratégique.

La planification du temps constitue un aspect important de l'exercice de l'autonomie dans un cours à distance. En effet, l'une des caractéristiques de ce mode d'enseignement réside dans le fait que l'étudiant peut, compte tenu du fait que le contenu des cours lui est rendu disponible en tout temps, déterminer lui-même le rythme et l'échéancier de ses études (Holmberg, 1987). Si l'on veut laisser à l'étudiant son autonomie dans ce secteur, il faut lui fournir les connaissances nécessaires à la mise en place de son propre échéancier et lui fournir les moyens pour le faire. Cela comprend des indices sur la tâche (lectures à faire, travaux à réaliser, dates à respecter, etc.), une bonne analyse de ses ressources, de ses limites et de ses occupations personnelles et professionnelles au cours des semaines ou des mois où il veut étudier. Tous ces aspects doivent être pris en compte pour déterminer son rythme de travail et des échéances qui conviennent.

Enfin, la planification sur le plan des caratéristiques de l'apprenant porte sur les aspects personnels de l'étudiant. Ces aspects sont importants, car plusieurs auteurs croient qu'un facteur comme la perception de sa compétence à apprendre (et tous les concepts semblables, comme le sentiment d'autoefficacité), peut déterminer du succès ou de l'échec de l'entreprise cognitive (Bouffard-Bouchard et Pinard, à paraître; Bourdages et al., à paraître; Simons, 1989; Thomas et Rohwer, 1986). Il faut donc, si l'on veut promouvoir l'autonomie de l'étudiant, lui permettre de prendre conscience de ses motivations, de ses intérêts, de ses perceptions vis-à-vis de l'apprentissage, et lui faire connaître des moyens pour intervenir sur ces aspects.

Dans ce sens, il nous apparaît évident que la prise en charge par l'étudiant d'un ou plusieurs aspects de son activité d'apprentissage est en soi un excellent moyen de l'aider à susciter et à maintenir son intérêt et sa motivation (Corno et Mandinach, 1983). Le sentiment de contrôle et de pouvoir sur son apprentissage augmente la compétence et génère de l'énergie supplémentaire pour poursuivre. Ces aspects sont de toute première importance dans l'apprentissage à distance (Thomas et Rohwer, 1986).

La régulation

La régulation consiste en des activités de mise en marche, de maintien, de supervision, de contrôle et d'ajustement de la tâche cognitive du début à la fin de sa réalisation. Rappelons qu'il s'agit d'opérations très complexes mettant en cause l'interaction entre les différentes variables (personnes, tâches, stratégies) et l'expérience métacognitive.

Assurer la régulation de la tâche cognitive c'est d'abord vérifier de façon régulière dans quelle mesure les choses se déroulent telles que prévues (Baker et Brown, 1984a; Waern et Askwall, 1981; Yussen et al., 1982) et identifier lorsque nécessaire les difficultés rencontrées et mettre en place les actions correctives qui s'imposent (Baker et Brown, 1984a; Miller, 1985; Horowitz, 1985).

Selon certains auteurs (Zabrucky et al., 1987), les habiletés de régulation ne se développent pas de façon automatique avec la maturation. Elles viennent de l'expérience et de la capacité d'évaluer correctement ses apprentissages et sa compréhension. Griffin (1988) croit par ailleurs qu'il n'est pas facile pour les adultes d'être conscients du déroulement de leur processus d'apprentissage. Il faut souvent d'abord apprendre à identifier et à nommer les différentes activités mentales, ce qu'on n'a jamais appris.

Ce type de contrôle en cours d'activité devrait améliorer les performances de compréhension et d'apprentissage (Baker et Brown, 1984a; Sanacore, 1984). On a en effet observé que les bons lecteurs passent souvent d'une activité à une autre en cours de tâche, comme pour s'ajuster à ce qu'ils lisent (de Jong et Simons, 1988), et savent comment adapter leurs stratégies (Kurtz, à paraître).

La régulation se produit tout au long de la réalisation de la tâche. On peut par ailleurs prévoir des moments particuliers pour procéder à une évaluation et à des mises au point si cela s'impose. Les aspects décrits plus haut pour la planification demeurent les éléments fondamentaux à questionner lorsqu'on procède à ces arrêts. Il s'agit en fait de voir si les objectifs fixés sont en voie de réalisation, si les stratégies mises en oeuvre sont les meilleures pour la réalisation des tâches ou si le rythme et les échéances déterminés correspondent bien à l'anticipation du travail ou des tâches à réaliser. Il faut aussi revoir comment sa motivation, son intérêt et ses perceptions évoluent tout au long de la démarche d'apprentissage. Cette prise de conscience faite, l'étudiant peut alors, lorsque nécessaire, faire les ajustements qui s'imposent.

Il est probable que plusieurs étudiants abandonnent en cours de réalisation parce qu'ils sont incapables de faire le point sur leur démarche ou d'apporter les correctifs nécessaires, croyant que leurs difficultés sont dues à leur incompétence. Le concepteur doit prévoir dans le déroulement du cours des moments du type de ceux conçus pour la planification où les étudiants seront invités à procéder à la régulation de leur démarche d'apprentissage. Les aspects décrits plus haut pour la planification peuvent également servir à la structuration d'une activité de régulation.

L'évaluation

La stratégie d'évaluation en métacognition comprend la capacité d'apprécier, de vérifier et de juger les différents aspects du déroulement des actions cognitives. Ces opérations d'évaluation sont particulièrement importantes lors des moments de régulation parce qu'elles permettent de poursuivre la démarche ou de s'ajuster correctement, mais aussi à la fin de la démarche car elles fournissent le feedback nécessaire à la mise à jour des connaissances métacognitives.

Les évaluations se font en fonction des informations décrites pour la planification. Il faut évaluer les buts, leur degré d'atteinte, les stratégies utilisées, leur efficacité, leur rentabilité, le niveau de succès dans les tâches à réaliser, ses états affectifs vis-à-vis des tâches, ses ressources et ses limites nouvelles, etc. Différentes stratégies cognitives peuvent assurer la vérification de l'atteinte des buts: paraphraser, résumer, reconstruire de mémoire, etc. (de Jong et Simons, 1988).

Hostler (1986) écrit que la capacité et les habitudes d'évaluation de ses progrès sont de toute première importance dans l'acquisition de

731

l'autonomie. Le concepteur de cours doit donc fournir à l'étudiant l'occasion et les instruments lui permettant de procéder à ses moments d'évaluation.

On peut croire que les apprenants à qui, dans un premier temps, on a fourni des instruments et des directives pour la régulation et l'évaluation de leurs apprentissages pourront très rapidement, lorsqu'ils en sentiront le besoin, le faire par eux-mêmes en construisant leur propre démarche. En fait, si la prise en charge se fait de façon efficace à l'aide du support de la structure du cours, elle devrait par la suite se réaliser de façon autonome, c'est-à-dire selon les besoins et les compétences des individus. Il est en effet reconnu que les stratégies métacognitives comme la planification, la régulation et l'évaluation sont transférables aux différentes situations d'apprentissage.

L'interaction

La notion d'interaction que nous retenons pour expliciter l'autonomie de l'apprenant en situation d'apprentissage renvoie aux diverses relations que celui-ci peut ou doit établir pour assurer le succès de son apprentissage. L'étudiant sera d'autant plus autonome qu'il ne lui sera pas nécessaire de recourir aux services des autres pour répondre à ses besoins d'apprentissage. Nous avons déjà abordé indirectement cet aspect dans la section où nous avons traité des contenus pour souligner qu'il est nécessaire que l'apprenant possède les habiletés cognitives pour comprendre et acquérir les connaissances qu'on lui propose et aussi pour résoudre les problèmes qui se présentent. Cela signifie aussi que dans une situation très problématique, l'apprenant autonome peut décider de recourir à une ressource externe pour avoir de l'aide. L'autonomie suppose la capacité d'identifier ces situations où les limites empêchent de progresser, d'identifier et de trouver les ressources appropriées et la capacité de les utiliser adéquatement.

L'autre aspect de cette autonomie au plan de l'interaction consiste en une forme d'indépendance émotive, une notion que Moore (1977) emprunte à Heathers. Il s'agit de l'absence de besoin d'être rassuré, d'affection ou d'approbation. C'est la capacité de s'auto-rassurer, de s'auto-approuver. Plus l'apprenant a besoin de l'approbation de son tuteur ou de son professeur, moins il est autonome selon Moore qui décrit la relation entre un apprenant autonome et un aidant comme une relation fonctionnelle plutôt qu'émotive. L'adulte autonome n'a pas de relation personnelle avec son professeur, ne recherche pas auprès des autres l'approbation ou la direction à prendre, il ne craint pas la solitude dans l'apprentissage et il est capable de contrôler et de gérer plusieurs autres sources d'aide.

L'enseignement à distance favorise donc de façon claire cette interaction minimum entre les intervenants (professeurs ou autres) et les apprenants. Malheureusement, on essaie souvent de recréer ces relations par des rencontres de groupe ou des contacts obligatoires qui diminuent d'autant les possibilités pour l'apprenant d'exercer ou d'acquérir son autonomie. Un cours à distance devrait donc fournir aux étudiants les connaissances nécessaires à la mise en place d'une interaction fonctionnelle entre les apprenants et les intervenants. On doit s'assurer dans la formation des tuteurs, par exemple, qu'ils ne deviennent pas les censeurs qui jugeront de la valeur des démarches des individus. Mais on doit permettre à l'étudiant l'identification des ressources auxquelles il peut recourir lorsqu'il se trouve dans une situation où ses moyens ne sont pas adéquats pour trouver la solution.

Conclusion

L'éducation des adultes et l'enseignement à distance constituent des secteurs où une démarche autonome des apprenants peut être mise à profit dans la mesure où l'on permet aux individus qui le peuvent d'exercer leur autonomie, et à ceux qui le veulent d'acquérir les connaissances et les compétences pour le faire.

Nous définissons l'autonomie comme la gestion d'un ou des aspects de son activité d'apprentissage. Nous utilisons la notion de métacognition pour supporter théoriquement et décrire pratiquement le concept d'autonomie. La métacognition renvoie à des connaissances portant sur son activité cognitive et le contrôle de la tâche dans laquelle on est engagé. Ces connaissances portent sur la personne, les tâches et les stratégies. Le contrôle est assuré par des procédures de planification, de régulation et d'évaluation des différents aspects de la situation.

La gestion de son apprentissage dans un cours conçu pour l'apprentissage à distance peut se réaliser pour le contenu et la structure du cours ainsi que par rapport à l'interaction apprenant et enseignant. Pour ce qui est du contenu, l'apprenant peut exercer ou acquérir son autonomie dans la mesure ou le cours permet une démarche modulaire, fournit un support méthodologique, favorise l'autoévaluation des connaissances et le développement de l'esprit critique. La structure d'un cours est souple et permet à l'étudiant d'exercer ou d'acquérir son autonomie dans la mesure où elle lui permet de participer à la planification, à la régulation et à l'évaluation de la démarche d'apprentissage. Ces activités sont mises en oeuvre pour la détermination des objectifs, l'analyse des tâches et des stratégies, la prise en compte du temps et des caractéristiques de l'apprenant. Enfin, l'étudiant peut exercer son autonomie vis-à-vis de l'interaction apprenant-enseignant dans la mesure où il peut, lorsque nécessaire, se donner les relations fonctionnelles qui lui permettront de dépasser ses limites et de solutionner les problèmes majeurs.

On ne peut parvenir à concevoir un cours où l'apprenant est ou devient autonome sans que certaines conditions soient remplies auprès du (des) concepteur(s) de cours. Ce dernier doit d'abord être lui-même autonome dans ses démarches d'apprentissage et vis-à-vis de la science pour croire que l'étudiant puisse l'être. Il doit aussi avoir une conception positive de l'étudiant adulte basée sur la confiance et la croyance en ses capacités. Enfin, il doit avoir un modèle d'apprentissage-enseignement moins béhavioriste et plus cognitiviste.

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PERSPECTIVES

TOWARD A FREIRIAN APPROACH TO COUNSELLING

Bonnie Burstow
Toronto

Abstract

This article articulates a Freirian framework for counselling and provides detailed suggestions on how such counselling might proceed. It is based on Freirian theory as well as on the author's own attempts to operate as a Freirian counsellor and to teach Freirian counselling. It is predicated on the position that:

1. Oppression and the internalization of oppression invariably contribute to the problems which people have in living.

2. Adult educators should alter their approach to counselling in order to be congruent with adult education's liberatory mandate.

The significance for counselling of such Freirian concepts as "oppression", "internalized oppression", and "dialogical learning", are explored in detail. Examples of concrete interventions are provided.

Résumé

Cet article montre en quoi le cadre référentiel de Freire peut être utilisé dans l'exercice de la fonction conseil en éducation des adultes. Il fournit également des indications précises quant à la manière de procéder. L'article s'inspire de la théorie de Freire ainsi que des expériences de l'auteure comme conseillère de type «freirien» et comme enseignante de cette approche. Deux considérations essentielles militent en faveur d'une telle approche:

738

1. l'oppression et surtout l'intégration qui en est faite à un niveau personnel contribuent invariablement aux problèmes que les individus rencontrent dans leur vie.

2. les éducatrices et les éducateurs d'adultes doivent changer leur approche de la fonction conseil s'ils veulent rester congruents face au mandat de libération que leur impartit l'éducation des adultes.

Les concepts d'«oppression», d'«oppression internalisée» et d'«apprentissage dialogique» sont examinés en détail de même que leur signification en regard de l'exercice de la fonction conseil. Des exemples concrets d'interventions de type «freirien» sont également apportés.

La signification pur le counseil de ces concepts Freirien comme "oppression", "oppression internée", et érudition dialogique" sont sondés en détail. Des éxamples concrets d'interventions thérapiques sont fournies.

Introduction

Counselling/therapy is a personal learning process into which adult learners known as "clients" enter in the interests of achieving a greater understanding of their selves-in-the-world and to find ways to improve their overall situation. It is intentional adult learning which includes and enhances self-direction. As such, counselling fits with the overall aim of adult education.

Counselling has long been considered a mode of adult education and courses on counselling are included in adult education curricula. I in no way disagree with this inclusion. There is, nonetheless, a serious problem with the nature of the counselling courses offered. To date, they have focussed on approaches which are individualistic and psychologistic. The implicit assumption underlying these approaches is that if people individually access their inner strength and learn a few neutral and time-honoured communication skills, they will become free souls who can more-or-less do/have what they want.

A case in point is the course called "Foundations of Adult Counselling" offered by the Adult Education Department at The Ontario Institute

739

for Studies in Education. In the early years this course covered a number of general skills assumed to be neutral, while focussing on three modalities—gestalt, Rogerian, and rational-emotive.[1] Whatever value these modalities may have, and I do not deny that they have value, all of them are politically problematic. Rational-emotive therapy, not only does not address the problems presented by systemic oppression, it teaches people that their situation is not so bad. If you think that your situation is awful, rational-emotive therapy tells clients, this is only because you are engaged in "crooked thinking". Gestalt trivializes the significance of external obstacles, asking clients to replace phrases like "I can't" with "I won't" as if human difficulties could all be swept away by an act of will. Rogerian correspondingly, not only assumes that it is possible to be neutral and nondirective but that clients need only get in touch with their feelings in the presence of an empathic genuine counsellor to lead happy and fulfilling lives.[2] More recent course outlines are similarly problematic. The reading list for the 1988 summer outline, for example, does not contain a single politically-aware text; and the exercises and assignments do not incorporate political analysis.[3] And while the winter 1990 outline contains a statement referring to issues of power, that statement does not appear to shape the overall conceptualization of the course.[4]

I do not doubt that the counselling featured here can facilitate certain types of empowerment and that we can legitimately draw on them. Their value, notwithstanding, the individualizing and psychologizing of human problems which is fundamental to them and the "neutralizing" of communication and other skills are at odds with adult education's fuller commitment to human liberation and empowerment. It clashes more particularly with the knowledge of oppression, internalized oppression, and hegemony which adult educators like Freire have brought to us. The direction is clear. We need more politicizing texts and assignments. More particularly, though, as adult educators who are doing counselling, we need more politically-informed approaches.

There are a number of politically-informed counselling approaches and/or frameworks for us to draw upon, such as feminist counselling, and radical therapy.[5] I would like us to use these more. At the same time, they have an intrinsic limitation for us. Arising out of psychology—not adult education—they do not have a fully developed adult learning perspective although they clearly facilitate empowering adult learning.

A still more congruent source for us are politically-informed adult education theories and praxis itself. By developing counselling theory and approaches out of adult education theorizing and practice, we can at once develop congruent practice and make our own unique contribution to counselling theory. It is to this area, accordingly, which I have been turning. More particularly, for many years now, as a therapist and educator, I have been attempting to develop and teach an approach to counselling based on the work of adult educator Paulo Freire.

Significantly, while this source has been more or less ignored by adult educators, structuralists from other areas have begun discussing the possibility of Freirian-based counselling. Social work professor David Webb and psychologist Alfred Alschuler, for example, have written articles suggesting that Freirian principles have relevance for counselling.[6] To date, however, no one has articulated a Freirian counselling framework or provided substantial direction for Freirian-based counselling. The purpose of this article is to begin providing that framework and that direction.

What follows is an articulation of a Freirian framework for counselling and suggestions on how to proceed. It is written for adult educators generally, for counsellors who are already political, and for counsellors who simply find existing approaches insufficient when dealing with certain oppressive situations. It is intended as a framework—not as something which rules out the selective incorporation of less political approaches. It has relevance to *all* clients.

The framework and the suggestions provided are adaptations of a Freirian theory and practice and arise out of my own attempts to operate as a Freirian counsellor. They are not intended as a final statement on Freirian counselling. Hopefully, however, they provide direction and will help facilitate more truly empowering counselling.

Key Freirian Terms

The human being's ontological vocation, says Freire, is "to name the world in order to change the world."[7] Our calling insofar as we are human beings, Freire is saying, is to transform the world. We do this by reflecting on the world, making new choices, renaming the world in accordance with our vision and our choices, and acting in ways which allow us to "real-ize" our choices. The dialectical movement between reflecting/naming, and acting is called *praxis*. Our *power* is our ability to name and to transform. Another ontological obligation is to *humanize* the world. We humanize the world insofar as we create a world in which more and more people have the power to name and to transform. We *dehumanize or oppress* insofar as we rob others of their power to choose, imposing our names and our choices upon them.

Systemic oppression exists insofar as a few, known as *elites*, systemically impose their names and choices on others. People are dominated, not only by the acts, but even more fundamentally by the words/views of the oppressor. The world view of the elite is so embedded into the fabric of social life that it ends up looking like the *only* or the *one objective* way of seeing the world. This domination by world view is known as "hegemony". Oppressed people's internalization of this world view is known as "internalized oppression".

The elite typically see themselves as kind and charitable people, attempting to help disadvantaged and supposedly unskilled and marginal groups. The help which they offer is itself oppressive. They set up programs intended to impart allegedly neutral skills. The conceptualization of the skills and the programs are predicated on the elite myths. The training in question, accordingly, serves to further camouflage the reality of oppression. Freire calls it "domesticating education". Correspondingly, he calls the depositing of skills and concepts into people's heads "banking education". Freire contrasts banking education which objectifies people to *dialogical* education or learning which addresses people as subjects. Dialogue is typified by mutual respect, love, and mutual analysis or "co-investigation" of people's lived experience.

Freirian facilitators are adult educators who assist in the struggle for liberation. Facilitation is predicated on dialogue, co-investigation, and mutual praxis. Gaining a critical analysis and understanding of the world generally and one's situation in particular is the focus of the learning; and the ongoing learning process which is involved is called "conscientization".

The General Freirian Counselling Framework

Freirian counselling begins with an understanding of the pervasiveness of oppression and hegemony and the roles which these play in the seemingly individual problems which clients bring to counselling/therapy. The Freirian counsellor, essentially, brings critical awareness and conscientization to the counselling sessions. She/he is very similar to the radical therapist. The Freirian counsellor, however, does not emphasize some oppressions over others as radical therapists often do, is more open to individual work, and unapologetically believes in counselling and the individual learning which is involved.[8] By contrast, while sharing a concern for the client's well-being with the conventional therapist, the Freirian counsellor differs substantially from the conventional counsellor. While the conventional counsellor's mandate is to help the client *adapt to*, and/or, if humanistic, to *thrive in* this oppressive society of ours, the Freirian counsellor's mandate is overall client empowerment which facilitates or is at least compatible with the humanization of the world. It is to help facilitate learning which is at once highly personal and political. It is to help the client gain a critical awareness of her/his situation and to more effectively cope/resist. This does not mean either denying the existence of existential human dilemmas such as mortality and death of loved ones or assuming some simplistic equation such as: the greater the oppression, the greater the trauma. Nor does it mean doing intellectual work at the expense of emotional work or ignoring or misinterpreting problems which are less politically-based. It means, rather, a recognition that oppression and the internalization of myths *to varying degrees* always underlie and/or contribute to personal distress and fundamentally incorporating this understanding and this focus into the counselling work.

Such a focus, it should be pointed out, is important even when working with people who are predominantly members of the elite, for all people are at once oppressors and oppressed. Oppression and lies, moreover, stunt and injure the growth and the humanness even of oppressors.

There are many forms which this focus can take. While interacting with a client with a drinking problem, the Freirian counsellor for instance might be on the alert for race oppression/hegemony. A Freirian counsellor might directly advocate for some clients, understanding that their oppression is severe and that it is naive to

743

assume that their situation can just go "on hold" while they learn communication skills which may be totally alien to their culture. When working with a depressed woman, a Freirian counsellor would look for sexism and would work along with the client to co-investigate the impact of sexism on her life.

A Freirian and a conventional counsellor would likely understand and work very differently with same sex partners with relationship difficulties. The conventional counsellor could easily believe that the problem is one of communications and so start teaching the couple to use "I" statements. The Freirian counsellor, being on the alert for internalized oppression, is more likely to recognize, centre in on, and co-investigate the overt and covert threats and myths which the couple has faced, the isolation, the invisibility, and the impact of these on the relationship, and to co-strategize ways to resist. I am not saying that it is always inappropriate to work on communications and that we do not need to include this dimension. However, the political context and dynamic nonetheless needs to be recognized and focussed upon.

The Freirian counsellor works with oppression/therapy formulas similar to those developed by radical therapy. The radical therapy formulas for oppression and overcoming oppression are:

A1 Oppression + Lies + Isolation = Alienation
2 Action + Awareness + Contact → Power

B1 Oppression + Awareness = Anger
2 Awareness + Contact → Liberation[9]

"A1" at once covers oppression *per se*, and the elite myths which underpin it. Significantly, as Freire and other structuralists have pointed out, it is not simply the reality of oppression which keeps people down; it is being lied to and believing those lies. If women were told, "You are being enslaved and treated like objects; we men want this and we have the power," women would not be so confused or undermined. It is when people are oppressed while told that they are being treated well that oppression becomes internalized and hard to approach. Isolation, correspondingly, keeps the oppressed from pooling their concerns; it keeps them from reflecting together on their lived experience, and accordingly, it keeps them from both renaming the world and acting together to transform it.

Formulas "B" and "A2" specify what is needed if empowerment is to occur and what any counsellor concerned with empowerment must facilitate. A counsellor concerned with empowerment must not simply help clients become more aware, but, as the formulas indicate, should help clients move toward changing the oppressive situation. In discussing praxis, Freire covers and further explicates the awareness/action dialectic which is implicit here. As the formula suggests and as Freire's discussion of community makes clear, contact with other members of the oppressed community is key to praxis. The Freirian counsellor, accordingly, is called upon to help guide people toward contact which facilitates communal understanding and action. At the same time, an emphasis on the client's own individual life should be maintained in the counselling session, for politically informed counselling—not community development—is the counsellor's mandate.

These formulas provide helpful guidance, and the Freirian counsellor may legitimately use them. While being fully compatible with Freire, at the same time, the radical therapy formulas miss out on aspects which are essential to Freirian counselling. Particularly important in this regard is the emphasis on dialogue, on reflection, and on themes. The following formula, which I have used successfully with my classes, offers more Freirian-specific guidance.

Freirian Counselling Focus and Freirian Counselling Relationship

DIALOGUE

Client's
Thematic
Universe

REFLECTION ACTION

As the diagram illustrates, it is not just any kind of "contact" which is sought but dialogical contact which gives rise to dialogical learning. This means that banking education is out, as is the nondirective. It means that the focus must not simply be internal, but must at the same time be external, for Freirian dialogue is an encounter between people mediated by the world in order to name/transform the world.

It means that a focus on feeling, while important, cannot upstage "bringing to word". It means that counsellor and client must be Subjects together, both actively bringing their understanding of the world into the counselling session, both responsible for negotiating the sessions, both able to challenge the other, and both concerned with co-investigating the client's world or thematic universe. It means, moreover, that not simply any type of awareness is required. It is awareness which is reflective, constitutes critical apprehension, and unearths opportunities for/culminates in action. And it means focussing upon and challenging the lies/myths which the client has internalized in the past and continues to internalize. For it is internalized oppression, buoyed up by external oppression, which constitutes the subjective obstacle to empowerment.

The grounding in ontological vocation serves to humanize the process. It places as well one final fundamental obligation on the counsellor. As a human being with the ontological vocation to humanize the world, the Freirian counsellor is obliged to establish/maintain solidarity with the oppressed, and, what goes along with this, be actively engaged in her/his own personal conscientization process. This obligation, as it happens, is not only existential but also *pragmatic*. Counsellors' very capacity to assist others in the movement toward conscientization, after all, depends on being immersed in and fundamentally committed both to their own conscientization and to the larger human struggle for liberation. The upshot is that the Freirian counsellor must be actively co-investigating and combatting oppression outside as well as inside the counselling room.

Concrete Suggestions on How to Proceed

If a dialogical relationship is to be established, it is vital that the counsellor bring caring, respect, and mutuality to the relationship. Freirian counsellors share throughout the counselling processes as needed, and, indeed, begin by sharing. Counsellors should initially tell clients something about themselves. By giving clients a sheet with information about their background and training, and the counselling approach used, the counsellor can additionally demystify the process and help clients make informed choices. It is important as well to actively encourage clients to ask whatever questions they need to ask and to mutually plan and negotiate sessions. While counselling is never an equal relationship, power-sharing of this sort

746

is absolutely necessary if empowerment generally and dialogue particularly is to transpire. Throughout the session, moreover, the counsellor is called upon to seriously consider the client's point-of-view and to respond honestly, whether the response involves agreeing with or problematizing (presenting as a problem) that point of view.

Solidarity in relation to individual clients means joining with the client against an elite and/or an oppressive society. Among other things, this means not oppressing them yourself by manipulating them, or charging unaffordable fees, or lying to them. Examples of oppressive lies which counsellors often tell clients and that it is important to avoid include: "You can do anything you want to if you really put your mind to it."; "If you are being hurt this way, and you continue to stay in the relationship, you must want to be hurt." And "you could afford to pay seventy dollars a week for therapy if you had your priorities straight". Solidarity, more generally, means validating their anger, even when it seems misdirected just so long as it is not violent and is not sub-oppression. Freirian solidarity begins with the counsellor identifying with clients in their oppression.

It is, of course, easier for counsellors to identify with clients when they are subject to the same oppression as the client. Where the client suffers from many oppressions or some formidable oppression like racism which is not shared by the counsellor, the client might be better off with a different counsellor and the issue, accordingly, should at the very least be raised. Where the client chooses to stay, counsellors are called upon to learn more about the client's culture and oppression. The client can and should be turned to as a learning resource in this regard. It would be inadequate and indeed oppressive, however, were the client to become the only such learning resource.

Whether oppression is shared or not, solidarity and identification need to be expressed. Solidarity can be voiced by expressing honest outrage at what has been done to this person in particular and to their peer group or community more generally. Where oppressions are shared, "we" statements can be very forceful and, indeed, empowering. A woman counsellor, for example, responding to a woman who has been saddled with most of the cleaning, might say "Yes, men are always using us that way, aren't they?" Where there is no shared oppression, the counsellor might search through her/his own oppression, looking for similarities to serve as touchstones.

Freirian mutuality and solidarity in themselves help clients learn about their own oppression and how they have internalized that oppression. More generally, Freirian counsellors help clients unearth and explore their oppressions by the questions which they ask and the statements which they make. As a Freirian counsellor, I typically make certain kinds of statements and ask certain kinds of questions. It is not so much that I follow a formula, for dialogue is more spontaneous than that, but there is an identifiable pattern which can be discerned and which I tend to keep tucked away at the back of my mind. Examples of questions and question combinations which facilitate the exploration of oppression include:

- What do you want? What stops you from getting it?
- This is an interesting setup that you've just described. Let me ask you, who wins and who loses if things are left this way?
- In whose interest is it that things are the way they are?

The "we" statements discussed before similarly help clients explore their thematic universe. Examples of other types of statements that help and are more challenging are:

- Your school accommodated white people's styles of learning just like everything else is arranged for whites. And it is not good enough.
- No, I don't find it surprising that you are depressed. And I don't think that it's because there's something wrong with you. Being yelled at by your office supervisor all day *is* depressing.

Questions and statements similarly are used to unearth and explore internalized oppression. The use of words like "myths", "lies" and "beliefs" help in identifying internalized oppression. Examples of questions and question combinations which facilitate the exploration cognitively and/or affectively are:

- So what are your family myths? ... How did these affect you?
- You must be believing something about yourself if you are taking these psychiatric drugs. What *do* you believe? ... *In whose interest is it* that you believe that?

An example of a more challenging statement is:

- I feel sad at what you are saying and angry at what has been done to you. You stay away from Natives because you think that you are bad, that it is the Native within that makes you bad. I don't think *you* are bad or that *Natives* are bad. Natives have been mistreated and lied to for years. What I see is someone who has been beaten by white stepparents and lied to ever since she was a child. And I would really like us to do something for that abused Native kid within.

As the above comments demonstrate, "political empathy" is part of the process and can be incorporated into the statements and the questions. Political empathy contrasts with the purely individualistic empathic remarks made by humanist counsellors and it can significantly contribute to the learning experience. As with other emphatic remarks, of course, political empathy must be genuine or it is itself a lie and constitutes oppression.

A vital part of exploring oppression and internalized oppression is helping clients distinguish between oppressors and helpers. Some of the questions already listed help clients identify oppressors—questions like "Who wins and who loses?" and "In whose interest is it that you believe what you believe?" Making these distinctions and identifying oppressors becomes harder when oppressors masquerade as friends—when there are people around, that is, who are, essentially, *false friends*. There are three major modes of false befriending. Freirian facilitators need to be aware of all three, be on the alert for them and to help clients identify and explore instances of them in their lives.

The first of these Freire himself comments on, giving it the name "false generosity".[10] It is typified by the federal government which showers money on government-run programs for Natives while giving almost nothing to Native-run programs and making sure that Natives remain poor and powerless. Politically aware people tend to be familiar with this mode, and politically aware counsellors, correspondingly, are likely to be fairly astute when confronted with it.

The second type, I call the "exceptional mode" It is a much harder one for both counsellors and clients to identify and explore, yet is an enormously important one to focus upon, given how insidious it is.

The "exceptional mode" of befriending consists of befriending someone while rejecting their peers. It is, essentially, befriending someone on the grounds that they are not like the rest *that they are somehow an exception*. An example would be the misogynous male with a very close woman friend whom he keeps praising for not being like other women. Unlike other women, he tells her, she can actually think; she does not keep bringing in emotions; and she does not get hysterical. She cherishes the friendship and in the process becomes increasingly male-identified and contemptuous of other women.

The third mode of false befriending, which I am calling the "liberal mode" is the hardest of all to identify and is the most common. It consists of accepting oppressed people as "just like the rest of us", with the implicit understanding being that *they must act accordingly*. A case in point would be a straight person who sees gays as "all right", and has a gay friend who is accepted with the implicit, more-or-less "unreflected on" understanding that the gay friend not publicly flirt with people of the same sex, not discuss her/his own partnership at any length, and not mention heterosexual privilege.

What specific actions will arise out of the counselling and feed back into the counselling will be specific to each client and will depend on the individual client's situation, preferences, and readiness. Counsellors can help clients choose new actions by inviting reflection on previous action, by asking action-oriented questions, and by making suggestions. Examples of questions which facilitate empowering choices are:

- What could you do to equalize this relationship?
- What needs to be done here, if you are to get more power?

Concrete suggestions which counsellors might make range from challenging/changing friends to "coming out" to parents, to pointing out instances of subtle discrimination, to co-organizing a demonstration, to changing jobs, to forming a radical caucus at work, to suing.

Insofar as knowledge of resources and of rights is essential for many of the more overtly political courses of actions, it is important that counsellors be conversant with the law and be aware of legal resources, successful political strategies, and activist and other relevant groups in the community. It is vital, correspondingly, that this knowledge be shared with clients.

The very process of identifying tasks can help clients move toward other members of their oppressed groups and more fully embrace their community. This movement occurs as well in the process of unearthing and challenging internalized oppression. Particularly useful in this regard may be questions like:

- In whose interest is it that you have no close women friends?

- Who wins and who loses if you stay isolated this way?

Insofar as a fuller movement into the community is appropriate and is to occur, the counsellor may additionally be called upon to help clients explore the enormous limitations both of individual praxis and of the dialogue/reflecting which has been done in the counselling itself.

What goes along with this is that counsellors must genuinely be willing to relinquish their privileged position with their clients. Gradually, that is, counsellors must be willing to step aside as primary mentor and as "significant other" and let other people in.

Termination may be slightly easier for the Freirian than the conventional counsellor, since the Freirian counsellor is always in the process of helping the client move toward others. Freirian counselling too, however, involves a strong bonding, and so the Freirian counsellor too can easily end up not seeing when it is time for the client to move on, especially where clients themselves do not raise the issue. Raising the issues of dependency and the problems of termination from the very beginning is helpful. Counsellor and client, additionally, might agree to check in with each other periodically to evaluate the counselling and to honestly question whether or not ongoing sessions remain in the client's best interest.

Concluding Remarks

This article is part of my ongoing effort to develop an approach to counselling which is based on politically-informed adult education theory and is compatible with our liberatory mandate. I have tried to be at once theoretic and concrete; I hope that the article is helpful.

Reference Notes

1. See, for instance, Harvey Silvers, Course Outline for "Foundations in Adult Counselling" (unpublished outline, Toronto: OISE, 1978).

2. For evidence of these deficiencies, see the sections on each of these modalities in *Current Psychotherapies*, ed. Raymond Corsini (Itasca, Illinois: Peacock, 1978).

3. See David Abbey, Course Outline for "Foundations in Adult Counselling" (unpublished outline, Toronto: OISE, 1988).

4. Margaret Brillinger, Course Outline for "Foundations in Adult Counselling" (unpublished outline, Toronto: OISE, 1990).

5. For good introductions to radical therapy and to feminist therapy, see Jerome Agel, *Rough Times* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1978) and Miriam Greenspan, *A New Approach to Women and Therapy* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1983) respectively.

6. See David Webb, "Social Work and Critical Consciousness: Rebuilding Orthodoxy," *Issues in Social Work Education*, 5 (1985): 89-102 and Alfred Alschuler, "Creating a World Where it is Easier to Love: Counselling Applications of Paulo Freire's Theories," *Journal of Counselling and Development*, 64 (1986): 492-499.

7. Elaborations on each of the Freirian concepts discussed in this section may be found in Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, ed. Myra Bergman Ramos (New York: The Seabury Press, 1970).

8. Radical therapy tended to emphasize class and gender over race. Note, in this regard, the paucity of references to race in *Rough Times*.

9. See Hogie Wyckoff, *Solving Problems Together* (New York: Grove Press, 1980): 14-19.

10. For Freire on false generosity, see *Pedagogy*, 28ff.

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BOOK REVIEWS/RECENSIONS

THE SKILLFUL TEACHER

Stephen D. Brookfield. 1990. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

As part of the Jossey-Bass Higher Education series, Brookfield's latest book "is really a survival manual...meant to help college teachers work their way through the recurring problems and dilemmas they inevitably face in their practice" (p. xi). In what is becoming a Brookfield tradition, he utilizes a simple, concise, and easily read writing style without being simplistic or trivializing the problems of effective teaching. Purposely free of adult education jargon, the work attempts to include teachers beyond the adult education professionals who are familiar with Brookfield's work and speak to practitioners in higher education. Written from an adult learning and adult education perspective, *The Skillful Teacher*, seeks "to offer insights, advice, and practical suggestions" (p. xii) to "college educators for whom teaching students is a major part of their professional responsibility" (p. xvi).

Much of Brookfield's earlier work championed the concept of self-directed learning. In 1988 Brookfield wrote a significant essay explaining why he felt that over-identification with the concept of self-directed learning was dangerous for the field of adult education. In this essay Brookfield explains that the acceptance of self-directed learning diminishes the contribution of the educator and gives rise to several theory-practice contradictions. This book represents a maturing of Brookfield's thought on the teaching/learning transaction and his recognition that a teacher has a tremendous responsibility and impact upon students.

It is appropriate that Brookfield address the realm of higher education as that has been his primary teaching field for the past twenty hears. *The Skillful Teacher* is based upon Brookfield's own teaching experience and the experience of numerous other college teachers. Discarding the heavily referenced scholarly approach in order to communicate "directly and personally" (p. xv) to practicing teachers, Brookfield organizes this book around three major themes: the experiential, the inspirational, and the practical dimensions of teaching. Having shared with us in previous books some of his ideas on the practical and experiential aspects of teaching (previously titled facilitation) what sets this current book apart is inclusion of the inspirational dimension. Brookfield clearly has a passionate respect for the teaching/learning transaction. He succeeds in leaving the reader with the belief that college teachers can, do, and should make a difference to their student and to the larger society.

The Skillful Teacher describes teaching as the "educational equivalent of white-water rafting" (p. 2). Cautioning us to be wary of the myth that perfect teachers exist, since "all teachers sooner or later capsize" (p. 2), Brookfield challenges us to teach responsively through developing an understanding of the student's experience. We are reminded that students attribute tremendous symbolic significance to even the trivial and unintentional actions of teachers.

Driven by trust, students admire and respond to two key aspects of teaching: authenticity and credibility. Authenticity comes from the perception of the teacher as a real person, honest and open, with congruence between words and actions. Such a teacher exhibits a readiness to admit error, and conveys the impression that he or she has a life outside the classroom and interests beyond the discipline being taught. Credibility arises from the belief that the teacher has significant breadth and depth of knowledge and knows where the class is going. "They realize they are under the guidance of someone who is experienced, insightful and, above all committed" (p. 19-20).

Continuing to describe what he has learned about how students experience teaching, Brookfield devotes a chapter to understanding some of the tensions and emotions of the learning process. Identified by example are the imposter syndrome, emotionality, challenge, reflection, incremental fluctuation, and unexpectedness. In the chapter titled "Adjusting Teaching to the Rhythms of Learning" Brookfield describes how teachers can become more responsive to the ways students experience learning by utilizing techniques to reduce the imposter syndrome, to foster challenge, and to allow for reflective speculation, and the building upon the unexpected.

Switching from the student's experience to that of the teacher, Brookfield includes a series of chapters that tackle the important topics of resistance to learning, building trust with students, and dealing with the political realities of teaching. He gives several potential reasons for the resistance to learning and offers specific advice on how to overcome each type of resistance. As the student's resistance to learn is often related to a lack of trust, practical "how to" advice is given on building trust and balancing credibility and authenticity. The section concludes with an interpretation of college teaching as a political activity utilizing Brookfield's own personal interpretation of political activity. This emphasizes teaching techniques that provide alternative interpretation of experience and the challenging of society's "givens". It will come as no surprise to readers of Brookfield's previous works that "the main political purpose of teaching is not to transmit a particular ideology; instead, it is to help students develop a critically alert cast of mind" (p. 189).

The core of the book contains a wealth of practical advice on creative lecturing, preparing for and facilitating discussions, the use of a variety of teaching techniques (role playing and simulations) and instruction on giving helpful evaluations. The section needs to be interpreted as an experienced educator sharing what works for him (Brookfield is fond of calling it "a theory in use") otherwise the personal tone of the book is lost and the writing becomes heavily prescriptive and technical, listing do's and don't's devised of the holistic discussion we've come to expect from Brookfield.

Stephen Brookfield's book is a rich resource which should serve to help professionals reflect upon their practice. It concludes with a discussion of "some truths about teaching" and offers specific advice on skillful teaching". Should Brookfield continue to write for larger audiences and succeed in translating the ideas of adult education and adult learning theory into higher education and beyond it is possible that he will become to the field of education what Peter Drucker has become to management; a scholar who educates and influences practitioners in the field through incisive and challenging writing. This book marks a significant step in that direction.

Greg Braxton-Brown
Rio Hondo College

Thomas P. Keenan
University of Calgary

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Critical Social Theory and Adult Education
Théorie de la critique sociale et éducation des adultes

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Winter/hiver 1991, Vol. V, Special Issue/Numéro spécial

Critical Social Theory and Adult Education
Théorie de la critique sociale et éducation des adultes

Table of Contents/Table des Matières

Editorial i

Articles

Critical Adult Education:
A Response to Contemporary Social Crisis
David Little 1

Shaking the Foundation:
The Critical Turn in Adult Education Theory
Michael Welton 21

La théorie de Marcuse et l'éducation critique
Michael Chervin 43

Critical Educational Research
Stephen Kemmis 94

Critical Social Theory:
A Perspective for Critiquing
Professionalization in Adult Education
Anne Alexander 120

Can Critical Theory Save
Adult Education from Post-Modernism?
Matthias Finger 133

EDITORIAL

This special issue on Critical Social Theory and Adult Education is a recognition of the recent interest shown by many adult educators in wanting to explore and to understand the nature of critical social theory and its implications for adult education as a field of study and practice. Between 1986 and 1990 under the helm of David Little, a Critical Theory University Study Group Network of some eighty universities in the British Isles, Europe, Australia, New Zealand, and North America explored the relationship between critical theory, critical sociology and adult education. Those discussions also included pre-conference seminars at Syracuse, Laramie, Hamilton, and Calgary on the work of a number of theorists and schools of thought: the early Frankfurt School of critical theorists (Horkheimer; Adorno; Marcuse); Habermas; Gramsci, Heller; Giroux; feminist critical theorists; and action research as executed by the Highlander Institute.

A sign of the maturity and the growth of a field of study is the extent to which it extends its theoretical paradigms to embrace additional understandings as a recognition of the complexity of the problems of the field both for its theoreticians and its practitioners. Adult education in North America has been dominated by philosophical and theoretical approaches largely pragmatic, psychological and micro-theoretical in nature. With the expansion of the field, a variety of macroscopic theoretical approaches can be expected to be included as an attempt to make sense of the complexities of the world and the invidious nature of inequality within that world.

The strength of critical social theory is its propensity to be critical of the existing social culture which in turn determines the latitude of equality feasible or possible. As authors such as Rex Gibson have noted, the central intention of critical theory is emancipation: to enable people to gain the knowledge and power to be in control of their own lives.

Critical social theory is not a unified theory but rather a label which covers a variety of theorists and includes a host of differences amongst those writers. European in origin, it is a theoretical perspective which has an appeal to those adult education researchers whose questions about their work lead them back to the social roots of adult education and to questions of equality.

A special issue such as this one cannot adequately address all of the strengths and weaknesses of critical theory. However, its purpose here is to indicate selected aspects pertaining to the theory and its possible applications for practice to those interested in exploring further its ramifications for adult education. The aim is to both familiarize readers with the premises of critical social theory(ies) and to facilitate dialogue, critique and discussion in the field.

The first articles by David Little and Michael Welton give the reader an indication of the terminology and the historical setting of critical theory; the article by Carmel Chambers presents a feminist critique of the work of one of the best known critical theorists; Stephen Kemmis indicates how critical social theory can be used in adult education practice; Anne Alexander presents a critique of the professionalization of adult education; and Matthias Finger offers a post-modernist critique of critical social theory from the perspective of an adult educator.

Catharine E. Warren (Anglophone Editor)
The University of Calgary

David Little (Guest Editor)
The University of Regina

EDITORIAL

Ce numéro spécial de la Revue porte sur la théorie de la critique sociale et témoigne du récent intérêt des éducatrices et des éducateurs d'adultes à comprendre la théorie de la critique sociale et à en dégager des implications pour le champ d'étude et de pratique de l'éducation des adultes. Entre 1986 et 1990, sous la gouverne de David Little, un Réseau universitaire d'étude de la théorie critique, dont les membres provenaient des Iles britanniques, d'Europe, d'Australie, de Nouvelle-Zélande et d'Amérique du Nord, a exploré les liens qui existent entre théorie critique, sociologie critique et éducation des adultes. Cette exploration s'est également poursuivie lors de rencontres d'avant-congrès à Syracuse, Laramie, Hamilton et Calgary, rencontres qui ont porté sur les oeuvres de nombreux théoriciens et de nombreuses écoles de pensée: l'originelle école de Francfort (Horkheimer, Adorno et Marcuse), Habermas, Gramsci, Heller, Giroux, les théoriciennes de la critique féministe et la recherche-action telle que menée au Highlander Institute.

Un des signes de maturité et de croissance d'un champ d'étude est sa capacité à élargir ses modèles théoriques en vue d'assurer une compréhension plus complète des problèmes complexes que pose le domaine tant à ses théoriciens qu'à ses praticiens. L'éducation des adultes, en Amérique du Nord, a été dominée par des approches surtout de type pragmatique, de nature psychologique et de l'ordre de la micro-théorie. Avec le développement du champ, on peut s'attendre à ce qu'une variété d'approches théoriques d'ordre macroscopique viennent expliquer la complexité du monde et la nature des inégalités qu'on y trouve.

La principale force de la théorie de la critique sociale est sa propension à critiquer la culture sociale existante, laquelle détermine à son tour la latitude de ce qui est faisable et possible en matière d'égalité. Comme Gibson, parmi d'autres, l'a noté, la principale visée de la théorie critique est l'émancipation: rendre les gens capables d'acquérir les connaissances et le pouvoir nécessaires au contrôle de leurs propres vies.

La théorie de la critique sociale n'est pas une théorie unifiée mais plutôt une appellation qui regroupe divers théoriciens et comprend toute une série de différences entre ces auteurs. D'origine européenne, la théorie constitue un attrait pour les chercheurs en éducation des adultes surtout si les questions qu'ils se posent à propos de leur pratique les ramènent aux racines sociales de l'éducation des adultes et aux questions d'égalité.

Le présent numéro ne peut présenter toutes les forces et les faiblesses de la théorie critique. Cependant, il veut permettre de signaler des aspects particuliers qui se rapportent à la théorie et d'en indiquer les applications pratiques à ceux et celles qui seraient intéressés à en explorer les diverses ramifications en éducation des adultes.

Le premier article de David Little et Michael L. Welton définit les termes et présente le contexte historique de la théorie critique. L'article de Carmel Chambers présente une critique féministe de l'oeuvre d'un théoricien des plus connus. Stephen Kemmis montre comment la théorie de la critique sociale peut être utilisée dans la pratique en éducation des adultes. Anne Alexander présente une critique de la professionnalisation de l'éducation des adultes et Matthias Finger fait une critique post-moderniste de la théorie de la critique sociale du point de vue d'un éducateur d'adultes.

Catharine E. Warren, Rédactrice anglophone
Université de Calgary

David Little, Rédacteur invité
Université de Régina

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ARTICLES

CRITICAL ADULT EDUCATION: A RESPONSE TO CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL CRISIS

David Little
University of Regina

Abstract

Many adult educators currently are looking to critical theories of society as a foundation for reconceptualizing the relationship between theory and practice in the four sites of adult education: program administration, instruction, policy development and educational research. In this article, relationships between dialectics, critical theory, and critical social science are described, with particular emphasis on the role of unquestioned vital cultural tradition in perpetuating existing patterns of social reproduction. Implications are drawn for their use in the reconceptualization of the social role of adult education, with the intent to provide a conceptual framework for adult educators who are interested in but relatively uninformed about the concept of critical adult education.

Résumé

Présentement, les formateurs et les formatrices d'adultes considèrent les théories de la critique sociale comme le fondement d'une reconceptualisation du rapport entre la théorie et la pratique à travers quatre champs en éducation des adultes: l'administration de programmes, l'enseignement, le développement de politiques et la recherche en éducation.

Dans cet article, les liens entre la dialectique, la théorie critique et la science sociale critique sont décrits; l'accent est mis sur le rôle que la tradition, dans ce qu'elle renferme de vital et d'incontesté, peut jouer dans la perpétuation de modèles de reproduction sociale. Des implications sont dégagées en tenant compte de l'utilisation qui pourrait en être faite en vue d'une reconceptualisation du rôle social

765

de l'éducation des adultes. L'article fournit un cadre conceptuel aux formateurs et aux formatrices qui bien qu'intéressés à la question sont relativement peu informés du concept d'éducation critique de l'adulte.

During the latter half of this century adult educators have witnessed the alarming indications of a society in crisis, while at the same time feeling some sense of responsibility to respond in a manner that would enable adults to engage actively in the transformation of their society in a constructive direction. Adult educators who are committed to the ethos of adult education as a social movement have sought appropriate theoretical foundations for their practice, which for reasons of the prevailing preoccupation with learning efficiency, have been selected primarily from the family of behaviouristic and cognitive psychological theories. Although the relationship between these theories and the practices of program administration, instruction, educational research, and policy development has led to greater levels of quantitative learning achievement, it has not provided any guidance in terms of assessing the worthwhileness of these endeavours. The view of the relationship between theory and practice that underpins these theories tends to preclude a critique of society in which the role of social structures is seen to perpetuate the status quo, thereby contributing to the current social crisis.

Contemporary society embodies social pathologies such as anomie, alienation, and personality disorders which are manifest in a variety of human and natural phenomena. Humans abuse themselves, their children and others both physically and psychologically; they degrade their culture; and they violate the natural environment—all in the mindless struggle to achieve success as measured in terms of power and money. On a daily basis the media inform us about the increasing incidence of wife battering, child molestation, rape, murder and suicide, denigration of minority groups, family disintegration, substance abuses, wanton cruelty to animals, destruction of the landscape, despoiling of oceans, toxification of lakes and rivers, pollution of the air, and destruction of the upper atmosphere. To our discredit, an apparent immunity to the significance of these conditions has evolved, allowing them to become commonplace and seen as probably beyond the influence of mere educators. We note with some complacency the emergence of institutions within society that are attempting to intervene in some areas such as associations to provide homes for battered wives and children, gay liberation associations, animal protection societies, substance abuse centres, cross-cultural education programs, and environmental protection associations; their existence is insufficient, however, to influence on the large scale the broadly based social cause of the problems which lies in the culturally rooted, superordinate human drive for success and the concomitant subordination of human concern for rightness, beauty and comprehensibility.

Societies are maintained and transformed through a variety of social institutions such as government, work, religion, sports, family life and education. Societies create settings for learning, and governments and other social agencies administer them for the specific reason of their importance in sustaining and developing the forms of life of a society. The role of adult education in this context is to facilitate learning, both for individuals and for society at large: individual learning is aimed at the acquisition of knowledge, skills and dispositions which are applicable in a variety of established institutional roles, while learning in the broader social framework occurs when individuals develop their unique, creative capacities for transforming social roles in preferable directions. Adult education as it is practised in Western industrialized countries supports individual learning to enhance the maintenance of society, at the expense of the actualization of human potential to foster the advancement of society.

This disparity in educational aims and outcomes has become a matter of concern for many adult educators. As an explanation of contemporary society, critical theory shows how the preeminence of instrumental reason has impoverished social interactions and created inequities in material and social wellbeing. Moreover, the universal acceptance of these social conditions and their antecedents is supported by all of society's institutions, including education. The concern of adult educators is directed towards change in the practice of adult education as a basis for penetrating unquestioned vital cultural tradition and creating the milieu for members of society to engage actively in the transformation of society along just, humane and equitable lines.

Critical theories are explanations of why contemporary Western industrialized societies are the way they are, beginning with a description of the intransigence of members of a society respecting the structures and beliefs comprising the fabric of the status quo—*unquestioned vital cultural tradition*—to impede the transformation of society to one characterized by more justice, humanity and equitability. Anchored in the explanation provided by one or another of the critical theories, and the process of dialectics, critical adult education in the sites of program administration, instruction, policy development and educational research could enhance the potential for society to explore and transform their societies inasmuch as it provides a rich and powerful view of the relationship between theory and practice. *Critical social science* is the generic or meta-methodology for the conduct of critical education research. Each of these concepts will be examined and a view of adult education informed by these concepts then presented.

Unquestioned Vital Cultural Tradition

The foundation for all forms of social action is a taken-for-granted, unexplored, unproblematic set of structures and beliefs that have evolved over the history of the culture, depicted as the unquestioned vital cultural tradition of a society. Its positive attribute lies in the function of this aggregation of widely understood and accepted background knowledge, assumptions and language patterns in allowing members of a society to enact their social roles and accomplish the day-to-day tasks required for personal and cultural survival. Its negative attribute is visible in the extent to which members of a society hold to its unreflexive, and therefore unquestioned nature, and thus perceive nothing problematic about it or its effects in sustaining an unexamined trajectory in the evolution of the society or its culture.

An assessment of contemporary Western industrialized societies would reveal that enormous progress has been achieved in the creation of material goods and services through the instrumental application of technological knowledge. A predominant feature of the unquestioned vital cultural tradition of these societies is the overriding potency of the human drive toward the achievement of power and money; success in the attainment of these ends is seen as a wholly acceptable basis for attributing value to individuals and groups. This aspect of unquestioned vital cultural tradition has advanced these societies to remarkable heights in their intellectual reproduction, that is, the development and efficient application of scientific knowledge.

The assessment would also reveal that this achievement has been accompanied by a disparate allocation of those goods and services, associated with undesirable forms of social relationships and the relationship between humankind and nature. It can be seen that the enormous progress in the intellectual reproduction of society has occurred at the expense of other, equally essential human drives and values, namely, concerns for the rightness of actions, the beauty of the results of actions, and the comprehensibility of the language of communications.

Unquestioned vital cultural tradition is represented by the concept "lifeworld" which in the schools of hermeneutics and historical relativism is defined as the foundation or context within which individuals engage in communication and which supports the achievement of understanding and agreement. Habermas (1987)[1] quotes Luhmann to depict the nature of the lifeworld:

> Normally we do not have to think about the foundations of our corporate life or the condition of its existence, not to justify actions or expressly to find and display appropriate motives. Problematizing and thematizing are not excluded; they are always possible; but normally this non-actualized possibility already suffices as a basis for interaction. If no one calls it into question, then "everything's o.k." (p. 417).

The very nature of unquestioned vital cultural tradition resists explication, reflection and critical interpretation. Individuals are not able to stand apart from their lifeworlds; even with the fullest of intention and effort, they cannot consciously appropriate them in their entirety in order to reflect upon them. At best, individuals can seek out and recover only small portions of their lifeworlds at a time, so that examination and adjudication of unquestioned vital cultural tradition can occur incrementally over time.

At the heart of a theory and practice of critical adult education is the reconceptualization of unquestioned vital cultural tradition as a thing to be reflected upon and problematized, acknowledging its value in enabling the maintenance of cultural survival, while recognizing its imperfections and weaknesses and the effects of unthinking adherence to it as an impediment to active participation of individuals and groups in the transformation of social and cultural patterns in a more desirable direction.

Critical Theory

The majority of contemporary social theories can be grouped according to two fundamental categories: those theories that assume that society is the expression of an underlying natural order and are disposed to manipulate the variables that account for it (structural functionalism, for example that of Parsons)[2], and those theories that assume that societies because they are created and conceptualized necessarily are disposed to encourage diversity (social phenomenology, for example that of Schutz[3], and sociology of knowledge, for example that of Berger and Luckman[4]).

Critical theories take neither of these positions: they envision a social order that is constantly emerging and are disposed toward influencing its emergence in a direction that is more just, humane and equitable, (for example, the work of Marx[5], Giddens[6], Habermas[7], Heller[8], Unger[9]). This disposition is viewed as fundamental to human life and inquiry. Critical theories are theories about modern societies, explaining the deficits that exist in the manner in which society is evolving. Contemporary critical theories dispute the capacities of modern capitalist and socialist societies to sustain material growth in a democratic manner that is fair, just, and equitable for all members of the society as well as beneficial for nature itself[10]. The relationship between theory and practice, or the way of thinking and acting that is inherent in materialist dialectics, is applied in arriving at this explanation within the context of an unquestioned vital cultural tradition: a worldview with sociohistoric features that include material and social inequities and distorted states of human consciousness.

An Explanation of Critical Social Theory

All critical social theories have in common a normative concern with the fate of humankind in technocratic society. What they attempt to explain are power relationships between the individual and nature and the individual and society, and how meaning and speech, and theory and practice, are reconciled in the evolution of societies. The mediation of these tension-filled relationships is thought to hold the potential for an ever evolving social reality moving toward more just, equitable, and humane social arrangements. There are differences among various critical theories of society. The particular critical theory that most effectively informs critical education explains the deficits in the reproduction of society in terms of the imbalance amongst ways of knowing that result in distortions of communication between those who dominate and those who are dominated. This theory is the theory of communicative action as developed by Jürgen Habermas[11].

Habermas' theory identifies two forms of human action: action-oriented-to-success (instrumental action); and action-oriented-to-understanding (communicative action). These forms of action are rooted in four distinct but not separate, historically constituted modes of human knowing: **purposive-rational; moral-interpretive; aesthetic-expressive; and explicative**. Purposive rationality has two dimensions, namely, instrumental rationality in which theoretical knowledge is applied without question in teleological action (the non-communicative use of descriptive knowledge), and explanatory rationality in which descriptive knowledge is created.

Moral interpretative rationality is a critique along the lines of established cultural values; aesthetic expressive rationality is a non-cognitive, extraverbal offering and critique of alternatives to established values; and explicative rationality is the analysis of language in search of fuller meaning in speech. Explanatory, moral, aesthetic and explicative rationality are the elements of communicative action. The heart of Habermas' critical theory is the overdetermination of instrumental rationality at the expense of communicative rationality as the basis for the deficits in the reproduction of societies in advanced industrial countries.

One distinction among variants of critical theory lies in the focus of some on the **false consciousness** of certain groups or classes of society that are dominated by other groups or classes, and those critical theories in which attention is paid to the imbalance existing in human thought (fragmented consciousness) which is reflected in distortions of communication[12]. This is not to suggest that the normative intent of these two variants of critical theory differs, or that the element of instrumental or technocratic rationality is absent from either. What is represented in Habermas' theory is a reframing of the problem from one rooted in false consciousness and its extension to conspiracy and struggle, to one embedded in the notion of fragmented consciousness and communicative competencies.

Inherent in the idea of critique is the assumption that knowledge is always in an incomplete state, and that its emergence can be influenced by the active involvement of individuals as social beings in concert with other social beings, organized around cultural patterns. The way in which social beings engage actively in the mediation of tension-filled relationships is referred to as materialist dialectics.

Materialist Dialectics

Early Greek philosophers defined dialectics as a special auxiliary means of capturing and thinking about our reality. Materialistic dialectics is a tradition of thought and action which is at the heart of critical theories for mediating social change aimed at more equitable, just and humane social arrangements[13]. Many dialectical traditions have evolved since the time of Plato, of which materialist dialectics is a relatively modern form, having been shaped by western philosophers during the 20th Century. Materialist dialectics is characterized by a worldview that involves two aspects of reality within which two methods of thinking and two ways of relating thought and action take place. The foundation for this worldview is the assumption that reality is independent of human beings, and yet through their involvement as a part of it, humans can influence the emergence of social reality[14]. This, in combination with the notion that humans are socially and historically embodied beings, leads to a presupposition of the ongoing nature of both the realization of truth and the evolution of human reality, as well as the progression of individual and species development.

The two methods of thinking and acting and the two aspects of social reality are proposed as a basis for questioning ideas and patterns of social interaction that exist at a given time and are generally accepted for purposes of sustaining the current social order; the dialectical questioning aims to change societal processes and structures by preserving and at the same time superseding the currently acceptable ideas and patterns.

Reality has two aspects: the world of the **pseudoconcrete** and the **world of the concrete**. The pseudoconcrete is represented by the form or the idea of a phenomenon as it can be seen by individuals through the perceptual screens created by the historical moment and the cultural context. This is only a limited portion of any phenomenon, a simplified abstraction of reality. The whole, or the world of the concrete, can be experienced at least in part by looking beyond the limits of form (the idea of the phenomenon) to get to its essence (the concept of the phenomenon), allowing a richer view of the form to emerge. The limitations that are inherent in form (the pseudoconcrete) are functional insofar as they permit the attribution of structure, order and laws to phenomena such that they can be manipulated in the conduct of the day-to-day affairs of individuals and society.

The two kinds of thinking in which humans can engage are **routine thinking** and **dialectical thinking**. Routine thinking enables people to deal efficiently with the practical problems that comprise their day-to-day affairs. This analytical thinking or formal logic is shaped by the existing historical and social context, by filtering and simplifying experience, and by disregarding the contradictions and inconsistencies that hint at the existence of the essence of phenomena.

Dialectical thinking is the process by which the contradictions and inconsistencies between what we believe and what we experience in everyday life are explored in an attempt to grasp more of reality: to reach toward essence, thence to a richer, more complex view of forms of life. This process of informal or dialectical logic is based on a view that totality is constantly emerging as the result of actively engaged forces—the simplified idea of the phenomenon and the contradictions and inconsistencies within and surrounding it—whose conflict leads to qualitative social change.

The disadvantage of **routine thinking** is that, although expedient for solving practical problems, fixation on simplified abstractions of reality tends to accord them the status of concrete reality, and this misconception of total truth for all time leads to the formation of ideologies which resist change. As Ackerman and Parsons once put it, "We exclude—and what we exclude haunts us at the walls we set up. We include—and what we include limps wounded by amputation. And most importantly we must live with all this, we must live with our wounded and our ghosts"[15]. By switching to dialectical thinking, a richer perspective is opened that allows for an illumination of the phenomenon or problem not accessible through routine thought. Social situations can be analyzed through dialectical thinking revealing their internal contradictions as apparent opposites which hold a potential for influencing qualitative social change through mediation. The relationship between routine and dialectical thinking can be captured as a journey back and forth between the pseudoconcrete and concrete dimensions of reality.

There are two ways of relating thought and action, or theory and practice: **everyday praxis** and **revolutionary praxis**. Praxis reflects the relationship between thinking and doing. **Everyday praxis** is employed in goal-directed activity and, in the interests of efficiency, involves a spontaneous tendency to shear a situation of all elements that are peripheral for purposes of the immediate task. This division of the whole through routine thinking creates the simplified phenomenal forms that facilitate focusing on particular tasks required for survival. In necessary everyday praxis the wider reality is neglected or overlooked, as is the existence of the functional, habitual, conceptual filters used to accomplish the simplification of reality, the effect of which is a perpetuation of the gap between form and essence.

It is never possible to disregard entirely evidence of the essence or concept of things; there is always a dim awareness of the whole which although latent can be uncovered by dialectical thinking, allowing individuals to recognize their capacity to alter the world toward a more humanitarian mode of existence. The kind of practical activity of people directed toward the actualization of humankind based on dialectical thinking is known as **revolutionary or critical praxis**. By revolutionary is meant the ongoing spiritual reproduction of society directed toward improved social arrangements for the production and equitable distribution of material wellbeing. By critical is meant the search, through dialectical thought, for internal contradictions or actively engaged forces that provide the basis for mediations directed towards the spiritual reproduction of society. This search portrays the questioning of unquestioned vital cultural tradition.

The central notion of materialist dialectics is that truth happens rather than being discovered. Reality is in a constant state of emergence that human beings in a social, cultural and historical context can influence or mediate through reason and activity. Said another way, the intellectual reproduction of society guided by positivistic thinking and everyday praxis must be nourished by dialectical thinking and revolutionary praxis in order to effect the spiritual reproduction of society: the actions of social beings grounded in rightness, authenticity, preferability and comprehensibility will be directed toward the equitable redistribution of materials and services, the reconstruction of social relations and our relationship with nature, as necessary in order to produce them.

Critical theory incorporates the power of positivist science that drives the intellectual reproduction of society without resorting to positivism or scientism which preclude the spiritual reproduction of society. The preservation of the power of positivistic thought and related empiricist method is captured in the view taken by early positivists that science was a way of knowing and acting in addition to existing ethical and aesthetic modalities. Later positivists elevated the status of science to scientism thereby crowding out or fragmenting other ways of knowing and acting[16]. Critical theorists advocate the recovery of those submerged or fragmented ways of knowing and acting through dialectical reasoning and revolutionary praxis.

Within the materialist dialectical view of totality, social evolution is seen to occur as a result of praxis. Human beings are always unfulfilled in that being is who they are and essence is who they could be if they were to actualize their unfulfilled historically constituted dispositions and capacities. Progress is not guaranteed in history; it depends on the productive and reproductive practices of historically acting subjects[17]. Returning to the critical theory motif of the dialectical interplay amongst the individual, society, and nature mentioned earlier, this interplay is thought to be the basis for the constructive mediation of social change. The idea here is that the social and natural world is independent of the individual but not extrinsic. That is, although the world is emerging independently, there are numerous ways in which individuals can influence or mediate it. This dialectical and relational position makes possible an internalist approach to society, from the perspective of the lifeworld of individuals, in which individuals collectively influence society, as well as an externalist approach, from the perspective of the social system, in which society requires individuals to conform in order for it to fulfil its functions.

Critical Social Science

The longstanding debate regarding the merits and relationships between quantitative and qualitative research can be resolved through the notion of a critical social science in which the power of empirical analytic and interpretive social science can be preserved while at the same time superseded through the use of both routine thinking (formal logic) with its associated everyday praxis and dialectical thinking (nonformal logic) with its associated revolutionary praxis. As mentioned earlier, in the materialist dialectical view, totality is seen to be constantly emerging by means of actively engaged forces whose conflict leads to qualitative and relatively rapid social change. Within this view individuals are seen to play an active role in the intellectual and spiritual reproduction of society such that an analysis occurs in which theorists and practitioners are closely involved in interaction so that theory and practice mutually modify each other, intertwine, and produce a new emergent.

The dialectical relationship between theory and practice can be distinguished from the one in empirical analytic social science where theory is thought to drive or inform practice and in interpretive social science where theory is understood to enlighten practice[18]. The functions of critical social science reflect a going beyond yet a preserving of the contributions within the scope of empirical and phenomenological research which are limited with respect to effecting transformative social change. These functions are the formation and extension of critical theorems, the organization of the processes of enlightenment, and the organization of the processes of action. They can be used to portray the relationship between critical theory and critical social science. Critical theorems are developed through the use of a critical theory to examine an aspect of contemporary society by individuals or a group who are concerned with making existing patterns of social interaction more fair and just. The critique exposes the contradictions between what a society purports to be and what it is and represents outcomes that are desirable. Critical theorems must stand up to criteria of scientific discourse; intersubjective understandings obtained from reflection within the group must stand up to authenticity tests; and finally the selected action must reflect prudent decisions[19]. Drawing from Habermas, Carr and Kemmis[20] define critical social science as:

> ...a social process that combines collaboration in the process of critique with the political determination to act to overcome contradictions in the rationality and justice of social action and social institutions. A critical social science will be one that goes beyond critique to critical praxis; that is, a form of practice in which the 'enlightenment' of actors comes to bear directly in their transformed social action. This requires an integration of theory and practice as reflective and practical moments in a dialectical process of reflection, enlightenment and social action carried out by groups for the purpose of transforming society (p. 144).

This preliminary sketch of the process of critical social science is illuminated by Fay's[21] notion of a social theory that is critical and practical as well as scientifically explanatory, thereby identifying a process through which desirable outcomes can be achieved. Conditions must be such that there is a crisis in a social system; that the crisis is at least in part caused by distortions of consciousness of those experiencing it; the distorted consciousness is amenable to a process of enlightenment; and that enlightenment leads to emancipation in which a group empowered by its new-found understanding radically alters its social arrangements and thereby alleviates its suffering. He posits four inter-related elements of critical social science: a theory of consciousness, a theory of crisis, a theory of education, and a theory of transformative action. These provide a basis for understanding critical theories and determining their appropriateness as a guide for the creation of learning opportunities for adults. Let us turn now to the components of critical social science as outlined by Fay[22].

a theory of consciousness

First, the theory must point to the way a group of people's view of the world is incongruent with their own life experiences, and it must identify specific contradictions. This is often referred to as critical analysis of unquestioned vital cultural tradition. Second, in addition, it must provide an historical explanation of how this view of the world came into being and is perpetuated. And then finally, it must provide an alternative worldview that overcomes the contradictions between their current worldview and their direct life experiences.

a theory of crisis

A theory must be presented based on a social crisis that a particular society is currently experiencing. This theory must be tied to existing social pathologies rooted in the basic structure of the given society and that threaten to destroy it. The theory must portray historically a dialectical combination of distorted consciousness on the part of individuals and existing structural inequities on the part of society.

a theory of education

This theory must outline the educational structures and processes that will facilitate the changing of societal members' worldview in such a way that contemporary social pathologies become obvious and reveal the individual's role in perpetuating their worldview.

a theory of transformative action

This theory must point out the structural aspects of society requiring change if social pathologies are to be ameliorated. In so doing, it must be able to not only identify those members of society who can be anticipated to carry out the transformative action but also provide at least a general idea of how they might go about doing it.

Fay maintains that in order for a theory to be critical, practical, and scientific, it must be a theory of social life or some portion thereof that contains all of the above-mentioned elements and that they must be systematically and consistently arranged.

Critical Adult Education

The task for adult educators is to explore the implications of critical theory for the provision of learning opportunities for adults which are directed toward education's role in restructuring social arrangements along more equitable, just, and humane lines. Critical theory, including the concept of unquestioned vital cultural tradition and the process of dialectics can be employed in the face of social, political and environmental crises to reconnect theory and practice in the various sites of adult education: program administration, instruction, policy development, and educational research.

As an artifact of society, adult education represents a variation or extension of the unquestioned vital cultural tradition of society writ large. Three elements are generic to all four sites within this specialized domain: practices, social relationships, and the language used to describe them both. These are expressions of the unquestioned vital cultural tradition of the domain. In exploring the relationship between theory and practice in each of the four adult education sites, two levels of theory are evident: the formally established or overarching theory, and the specific institutional variant developed from one or more formal theories and expressed as an institutional plan, system or method. Practices in adult educational sites tend to relate more directly to institutional theories than to formal theories.

Program Administration of Adult Education

The functions of program administration include determination and development of intended learning outcomes, management of instructional and support personnel, attraction of appropriate learners, provision of resources, and program evaluation. For each of these functions there are conventional algorithms to guide their enactment that are drawn from theories of administration developed by researchers; in this paradigm, theory is seen to drive practice, and the value of both is weighed on the grounds of efficiency in achieving quantifiable outcomes that conform to the instrumental orientation of the unquestioned vital cultural tradition. In their application of the theory when decisions are to be made, administrators resort to manipulating the variables the theory explains in a manner that complies with the laws of the theory. Evidence of this preoccupation with instrumental success can be found in the language used widely by educational administrators which is replete with the jargon of production and accounting: "needs assessment", "program delivery systems", "cost/benefit analysis of programs", "return on training investment", "marketing committees", to name but a few.

A variety of alternatives to current practice become available when the functions of educational administration are cast within the generic elements of practices, social relationships and language, and informed by critical theory; these elements can be interpreted and enacted toward improvement by practitioners engaging in collective and collaborative efforts to penetrate and challenge the unquestioned vital cultural tradition. For example, when decisions are to be made, administrators might consult initially with those upon whom the decisions will impact in order to identify the contradictions existing within the situation, and to examine the contradictions in the context of an evaluation of current practices and organizational relationships, and the common meanings inherent in the way these are described. The examination could expose portions of unquestioned vital cultural tradition, the critique of which would ensure that the dialectical mediation of the contradictions by the group would generate an administrative decision incorporating attributes of rightness, beauty and comprehensibility as well as instrumental efficiency. Inherent in the decision would be the expectation that in its implementation, further contradictions will emerge which in turn would require collaborative mediation toward the evolution of more just, humane and equitable patterns of administrative action that would have the effect of empowering both the educators and the learners within the educational institution. The relationship between theory (the organizational plans) and practice (the administrative decisions) would be seen to mutually modify one another through a collaborative process which is informed by critical theory, and from which a new emergent would be generated.

Instruction

The functions around instruction include the design of instruction, implementation of instruction, and assessment of program outcomes. These functions tend to be guided by established systems and approaches (the institutional theories) that are informed by one or more of the psychological theories. Many of these institutional theories are applied with the dominant intention of increasing in quantifiable terms the efficiency with which pre-established knowledge and skills are acquired. Where instrumental rationality and action are pre-eminent, many functions around instruction have become desensualized and sterilized of values components. This positivistic orientation is reflected in the code words that are heard in the language of practitioners involved in instruction: "stand-alone instructional modules", "learners at risk", "grade point averages", "reinforcement schedules in contingency management", "learning disabilities". Here the relationship between theory and practice is one in which theory drives practice.

In some settings, certain instructional practices are guided by an interpretive human science orientation informed by humanistic psychology; instructors and learners are both active participants in an effort to achieve intersubjective understandings that will enrich the learning experience in the interests of meeting society's needs and individual needs. Here one encounters the familiar language of andragogy in terms such as "setting the learning climate", "learning facilitator", "negotiation of learning objectives", "self-directed learning", "sharing learning experiences", "ego involvement", "threat reduction". In this orientation, theory is viewed as revealing practice.

Practices from both these orientations could be improved if practitioners involved in instruction were, for example, to collaborate in a critical analysis of their existing practices, social relationships and language in the context of the unquestioned vital cultural tradition of their institution and their profession. They could evaluate the potential for reconstructing dialectically their endeavours to reflect critical social theoretical foundations as well as psychological foundations. This reconstruction could result in changes in the content of their programs to include moral and aesthetic dimensions representing the knowledge and capabilities to critique unquestioned vital cultural tradition; and changes in their instructional processes such that learners are engaged in group activities that involve interaction with social issues and structures. The relationship between theory (institutionally determined patterns) and practice (implemented instructional processes) would be seen as a reciprocally interactive one, enacted by groups of practitioners who are informed by critical theory, producing enriched versions of theory and steadily improving practices.

Policy Development

Governments generate legislation which is translated into policies that structure the nature and scope of education. These policies allocate educational resources, mandate institutional accreditation, and regulate educational practices. In social democratic political systems, the overarching theory that informs the creation of legislation is capitalism. Within that social theoretical context, the legislation that any government creates is shaped by two major antecedents, namely, the particular ideology of the political party holding power and the political imperative to achieve and maintain power. The development of educational policies informed by current legislation represents practice. The pre-eminence of the steering medium of power accounts

779

for the kind of educational legislation that is created; its force will have instrumental value for the major actors in the economic sector of the society, will sustain the pattern of existing institutions and their relationships, and will perpetuate the doctrine of individualism as the basis for maintaining a coherent society. Policies are developed in relation to this legislation in the context of unquestioned vital cultural tradition, a significant component of which is the assumption about the role of knowledge in society; that is, that knowledge (the content for education) that is selected to assure continuity of the social order will be disseminated in a manner that assures its optimal accessibility to those who can be expected to contribute to the maintenance of the socio-economic status quo.

Governmental officials develop public policy in education by a process which includes data collection and interpretation respecting the resources available for distribution, the perceived educational needs of the various constituencies, and potential for streamlining educational services, considered in the light of anticipated public response to policy changes. Alternative policy formulations are adjudicated in terms of the potential benefits (cost efficiencies, labour market solutions) and predicted public opinion. Here the relationship between institutional theory (legislation and its antecedents) and practice (policy development) is one in which the theory drives practice.

Alternatives to this pattern of practice are revealed when the functions of policy development are informed by critical theory and reconceptualized as practices, social relationships and language, with the potential for reinterpretation and improvement through collective critique of previously unquestioned vital cultural tradition. When data respecting educational needs and priorities is to be collected and interpreted, policy developers could consult with representatives from all socio-economic sectors of the adult constituency, particularly those who are presently non-participants in the educational offerings for adults. Through these consultations which could focus on current educational policies, the social relationships that influence their development, and the intersubjective understandings that could be achieved, policy developers and constituents could uncover the contradictions that exist in the provision of educational opportunities, and their roots in aspects of unquestioned vital cultural tradition that perpetuate them.

Further collaborative exploration of material and social inequities could lead to dialectical mediation of the contradictions, which could be used by policy developers in generating policies for the education of adult policies, that hold the potential for fostering change in the existing patterns of selecting and disseminating information leading to new patterns directed toward more just humane, and equitable educational arrangements. If the policy developers presented and rationalized the proposed policies to their legislator for adjudication, the legislator's view of the imperatives that shape the legislation might be altered, with the attendant possibility of a change in the shape of future legislation. As the implementation of the policies probably would give rise to new contradictions, the same collaborative process between policy developers and constituents could be used to mediate them dialectically prior to further policy development. The relationship between theory (legislation and its antecedents) and practice (policy development) in this orientation is one in which theory and practice mutually modify one another and produce new and richer versions of each.

Educational Research

The goals of educational research are seen conventionally to be either explanation, prediction and control (according to the quantitative view), or understanding and meaning (according to the qualitative view). In the former case, disinterested researchers seek out the inescapable laws that govern behaviour in educational situations. These results are then employed to influence practical change through technical control. Theoreticians, through a division of labour in which they objectively study educational practice, develop theory which in turn is viewed as driving practice.

In the latter case, empathic researchers seek through quasi-participation with practitioners to interpret the manner in which practitioners construct and maintain intersubjective meaning that guides their actions. Here theoreticians are not fully separated by a division of labour; rather they are quasi-participants who through their interpretations convey to practitioners a view of their intersubjective reality that includes aspects of which they may not have been aware. The search is not for objectively derived, inescapable laws, but rather additional meaning subject to the practitioners' verification. In this approach, theory is viewed as revealing practice.

An alternative to conventional approaches, critical social science, becomes available when the previously noted goals of research are reconstructed as the formation and extension of critical theorems, organization for enlightenment, and organization for action. With this orientation, participant researchers join with a group of practitioners who are interested in improving their practices, in improving the social relationships which contextualize those practices, and in improving their understanding of the language they employ to institutionalize their practices and associated social relationships, all of which is, in general, a reflection of unquestioned vital cultural tradition. These practitioners could be acting in any of the four sites of adult education. Their engagement in research activities can be differentiated from their everyday practice in these sites, in that a specific aspect of practice is singled out for improvement. Both the theoretician and the practitioners collectively and collaboratively analyze their actions in the context of a specific critical theory that addresses the power relationships that prevail as a result of the overdetermination of purposive-rational thought and action. As the formation of critical theorems enlightens all of the participants, they then can enact action plans based on the theorems. It is expected that these plans when put to practice will inevitably turn up additional contradictions which are the basis for extension of the original critical theorems to be researched in ensuing research iterations. Here theoreticians collaborate with practitioners through the employment of a critical theory to improve practice in a more humane, just and equitable direction. The search here is not only for improved understanding, meaning and action as is the case of both the qualitative or interpretive approaches, but in addition an understanding of unintended outcomes and the socio-historical forces that account for them. The view of the relationship between theory and practice in this approach is one in which they are seen to mutually modify each other, intertwine and produce a new emergent with each iteration of the process. This critical social science activity occurs only within the research site.

Concluding Comments

Recent advances in social theory offer the occasion for adult educators to reconceptualize their views of the social role of adult education, as well as methodologies for its implementation. In the enactment of practice within the sites of program administration, instruction, and policy development, practitioners informed by critical theory can actualize their unique potential for interpreting each situation in terms of the opportunities within it to collaborate with their associates (or their learners) in changing their customary practices, altering the established social relationships, and enriching the language in common use to describe the social reality they share. In the myriad of situations that comprise the real world of practice, the nature and scope of opportunities for this collaborative improvement will vary dramatically; however, each successful initiative can provide a stepping stone for further initiatives.

Within the educational research site, practitioners can engage in the formally organized conduct of critical social science through an action-oriented project initiated and facilitated by a theoretician. Here, a specific area of the practitioners' educational practice that has been thematized becomes the focus of the research group's systematic, collaborative, self-reflective enquiry and planned action, aimed at achieving significant improvements in practitioners' practice, their organizational relationships, and their ways of describing both; that is, through the process of taking action to change these, and learning from the effects of the changes, significant improvements in practice is possible.

The prospects for a critical adult education in all of its sites are especially timely in the light of the crisis in contemporary society. As a major player among society's institutions, an educational system informed by critical theory can enact a leading role toward the attainment of significant advances in the direction of a more just, equitable and humane society.

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SHAKING THE FOUNDATIONS: THE CRITICAL TURN IN ADULT EDUCATION THEORY

Michael Welton
University of Dalhousie

Abstract

With the collapse of the dominant paradigm, the "andragogical consensus", the field of adult education is presently occupied by an array of competing discourses. In recent years adult education theorists have turned to Habermasian critical theory to reconstruct the discipline and provide direction for emancipatory practice. Building on the assumption that we are in the beginning stages of this reconstructive project, this article provides a brief history of the keyword, "critical", and demonstrates how the critical theoretical tradition from Marx to Habermas can be interpreted as a socially and historically grounded theory of adult learning.

Résumé

Avec l'effondrement du «consensus andragogique» comme paradigme dominant, le champ de l'éducation des adultes présente actuellement un ensemble de discours concurrents. Ces dernières années, les théoriciens de l'éducation des adultes se sont tournés vers la théorie critique de Habermas pour procéder à une reconstruction de la discipline et fournir une nouvelle orientation à une pratique émancipatoire. Tout en postulant que nous en sommes aux premiers stades de ce projet de reconstruction, cet article fournit un bref historique du mot-clé «critique» et démontre que la tradition de la théorie critique, de Marx à Habermas, peut être considérée comme une théorie de l'apprentissage adulte qui possède des assises tant sociales qu'historiques.

For more than a decade now there have been rumblings in the margins of the field that the university-based study of adult education

785

has been professionally colonized, that the dominant paradigm, the "andragogical consensus", has crumbled. The field of adult education theory is presently occupied by an array of competing discourses. Two of the most engaging theoretical developments to appear in the last couple of years have been (1) an anti-foundational contextualism (Usher and Bryant, 1989), which takes its cues from phenomenology and hermeneutics, and (2) the critical theory associated with Mezirow (1981, 1985, 1990) and his critics and commentators (Collard and Law 1989; Hart 1990; Clark and Wilson 1991), which takes its direction from Habermas. Some of us have turned to the latter, Habermasian critical theory, to create a conceptual frame comprehensive enough to provide theoretical unification to the field and ethical guidance for all practitioners across multiple settings.

But we are just in the struggling stages of reconstructing the study of adult education from a critical theoretical perspective. Therefore, I think it is urgent that we understand the genealogy of the keyword "critical" (its meaning within the Marxian tradition), and how to think through and with Habermasian critical theory towards the systematic articulation of a theory of adult learning and emancipatory educational practice. One is actually surprised by joy when ranging over contemporary critical theory and the as-yet partial theoretical work in the discipline of adult education. One discovers that Habermas and his colleagues as well as many non-Habermasian critical theorists increasingly place individual and social learning processes and outcomes at the centre of their conceptual work. This fact, in my view, has neither been fully understood nor adequately recognized.

In this article I would like to argue that the critical theoretical tradition from Marx to Habermas has much to teach us about adult learning, and can provide a "foundation" for an emancipatory educational practice. A theory of emancipatory learning has always been *implicitly* present within the Marxian tradition; it is only with Habermas that we begin to see the "learning theory" become *explicit* and self-conscious. This article attempts to accomplish two interrelated conceptual tasks: to provide a brief history of critical social theory and to show how the critical theoretical tradition itself can be interpreted as a socially and historically grounded theory of adult learning (how adults unlearn their adherence to unfreedom and learn to be enlightened, empowered and transformative actors in particular times, places and spaces).

Critical theory holds out the promise of enabling us to specify concretely with practical intent *how* we can think of all of society as a vast school and begin to understand how a global society ruled by predatory corporations and dominated by a "technocratic" or "instrumental" rationality, is consciously structured to block, constrain and contain societal wide and historically deep collective enlightenment, empowerment and transformative action. Without a critical theory of society we will never know how even the individualist ideals we posit—the fulfillment of the individual, our commitment to "autonomous" self-directed learning—are *systemically* blocked and constrained: in our homes, workplaces, the public sphere, cultural and intellectual life, associational and movement spaces. Nor will we know how our late capitalist society, with its class, gender, ethnic and bureaucratic divisions, generates in its "normal" working, dissatisfactions (needs that cannot be met adequately within society's frame), contradictions and, periodically, massive crises, which create the potentiality for emancipatory practice. Critical theory ought to help radical adult educators ground their "untheorized" praxis.

And critical adult educators and critical theorists converge in affirming that the system reproduces itself in the subjectivity of men and women. Simply focusing upon and celebrating the learning taking place everywhere (particularly outside bad formal educational institutions) will blind us to the fact that in an unjust and unfree society, men, women and children will be "socialized" across the life-span to systematically misunderstand their identity, needs, what constitutes happiness, what is good and of value, and how one should act in one's relations with others to achieve these things. Even informal and non-formal learning are pressured to conform to what Michael Ryan has called "the principle of non-contradiction: if the system is to retain legitimacy and survive, the consciousness of social agents must not contradict the presuppositions of the economy, the social network, and the state" (Ryan 1982, 56). Despite this conforming pressure, critical educators and theorists argue that people are victims of causal processes that have power over them because they are *not aware* of the precise ways they have been implicated in the processes that oppress them. Here we have the necessary theoretical opening for understanding how an educative process might enable people to give up their illusions—"abandoning one's self-conception and the social practices that they engender and support, things people cling to because they provide [false] direction and [false] meaning in their live" (Fay 1987, 214).

Today, there can be no doubt, critique is a word in vogue. Educators, social scientists, literary critics and philosophers all use the word "critical", and it is by no means clear that we are talking the same language. The prevalent tendency in contemporary educational discourse is to restrict the meaning of critical to processes of validating arguments. This approach (often labelled "critical thinking") cannot be identified with critical theory as understood in the western philosophical and Marxist tradition. Simply put, critical thinking does not understand its project as providing an analysis of the "complex of interrelations out of which capitalist crises arise in order to make it possible, through philosophical critique giving guidance to action, to eliminate politically the causes of those crises" (Honneth and Joas 1988, 152). It is imperative, then, in order to understand the meaning of the critical turn in adult education theory, that we risk oversimplification and sketch the meaning of critique from Antiquity to Habermas. We will discover that contemporary critical theory has emerged through a dialectical engagement with German intellectual thought (Kant, Hegel and Marx) interplaying with the evolution of capitalism and modernity. Critical theory is a theory of history and society driven by a passionate commitment to understand how societal structures hinder and impede the fullest development of humankind's collective potential to be self-reflective and self-determining historical actors.

Critique from Antiquity to the Renaissance

Critique, like crisis, is derived from Greek *krinein* (making distinctions: separating, judging, deciding). Between Antiquity and the Renaissance, "crisis" was used solely in a medical context (through into the 17th century). During the Renaissance the term "critic" was applied to the grammarian or the philologist. Critique became the philological criticism of literary texts. Here the task was to reconstruct the authenticity of a particular source—to rescue a text from history's decay. Reformers used philological critique to describe the art of informed judgement. This was thought to be appropriate to the study of ancient texts, whether the classics or the Bible. But critique of texts was a "double-edged weapon". As the world became increasingly disenchanted (the dissolution of all-embracing systems of world-interpretation ascribing a unique and integral meaning to human existence with reference to the transcendental being [Markus 1986, xii]), the art of critique itself achieved a status independent of Church and State. The concept of critique shifted from defending revelation to driving a wedge between reason and revelation.

This was one of the cardinal unmaskings in western thought (Sloterdijk 1988, 23ff). Peter Bayle's *Dictionaire historique et critique*, written in the late 17th century, posited "reason" and "critique" as indivisible. What Bayle accomplished was to shift critique as method (philological work *on* texts) to critique as principle: critique extends beyond philological criticism and becomes the essential activity of reason while acquiring negative and destructive connotations. All claims to authority, whether religious or other, become fair game for reason's scalpel. "La raison humaine...est un principe de destruction, non pas d'edification" says Bayle. Paul Connerton astutely comments (1976, 19):

> Critique is certainly committed to the task of seeking truth; but to a truth which has yet to be established. Whence it follows that critical activity does not yield truth directly, but indirectly. Truth is to be reached, in the first instance, through the destruction of appearances and illusions. This notion of a republic of letters presupposes the equality of all participants in the process of critical activity....... It is now assumed that truth flourishes, not through the illumination of human understanding by inherited traditions, but rather through the medium of communicative struggle.

By the mid-18th century critique was becoming gradually politicized. In clubs, lodges, coffee houses, a new moral authority, the public, found its earliest institutions (Habermas 1974; Gouldner 1976).

The "Age of Critique": from Kant to Hegel

In 1781 in his preface to *Critique of Pure Reason* (Smith 1929), Kant declared his age the "age of critique" in which neither religion nor the legislature was exempt. With Kant, the model of critique characteristic of Enlightenment underwent a basic structural change. The *philosophes* had understood critical activity as an external discussion with a partner. Reason focused on a particular object of critique, seeking in the process to discover *via negativa* the truth or falsity of text or institution. Now, for Kant, reason becomes both subject and object. Reason, once turned against acceptable authorities, turns on itself. His great critiques (of theoretical reason, practical-moral insight and aesthetic judgement) are reflections on the conditions of possible knowledge, on the potential capacities of human beings possessing the faculties of knowing, speaking and acting. Dare to know! What are the conditions of our knowledge through which modern natural science is possible and how far does this knowledge extend? Kant wants to focus on the "rational reconstruction of the conditions which make language, cognition and action possible" (Connerton 1976, 23). The Kantian "copernican turn" will influence one direction of Habermas's thought. But Habermas, unlike Kant, will attempt to understand the fundamental forms of knowledge in the light of the problems humankind encounters in its efforts to produce its existence and reproduce its species being (Held 1980, 254). Habermas will place reason inside the historical process.

Kant's solution was to posit certain *a priori* categories or forms, embedded in the human subject, which allow us to constitute "things" in the factual world, now severed from the constituting subject. This idea that a "transcendental ego" *both* constitutes the world *and* leaves "room" for the possibility of moral freedom would precipitate endless debates about the relationship between activity and passivity, *a priori* and sense data, philosophy and psychology. In *Theory and Practice* (1973), Habermas argues that the philological criticism of the humanist understood itself as theoretical and practical critique. With the ascendancy of German idealism, critique "no longer understands itself in its correspondence to crisis" (213). Critique and crisis become uncoupled in Kant. But, Habermas maintains, the Hegelian project of the early 19th century attempted to reconstruct "philosophy of the world as crisis", even though philosophy was not subject to the crisis itself.

Hegel attempts to escape the embarrassment of Kant's ineffable "universal subject" by postulating the "absolute spirit" as the most real thing of all. Reason need not stand over against itself in *purely* critical fashion. In his classic essay, "Traditional and Critical Theory" (1937), Max Horkheimer states that in Hegel reason has become affirmative, even before reality itself is affirmed as rational. But, confronted with the persisting contradictions in human existence and with the impotence of individuals in face of situations they themselves have brought about, the Hegelian solution seems a purely private assertion, a "personal peace treaty between the philosopher and an inhuman world" (1976 [1937], 217). Whereas Kant had cast the "ought" into the realm of the practical, out of reach of reason's paws, Hegel believed that the "ought" and the "is" would coincide in history.

This Hegelian move seems, on the surface, to dissolve the critical function of reason. What Hegel had accomplished is to place the "ought" (or the universal) within history (the realm of the particular). In his loving reclamation of Hegel, *Reason and Revolution* (1941), Herbert Marcuse argues that Hegel's insistence that the universal is pre-eminent over the particular, signifies in the concrete that the potentialities of men and things are not exhausted in the given forms in which they actually appear (1960 [1941], 113-114). This notion of potentiality is fundamental to critical theory and emancipatory educational practice in the broadest possible sense. Reality points to, and strives towards, its own overcoming.

Marx's Critical Project: From Springtime to Maturity

Unlike Hegel, Marx locates his principle of negation within the dynamic social order itself. Accusing his "Young Hegelian" comrades of being "mere critics" who stood outside reality and nagged it to change, Marx asserts that mere criticism is ineffectual, like a lone foghorn calling to a ship lost in a fierce storm. He certainly does not believe that the "weapon of criticism" alone will burst asunder the chains and free the immiserated! In what way can critique become truly efficacious? By answering that, theory will only become a "material force" when it has "gripped the masses" (MECW 3: 183). Marx has asked himself a historically decisive question. In fact, we might even say that modern critical theory was born at this moment. The role of theory, says Marx in the springtime of his thinking, is not to "face the world in a doctrinaire fashion with a new principle, declaring 'Here is truth, kneel here!'" (Easton and Guddat 1967, 211-215). Rather, the task is to facilitate the "collective subject" to reach its own self-consciousness—the consciousness of its latent radical needs, induced by but unsatisfiable under the existing social conditions. Revolutionary potentiality seethes within a specific complex of material conditions. Theory only awakens the emergent proletariat to its historical mission and springs it into the daylight of historical praxis.

Critique reveals itself in Marx (and later critical theorists) as being tied to the "myth of Enlightenment." In 1784 Kant had asked himself the famous question, "What is Enlightenment?" and answered that, to

791

the extent that reason shapes human life, human history is assured of progress, of departing from a condition of servitude. Kant had declared his age the "Age of Enlightenment." If it were to be achieved, it would be in all spheres of life (religion, politics, science, philosophy). To be enlightened was to be autonomous, to question dogma and to take responsibility for historical unfolding. Kant's ideal was the critically reflective *individual*. Nonetheless, the way was now clear for the "philosophy of history" to identify a new subject, God having being relieved of responsibility for the world. Hegel thought that the world-spirit governed history and refused to identify a historical subject. Marx replaced the world-spirit with the proletariat—the embodiment of enlightened reason (Connerton 1980, 116-118).

In his third "Thesis on Feuerbach," Marx contrasted his revolutionary theory with that of his Enlightenment and utopian socialist predecessors.

> The materialist doctrine of the modifying influence of the change in conditions and education forgets that the conditions are changed by men, and that the educator himself must be educated. It is thus forced to divide society into two parts, one of which rises above the society. The coincidence of the changing of conditions and of human activity or self-transformation can only be conceived and understood rationally as *revolutionary practice*.

The educator cannot stand outside of people's life-situation and proclaim the truth. Either his/her ideas will be so removed from reality as to be false, or, if derived from reality, would merely mirror it. What accounts for valid knowledge of the world? Revolutionary practice—"learning that arises from an activity which both changes the world and the person acting on the world" (Howard 1988, 32-33).

In *The German Ideology* (1845), Marx and Engels argue that the revolution is necessary "because the class *overthrowing* it [the dominating class] can only succeed in ridding itself of all the muck of the ages and become fitted to found society anew in revolution" (cited, Howard 1988, 33). Marx and Engels recognize that the oppressive society recreates itself (or, as Freire would say, houses itself) in its victims' hearts and minds in the form of behaviour patterns and attitudinal beliefs which are sustained by the normal functioning of social intercourse itself. How men and women unlearn their adherence to unfreedom and learn emancipatory subjectivity is one of the central educational questions confronting critical theoretical work, past and present (Sherover-Marcuse 1986). There can be no "critique" without "politics", without understanding that "revolutionary praxis" is *educatively constituted* (cf. Allman and Wallis 1990).

Karl Korsch, who is responsible along with Georg Lukacs for the revitalization of Marxian humanism in the 1920s and 1930s (Vajda 1972; Arato 1972), argued that

> Marx's book on capital, like Plato's book on the state, like Machiavelli's *Prince* and Rousseau's *Social Contract*, owes its tremendous and enduring impact to the fact that it grasps and articulates, at a turning point in history, the full implications of the new force breaking in upon the old form of life.... Karl Marx proved himself to posterity to be the great forward-looking thinker of his age, in as much as he comprehended early on how decisive these questions would be for the approaching world-historical crisis (Korsch 1972, 39).

In his *magnum opus*, *Das Kapital* (1867), subtitled "A Critical Analysis of Capitalist Production," we see Marx's critical methodology playing itself out in his masterful analysis of the dynamics of industrial capitalism. It is important to grasp the *levels* and *complexity* of this method of critique because in contemporary discussions of critical thinking or critical educational practice the prevalent tendency has been to identify critique with a cognitive process of reflection upon an individual's taken-for-granted assumptions, values or roles and then to propose techniques for fostering individual reflectivity (Mezirow 1990). The consequences of forgetting Marx for the construction of a critical theory of adult learning and transformative education are enormous, inevitably binding us to an individualistic model of learning—even if we label it "transformative" and add "action" as outcome.

Marx's critical methodology works on three levels. On the first level, *categorical critique*, Marx does not counterpoise his conceptual structure to that of classical political economy. What he does is to show that the concepts of classical political economy are logically inconsistent and self-contradictory. Marx demonstrates that acceptance of the classical definition of exchange value does not allow us to explain the actual increase in the value of capital. Rather, he argues, one must consider not the exchange process alone, but the process of the production of commodities (profits result from the exploitation of worker surplus labour power). This procedure, Benhabib observes, presents an *immanent* critique of political economy's scientific categories. "It is this discrepancy and inconsistency between categories and their objects, or concepts and their actual content, which reveals how these categories turn into their opposite" (1984, 287).

On a second level, Marx uses *normative critique*. Here we are on slightly more familiar ground. Marx will demonstrate that the posited norm of bourgeois society—the right of *all* to freedom, equality and property—is expressed in actual social relations of "exchange between individual property owners, who are equal in their abstract right to voluntarily dispose of what belongs to each" (ibid., 287). Marx argues that "freedom" actually means that the worker is free to sell his or her labour-power in a relationship of unequal exchange. Thus, Marx juxtaposes the "*normative* self-understanding" of society to the "*actual* social relations prevailing in it" (ibid.) To be sure, in *Capital* Marx does not abandon his youthful philosophical critique of alienation; now, he provides a more precise account of the nature of human alienation in terms of how the exploitation process actually works under the conditions of capitalist production.

On the third level, Marx uses the method of *defetishizing critique*. Marx's concern is two-fold: to critique political economy as a specific mode of theoretical and social consciousness and as a specific mode of social production (ibid., 288). Marx wants to reveal the fetishistic character of everyday life (social relations between humans appears as a relation between things). He believes that the categories of political economy conceal the actual "social process of production" (ibid.) which operate behind our backs and mystify our consciousness. Next Marx moves on to historical territory to open out future emancipatory possibilities. He argues, contrary to classical political economy, that the capitalist mode of production is not a natural, eternal system. It has both "*systemic* as well as *social* limits" (ibid.). The systemic limits of capital manifest themselves in economic crises (depressions, unemployment, bankruptcies) and the social limits of capital express themselves in antagonistic struggles of classes and social groups against capitalist hegemony. It is in these "crisis moments" that exploited men and women are particularly open to unlearning their false self-understandings and acquiring an emancipatory consciousness about the system's transitoriness and irrationality. Marx thinks that these crises will catalyze deep insight into the gap between the potential wealth of society (including the possibilities of developing the many-sided individual) and the actual misery of individuals (in all spheres of human interaction).

In sum, Marx's critical method is rather complex. In *Capital* he tries to show that capitalist society "contains within itself an unrealized potential" (ibid., 290). In Benhabib's words:

> Marx's normative vision is that of an active humanity, dynamic, enterprising, transforming nature and unfolding its potentialities in the process. The bourgeoisie, which can be named the first social class in history to derive its legitimation from an ideology of change and growth rather than one of order and stability, is, in Marx's view, not to be rejected but sublated (*aufgehoben*). For in bourgeois society the "true universality of individual needs, capacities and pleasures" is identified with a *limited* form, namely with wealth in the sense of the mere accumulation of material objects. What is required in the society of the future is to make this wealth not an end but rather a precondition for the development of *real human wealth*, i.e. true human universality and individuality (ibid., 291).

Nonetheless, there is an unresolved tension in Marx's critical methodology. Marx thought of class interests as objectively determined and targeted one collective actor, the proletariat, as revolutionary agent. But the determination of class interests requires a normative standpoint and there is always more than one potential collective subject.

As the 19th century played itself out into the terror and barbarism of the 20th, unresolved problems in the Marxian critical project would more fully reveal themselves. The facilitative, dialogic relationship between critical theorist and collective subject, so delicately balanced by the youthful Marx, dissolved as revolutionary theory became increasingly the province of intellectuals. Critical theory, instrumentalized by communist and socialist parties, became, ironically, a standpoint outside the historical process. Moreover, Marx's "latent positivism" (Wellmer 1971, 67-119)—the egregious determinism—was turned into a mechanistic explanatory system by the Marxist theoreticians of the Second International (Kautsky and Bernstein) that spoke of capitalism's inevitable transformation into socialism and the necessity of reformist politics. By the second decade of the 20th century, Marxism was suffering from sclerosis of the will and fossilization of its theoretical categories.

Haunted House: The Frankfurt School of Critical Theory

The "Frankfurt School" of Critical Theory (Horkheimer, Adorno, Marcuse are its main founding figures) emerged in the 1920s to conduct, for its time, a "searching reexamination of the very foundations of Marxist theory with the dual hope of explaining past errors and preparing for future action" (Jay 1972, 226). The searching reexamination occurred in an historical period that had seen the socialist centre of gravity shift eastward and the collapse of the European socialist movement. Although initially enthusiastic for the Russian Revolution, the Frankfurt School theorists were soon disenchanted with the Leninist derailment of socialism. Nor were they particularly enamoured with the remnants of moderate European socialism. Removing themselves from active political praxis, critical theory's "beautiful souls" (Hegel) set out to spotlight the emancipatory potential of a new and darker time. This would turn out to be a formidable task in a "century when every revolution has in some sense been betrayed, when virtually all attempts at cultural subversion have been neutralized, and when the threat of a nuclear *Aufhebung* of the dialectic of enlightenment continues unchecked" (Jay 1984a, 162). Critical theory had moved into a haunted and deeply troubled phase.

The Frankfurt critical theorists were thinking in changed conditions. Capitalism had entered its monopolist phase, the government was increasing its intervention in the economy, science and technology were imbricated in the productive apparatus, and glimmerings of the "culture industry" were appearing. Most important for the inheritors of Marx's ambiguous legacy, no longer were there stirrings of a new "negative" force in society. In the 1840's an optimistic Marx had triumphantly declared that "Philosophy cannot be made a reality without the abolition of the proletariat, the proletariat cannot be abolished without philosophy being made a reality" (MECW 3:187). The resurrection of the proletariat would fling philosophy to its tomb.

Over a hundred years later, a wiser and sadder Adorno opened *Negative Dialectics* (1973, 1) with this riposte:

> Philosophy which once seemed obsolete, lives on because the moment to realize it was missed. The summary judgment that it had merely interpreted the world, that resignation in the face of reality had crippled it in itself, becomes a defeatism of reason after the attempt to change the world miscarries.

None of the Frankfurt theorists doubted that critique should promote the development of the immiserated. But they had lost confidence in the "revolutionary potential of the proletariat", and were "forced into a position of 'transcendence' by the withering away of the revolutionary working class" (Jay 1972, 230). This placed them in an ambivalent position. Critical theory's intended audience was unspecified. In his bleakest moments, Adorno could defend the importance of critical thinking as "bottles thrown into the sea" for future addressees, identity unknown (Jay 1984a, 54). It was almost as if defending reason (preserving negativity and hope) had become a form of revolutionary praxis itself.

Yet it was precisely their "loss of confidence" in the historical mission of the revolutionary subject that forced them to grapple with the reasons why emancipatory learning was blocked and constrained in particular social formations. The Frankfurt theorists reflected on the distorting pressures to which individuals and collectivities succumbed in the process of self-formation and collective identity construction. And they did so driven by a revulsion towards closed philosophical systems. All of their work (until Habermas) had an open-ended and provisional quality—most often expressed through dialogical critique of other thinkers (one thinks of Adorno's studies on Husserl and Kierkegaard, Marcuse on Heidegger, Fromm's engagement with Freud, Horkheimer with Schopenhauer and Habermas's mammoth dialogue with contemporary philosophy and social science). Horkheimer and Adorno were also wary of specifying the "concrete utopia", reflecting, perhaps, their Jewish fear of naming the absolute (Held 1980; Connerton 1980).

Max Horkheimer is widely recognized by historians of Frankfurt Critical Theory to be the dominant figure in the development of the Institute for Social Research. He became the institute's director in 1931 and developed a program of studies to demonstrate critical theory's potential for the reconstruction of philosophy, the social sciences and cultural studies. In his essays written in the 1930s, one can capture the contours of his thought. There are many important themes in this thought (his hostility to metaphysics and identity theory; his attempt to retrieve a liberatory movement from bourgeois individualism; his critique of vulgar materialism; his interest in Freud and recognition that critique has a fundamental practical interest). But the central theme that emerged was the increasing domination of science over men and women's lives—one of the fundamental "distorting pressures" that undermine the achievement of a rational society.

Conducting a "spirited defense" of reason, Horkheimer argued that positivism (or scientism) denied the traditional idea of reason (*vernuft*, the going beyond mere appearances to a deeper truth in contrast to *verstand*, or analytical, formal logic) by reifying the social order. Formal logic was disengaged from any substantive alternative; all "true knowledge" now aspired to the condition of "scientific, mathematical conceptualization" (Jay 1972, 243; cf. Wellmer 1971, 9-65). Reason had been transformed into "instrumental rationality" obscuring the link between theory in the positive sciences and the class dynamics of the social order. Science itself has become ideological, and critical theory had to unmask its absolutist claims in order to reveal how domination was socially organized through the medium of intersubjective, albeit distorted, communication.

By the 1940s, however, critical theory twisted in a very gloomy direction. Thoroughly freaked out by the catastrophes of the 1930s and the 1940s (failure of the working class movement to resist fascism; the unspeakable horrors of concentration camps) Horkheimer and Adorno grappled in the sombre pages of *The Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1972) with the question of why humankind was not becoming emancipated but was lapsing into tyranny and barbarism. Domination was no longer seen as rising from any *specific* social formation but as inherent in the logic of the Enlightenment itself. This vision of technological hopelessness resonated with another theme—that capitalism was evolving into an "administered world" of one-dimensional homogeneity, rather than a true community of fulfilled subjects in a socialist society

(Jay 1984b, 216). Critical theory had skidded off course into the "Grand Hotel Abyss".

Nonetheless, this critique of science and technology—later constructively elaborated in Habermas's theory of "knowledge-constitutive interests" (*Knowledge and Human Interests* [1972])—was an important initiative towards the building of emancipatory learning theory: positivism rules out *a priori* the possibility of critique and rejects the Hegelian-Marxian notion of potentiality. If a critical learning theory is to specify not only the "conditions of possibility" but also the "conditions of necessity" of radical transformation, it must develop a foundational theory of knowledge-constitutive interests to ground its normative claims. Contemporary philosophy of education, it seems, has not taken up this task, and there are only faint beginnings in adult education theorizing.

It was not only science and technology that constrained emancipatory learning forms and processes. In his stiletto-like critique of major Frankfurt figures, Paul Connerton (1980) finds the basis of comparability amongst these diverse thinkers in the "methods by which systems of social constraints became internalized" (134). Their studies of the family revealed how the inability to resist authority became sedimented in the human personality. In their analysis of the "culture industry", political propaganda and marketing psychology, they demonstrated how messages reached down into areas of individual life to exploit personal conflicts or to awaken artificial needs in support of a particular social system. Horkheimer and Adorno tried to link the exploitation of external nature to the repression of man's instinctual nature. Marcuse probed, more than the others, the social constraints operative in affluent capitalism, where man and women were legally free but addicted to the commodity-form. And Habermas would analyze the internalized constraints at work in the form of a new, technocratic ideology which repressed the explicitly moral sphere.

Adorno, Horkheimer, Marcuse—all left a dazzling legacy of writings covering an extremely vast area of human experience. Yet none really attempted a systematic critical theory of society or resolved satisfactorily the relation of critique to history (how can critical theory be a part of a movement of history *and* a means of enlightenment?) or the relationship of theory to practice (they offered a theory of the importance of fundamental social transformation which appeared to have no anchor in social struggle [Held 1980, 398-399]). It was to Jürgen Habermas, born in 1929, that the Frankfurt mantle would pass, and he would have the task of addressing himself not only to the inherited problems of the Marxian legacy but also to the blindspots of the Frankfurt School itself.

Learning as Central Concept: The Critical Project of Jürgen Habermas

Habermas, like his predecessors, was thinking in changed circumstances. His attempts to interpret Marx's theory for a new time were informed by a politically motivated updating of Marxism in the 1950s. The intellectual world was rather pathetic: Soviet Stalinism had hardened into a "dialectical universal science" gutted of ethical heart, and the most creative radical currents had transformed Marxism into a philosophy of alienation without connection to a practically oriented critique of capitalism. Habermas also had to confront the changed reality of West German capitalism (a deeper intrusion of the state "steering apparatus" into the economy and life-world). As his critical project gathered momentum in the 1960s and 1970s, rolling like a juggernaut through the intellectual and political landscape, his work would be profoundly influenced by the political activity of the new social movements and the proliferation of oppositional thinking that erupted inside and outside of formal education complexes. Habermas was unwilling to embrace uncritically any of these movements (New Left communitarianism, feminist, peace, ecology), or to name the new revolutionary subject(s). But his massive theoretical undertaking cannot be understood apart from the presence of oppositional fragment-movements and other critical standpoints in late capitalist society. His project, despite its labyrinthine passage ways, was consciously constructed *with* Marx, in contest with his attempt to construct a "natural history of society", *against* the pessimism of Adorno and Horkheimer and *towards* the development of critical theory with emancipatory practical intent. Not satisfied to throw his theory to audiences unknown, and knowing all too well that one could no longer address the proletariat as singular transformative agent, Habermas addressed a *multiple audience* of potential transformative agents working within the social movements and without in various institutional sectors of society. The crisis tendencies within late capitalism were once again linked, albeit tenuously, to its emancipatory potential.

Habermas places learning processes at the centre of his critical project. This signifies a major shift within western critical theory—shall we call this the "learning turn" and think of this development as a revolution in social theory? Perhaps! But there can be no doubt that critical theory's missing link until Habermas was its inability to link crisis and potential to a theory of how adult learning *releases* this potential in particular times and places, resulting in new institutionalized forms of freedom and enhanced individual and collective competence enabling persons to be self-determining historical actors. His much debated theory of knowledge-constitutive interests, his recasting of historical materialism and his recent work on the theory of communicative action—all interrelate and probe in a rich and deep philosophic manner the *cognitive determinants* of historical evolution and contemporary social organization. It cannot be argued that Habermas's revision of critical theory as a learning theory is in all ways satisfactory; indeed, this is not the case (see Benhabib 1981; Cohen 1987, 203-211). He has, however, placed crucial and complex questions on the agenda for adult educators and theoreticians struggling towards a critical theory of adult learning.

Habermas executes his revision of historical materialism in dialogue with Marx. He organizes his discussion of historical materialism around two basic concepts—"social labour" and the "history of the species", and around two basic assumptions—the "theory of base and superstructure" and the "dialectic of forces and relations of production" (McCarthy 1985, 237). These concepts and assumptions are familiar enough within Marxian scholarship. But, says Habermas,

> (W)hereas Marx localized the learning processes important for evolution in the dimension of the productive forces—there are in the meantime good reasons for assuming that learning processes also take place in the dimension of moral insight, practical knowledge, communicative action, and the consensual regulation of action conflict—learning processes that are deposited in more mature forms of social integration, in new productive relations, and that in turn make possible the introduction of new productive forms (cited, Held 1980, 270).

This citation capsulizes key Habermasian notions. One can still recognize the Marxian concepts of "productive forces" (the sphere of

801

labour power, technical and organizational knowledge oriented to instrumental action on nature) and "relations of production" (institutions and social mechanisms which determine how labour power can be combined with available means of production at a given level of productive forces). But Habermas is clearly emphasizing previously neglected aspects of historical evolution. Behind the objectivity of the productive forces there are certain mechanisms of cognition that reflect the deep structure of the labour process understood as instrumental action. And a "logic of growing insight" operates within social interactions and regulates the development of the relations of production as a special, and crucial, case of the latter.

Human learning, in the deepest sense, proceeds along a double axis—one fundamental knowledge—constitutive interest, is guided by the interest in the instrumental disposition over nature; another by the interest in the preservation and expansion of intersubjective communication and agreement, an interest which became a necessity for the survival of the species with its dependence on language (Honneth and Joas 1988, 154). The third interest, Habermas will argue, is grounded in the human capacity to "reflectively appropriate human life." Historical materialism aims, by means of theoretically guided interpretation of the history of the species, at "collective emancipation from a history of domination that heretofore has come into being and proceeded spontaneously, that is, a history that hitherto resembled a natural process in that it has not been guided by human reflection" (Honneth and Joas 1988, 155).

Habermas believes that the learning process of the human species takes place through the accumulation of both technical and moral-practical knowledge. Both forms obey a "logic of growing insight" whose successive steps consist in rules of possible problem solutions. Habermas insists, however, that the "learning mechanism" within the sphere of work does not explain how these problems can be resolved. New forms of social production require knowledge of a moral-practical kind, not simply technically useful knowledge. And these two fundamental learning processes are both subsumed under a common denominator and combined in a synthetic structure, the "principle of organization" (market, global economy, administration). This principle determines the overall level of learning processes possible in a given social formation. Habermas also insists that this "principle of organization" must guarantee "social integration"—the "legitimating normative structures and principles in terms of which needs are interpreted and motivations generated within the symbolically structured life world" (Cohen 1987, 203). A crisis will exist, then, if a specific steering mechanism of a society threatens social integration, or damages the consensual foundations of normative structures.

Over and over again Habermas will return to this theme: the concern for "technical control" over nature has been transferred to "those areas of society that had become independent in the course of the industrialization of labour..." (1979, 56), viz. the family, the public sphere, community life and cultural expressions. The very foundation of democracy—"institutionally secured forms of general and public communication that deal with the practical question of how men [sic] can and want to live" (ibid., 57)—is eroding under constant battering from technical reason. How, he asks can the "force of technical control" be "made subject to the consensus of acting and transacting citizens?" (ibid., 60). Our hope for the "rationalization of the power structure", Habermas maintains, lies in creating "conditions that favor political power for thought developing through dialogue. The redeeming power of reflection cannot be supplanted by extension of technically exploitable knowledge" (ibid., 61). Habermas believes that the systemic crisis of late capitalist society results from the illegitimate intrusion of state and corporate steering mechanisms into the lifeworld; the social crisis manifests itself in a plethora of new social movement struggles to defend the threatened lifeworld and its ecological substructure.

Any adequate critical social theory of adult learning, Habermas teaches us, must be able to encompass processes of systemic learning (the organization of learning around the reproduction of the social order) and social revolutionary learning (the genesis and collective development of socially-critical, system-bursting orientations of action which are tied to everyday lived pain and crises). The blocked learning capacity of the system, directed by the state and corporate steering mechanisms, precipitates a multiplicity of oppositional forms of learning within civil society. Are the new social struggles (ecology, peace, women, local and personal autonomy movements) particularly privileged sites for the organization of enlightenment and emancipatory praxis? In our time, do they hold the potential for creating a freer and more just social order? Habermas and his associates encourage us to ask these questions. To what extent are the new social movements *defensive* responses to the colonization of the lifeworld, that is, do they "seek to stem or block the formal,

803

organized spheres of action in favour of communicative structures?" (Habermas 1981, 34). To what extent are they *offensive* global projects, impelled by commitment to universalist values towards the radical transformation of economy, state and civil society?

A critical social theory of adult learning would argue that collective protest is best understood as a collective learning process. What are the external and internal conditions that enable critically reflective learning to occur within the movement site? What role does formal adult education play in movement formation and development? This latter question is especially salient: the historical record of the University's role in supporting social movements is not very encouraging (Welton 1991). We conclude with this question: Are we witnessing in our deeply troubled times, not the "workers' movement at the high-point of his historical action," but the emergence of new conflicts, new actors, new stakes, new social struggles—the "spring beneath the cement"? (Touraine 1981, 55).

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LA THÉORIE DE MARCUSE ET L'ÉDUCATION CRITIQUE

Michael I. Chervin
Université de Montréal

Resumé

L'éducation critique au Canada. Quelles sont les contributions de la théorie de Marcuse face à son développement? Quelles sont les limites de son évolution? En commençant par une esquisse de l'éducation critique, cette discussion vise à repondre à ces questions. Celles-ci importent surtout étant donné les difficultés de "ré-inventer" la théorie et les pratiques de Paulo Freire en Amérique du Nord. La perspicacité de Marcuse face à l'idéologie et au domaine psycho-sexuel dans ce contexte pourrait aider à comprendre ces difficultés et à les transcender. Néanmoins, sa théorie crée ses propres limites, notamment celles de son androcentrisme. Au lieu d'abolir l'opression faite aux femmes, un des buts principaux de l'éducation critique, elle risque, en fin de compte, de l'augmenter.

Abstract

How can Marcuse's critical theory contribute to the development of critical education in Canada? In which ways might Marcuse's theory undermine it? Starting from what critical education is, and then what it is not, the discussion attempts to answer these questions. They are especially pressing, given the difficulties found in "re-inventing" the theory and practice of Paulo Freire within North America. Marcuse's approach to ideology and the construction of psycho-sexuality within this context may help to understand and transcend these difficulties. However, his critical theory is itself in need of criticism. Notably, instead of abolishing the oppression of women, one of the main aims of critical education, Marcuse's theory may indeed have the effect of adding to it.

Au Canada et au Québec, le débat qui entoure une théorie critique de l'éducation n'échappe pas au phénomène contemporain que Jacoby

(1975) appelle “l’amnésie sociale”. Même si la renommée de la théorie critique d’Herbert Marcuse (1898-1979) n’a que vingt ans, le discours actuel se montre tantôt silencieux, tantôt perplexe à son endroit. Cette situation n’est peut-être pas le fruit du hasard. D’une part, la théorie de Marcuse est maintenant perçue comme “démodée”, donc dépourvue du prestige de “l’avant-garde”. Elle ne peut être annoncée comme “nouvelle et meilleure”, “plus fraîche et plus vive”. D’autre part, parmi les théories de l’école de Frankfurt, elle loge à une autre enseigne que les tendances majeures observées dans les institutions de recherche et d’éducation.

> Contrairement à Habermas, Marcuse (1964) soutient que le changement radical implique davantage que la création de conditions favorables à la pensée critique et à la compétence communicative. Ce changement sous-entend la transformation du processus de travail lui-même, la fusion de la science et de la technologie guidée par une coopération et une auto-gestion rationelle dans l’intérêt de la démocratie et de la liberté sociale. (Giroux, 1983: 26 et 27)[1]

Malgré ces difficultés, certains théoriciens et théoriciennes, ainsi que certains praticiens et praticiennes de l’éducation critique sont en voie de réhabiliter la théorie de Marcuse. Ils talonnent, voire même dépassent les analystes spécialisés de la nouvelle génération tels que Landes (1979), Held (1980), Geoghegan (1981), Katz (1982), Kellner (1984), Vachet (1986), et Pippen, et al. (1988). Ces analystes tendent à démystifier les idées de Marcuse en les interprétant avec une plus grande conscience du contexte idéologique. Marcuse n’est plus classé comme “un historiciste ou essentialiste, un pessimiste plat ou un naïf utopiste, un individualiste élitiste ou un marxiste dogmatiste, un rationaliste entêté ou un surréaliste agressif.” (Kellner, 1984: 374) Ces analystes surmontent le fétichisme des idées décrites par Max Horkheimer (1982: 287):

> Today ideas are approached with a sullen seriousness; each as soon as it appears is regarded as either a ready-made prescription that will cure society or as a poison that will destroy it. All the ambivalent traits of obedience assert themselves in the attitude toward ideas. People desire to submit to them or to rebel against them, as if they were gods.... This taking of

> ideas only as verdicts, directives, signals, characterizes the enfeebled man of today.

Si on étudie de près la théorie de Marcuse de façon dialectique, à la lumière d'une critique immanente, on y voit toutes sortes de contradictions et d'anomalies, comparables à celles que Gouldner (1980) a relevées dans les oeuvres de Marx. Grâce à cette approche dialectique et dynamique, les théoriciennes et théoriciens de l'éducation critique comme Aronowitz (et Giroux, 1985), Weiler (1988), Shor (1980), Freire et Shor (1987), Livingstone, et al. (1987), et surtout Giroux (1981; 1983; 1988) ont, à divers degrés, exploré les richesses et les imperfections du trésor terni qu'ils voulaient dégager.

Le but de cet article est de présenter deux aspects de la théorie de Marcuse qui importent aux éducateurs et aux éducatrices critiques nord-américans. L'essentiel de la discussion touchera au contexte particulier de l'éducation populaire autonome au Québec, sans prétendre en faire le tour. J'aborderai un aspect de la théorie de Marcuse qui constitue l'une de ses limites: l'androcentrisme qui se faufile dans ses explorations et ses principes théoriques. Je vise aussi à présenter quelques implications de cette théorie pour l'éducation critique et pour l'un des courants qui en découlent.

Je commencerai par une esquisse de l'aventure de Freire que plusieurs éducatrices et éducateurs critiques du Québec, surtout dans le milieu de l'éducation populaire autonome, ont suivi au cours des derniers vingt ans. Une signification de la théorie de Marcuse face à ces démarches freiriennes sera offerte. Puis je proposerai deux aspects de cette théorie qui importent quant au travail d'éducation critique. Ensuite, au lieu de tenter une caractérisation abstraite de l'éducation critique issue de la théorie de Marcuse, j'énoncerai les objectifs de l'éducation critique très développée qui jaillit du mouvement de l'éducation populaire autonome au Québec. Ces objectifs semblent compatibles avec la théorie de Marcuse sans être fortement influencés par elle. J'en tiendrai compte pour en explorer quelques implications. Cette exploration sera soutenue par la théorie de Marcuse en relation avec des réflexions tirées de mes propres expériences en éducation critique dans deux centres communautaires haïtiens à Montréal et dans le cadre des cours de préparation des enseignants et enseignantes du système scolaire au Québec. Enfin, la théorie de Marcuse et ses implications seront discutées en regard d'une remise en question basée sur la pertinence des nouvelles analyses du courant pédagogique critique et de la tradition de la théorie humaniste.

L'éducation critique, Marcuse, et les problèmes vécus face à la théorie et aux pédagogies de Freire

Depuis 1970, les éducatrices et éducateurs critiques nord-américains ont eu plusieurs occasions de s'intéresser à la théorie et à la pratique du Brésilien Paulo Freire. Pour beaucoup d'entre eux, il était urgent d'appliquer sa théorie et ses pratiques dans leur propre travail éducatif.

Au Québec, plusieurs éducatrices et éducateurs critiques travaillant dans les groupes populaires autonomes ont encadré leur pratique avec les principes de Freire et continuent à le faire. On peut citer Louise Leboeuf, Gisèle Ampleman, Yvan Comeau, et Jocelyn Barnabé (voir Ampleman, et al., 1987), le Collectif québecois de conscientisation (C.Q.C., pas de date) et Merardo Arriola-Socol (1989), entre autres.

Néanmoins, plusieurs autres éducatrices et éducateurs travaillant dans le même milieu ont conclu que la théorie et les pédagogies de Freire ne "tiennent" pas ici et ne peuvent servir d'encadrement adéquat. Peut-être qu'au Nicaragua, à Cuba ou au Brésil son approche fonctionnait bien, mais pas au Québec, se disait-on.

Par exemple, les éducatrices et éducateurs critiques en alphabétisation commençaient souvent par sympathiser fortement avec les buts et l'esprit de l'approche de Freire. Mais souvent, malgré leur enthousiasme, leurs propres pratiques et attitudes envers leurs élèves ne changaient pas de façon constante, les bonnes intentions ne menant pas à une action substantielle. D'autre part, les participants voulaient qu'on leur *enseigne* de façon traditionnelle. Louise Miller, du Regroupement des groupes populaires en alphabétisation du Québec, fait le point en décrivant ce résultat pratique. En gros, l'approche conscientisante de Freire

> ...rejoignait davantage les animateurs et animatrices que les participants et participantes. Par exemple, les animateurs, partant du principe qu'en comprenant bien leurs problèmes les participants seraient mieux en mesure de les corriger, de s'impliquer pour transformer leur réalité, développaient leurs moyens pédagogiques

> à travers des thèmes liés au vécu de leurs participants. Ces thèmes, bien qu'étant trés proches du vécu des participants, ne les intéressaient pas toujours, ce qui amenait des commentaires comme: "J'ai bien assez de vivre avec ces problèmes sans une fois de plus tourner le fer dans la plaie". (Miller, 1987:9)

Les participants et les participantes tolèrent, au début, les activités nouvelles, mais finissent souvent par les rejeter, parfois en refusant de participer. Les animateurs et animatrices restent d'abord sur leur positions et ne donnent même pas aux participantes et participants l'occasion de parler de leurs réticences. Si problème il y a, il n'est pas de leur côté.

Malgré tout, on parvient petit à petit à entendre les personnes impliquées. En conséquence, les animatrices et animateurs se retrouvent devant une contradiction grave. Selon l'approche de Freire, ils devraient écouter les participantes et participants et répondre à leurs besoins. Que faire alors quand ces derniers rejettent la pédagogie freirienne qu'ils proposaient avec enthousiasme? Si la tension monte au point de rendre la situation inconfortable, le retour aux anciennes habitudes permet à tous de respirer plus facilement. On finit par délaisser la théorie et les pédagogies de Freire qui ont perdu leur brillant et ne suscitent plus que méfiance et ennui.

Même si ce retour au schème traditionnel reste temporaire chez la plupart des éducatrices et éducateurs critiques voués au développement de l'approche québécoise de "l'alphabétisation populaire" (Miller, 1987: 10), leur réflexe initial mérite un questionnement. Il nous donne un point de référence pratique quant à la relation de quelques éducateurs et éducatrices, l'auteur de cet article inclus, au domaine théorique.

Pour aller jusqu'au bout de cette relation, on peut se demander ce qu'on a abandonné, ce qui a été perdu dans ce retour aux vieilles habitudes pédagogiques. A première vue, ce sont les différentes activités et méthodes. Aux dires des animateurs et animatrices, c'est le temps consacré à leur tentative d'intégrer la pratique de Freire. Mais si on les écoute de façon plus solidaire, on perçoit peut-être aussi leur sentiment d'être jugés, d'être dévalorisés à partir d'une théorie "correcte" et attrayante, mais qui les dépassait, même s'ils estiment qu'elle ne correspond pas aux besoins rencontrés. Ils se sentent d'une part inférieurs et coupables de ne pas avoir répondu aux critères de la théorie et d'autre part trahis par la qualité vedette qui l'auréolait. Cette perte sacrifie la prise de conscience sur l'autel de la théorie.

Ces données sont importantes. Elles nous révèlent peut-être autant la conscience des animatrices et animateurs envers la théorie et l'éducation que le contexte idéologique nord-américain dans lequel leurs propres besoins, leurs attitudes et leurs approches envers la théorie et la pratique son créés. En essayant de comprendre les vécus perçus par les participants et de changer leur compréhension et leurs attitudes face à leur situation, les animatrices et les animateurs oublient souvent qu'ils sont aussi soumis aux contraintes idéologiques, au train-train quotidien et au contexte historique. A quel point, par exemple, les propos des éducateurs et éducatrices critiques sont-ils influencés par les critères et le discours des gouvernements provincial et fédéral via leurs programmes de financement des projets éducatifs?

La théorie critique de Marcuse n'est pas une autre théorie à revêtir telle une deuxième peau, comme on a "essayé" initialemment celle de Freire, car justement la théorie de Marcuse remet en question cette attitude instrumentaliste et non-historique. Elle y ajoute du recul, pour poser le problème de l'historicité du discours social qui construit et guide les pratiques quotidiennes et vice-versa. La théorie critique de marcuse vise à révéler les intentions inconscientes de la logique quotidienne, c'est-à-dire non seulement les grilles politiques ou philosophiques, mais aussi le vaste discours qui nourrit nos actions de façon discrète mais constante. D'une manière dialectique et matérialiste, Marcuse essaie de démontrer comment ce discours est façonné par les relations sociales de domination et de subordination, le lien historique entre le corps et ces relations, et les pratiques et décisions habituelles de la vie quotidienne formées parmi ces relations.

Deux aspects de la théorie de Marcuse, son approche de l'idéologie et du discours social et son approche de domaine de l'inconscient et de la structuration des besoins, doivent maintenant être présentés. Cet article ne peut qu'effleurer ces aspects, leurs interrelations et leur pertinence quant à l'éducation critique.

L'idéologie dynamique nord-americaine selon Marcuse

Avant même que Freire ait proposé sa théorie de la relation entre l'oppresseur et l'opprimé, Marcuse en avait déjà exploré le contexte et

812

le développement historique nord-américain. Cette exploration rendait la théorie de Freire équivoque face à la spécificité de ce contexte. Par exemple, dans le contexte surtout rural de l'Amérique du Sud, Freire (1970: 32 et 33) a compris le dilemme de l'opprimé qui doit choisir entre intérioriser l'oppresseur ou le rejeter, qui doit choisir entre la solidarité humaine ou l'aliénation. Marcuse affirme que cette relation psychologique et sociale a existé en Amérique du Nord, mais que dès 1964, son existence était fort problématique. Il écrit que

> le terme "introjection" ne décrit peut-être plus la manière dont l'individu renouvelle et perpétue les contrôles extérieurs que la société exerce sur lui. L'introjection évoque les démarches plus ou moins spontanées par lesquelles l'Ego fait passer "l'extérieur" dans "l'intérieur". Ainsi l'introjection implique l'existence d'une dimension interne antagonique qu'on peut dissocier des impératifs extérieurs—une conscience, un inconscient individuel distinct des opinions et des comportements publics. Dans ce dernier cas l'idée d'une "liberté extérieure" aurait sa réalité: elle désignerait l'espace privé dans lequel l'homme (sic) peut devenir et rester "lui-même".
>
> Aujourd'hui la réalité technologique a envahi cet espace privé et l'a restreint.... Les divers processus d'introjection se sont cristallisés dans des réactions mécaniques. Par conséquent il n'y a pas une adaptation mais une mimésis, une identification immédiate de l'individu avec sa société, et, à travers elle, avec la société en tant qu'ensemble. (Marcuse, 1968: 35, guillemets et soulignés tels quels.)

Si dans les années '70, Freire "semble avoir mal interpété la nature de l'idéologie prépondérante en Amérique du Nord et l'avoir sous-évaluée" (Giroux, 1981: 136), il s'est efforcé pendant les années '80 de mieux comprendre les particularités du contexte nord-américain. Plus impliqué dans ce contexte, il affirme qu'il était relativement beaucoup plus simple de convaincre un paysan ou une paysane d'Amérique du Sud que son oppression n'est pas causée par Dieu que d'amener un Torontois ou un New-Yorkais à saisir l'idéologie dominante qui influence sa compréhension des pratiques sociales et de l'oppression qu'il subit.[2] En tenant compte du contexte nord-américain lors de discussions au Massachusetts en 1985, il a vivement encouragé des animateurs et des animatrices communautaires à étudier collectivement le phénomène de l'idéologie de leur contexte.[3] Une telle étude importe lorsque, comme le dit Giroux (1983: 79), "le maintien du système de production et des arrangements du pouvoir dépend à la fois de la force et de l'idéologie."

Les dialectiques de la culture et l'idéologie

L'approche dialectique de la culture et de l'idéologie de Marcuse fait partie d'une tradition critique qui contribue à une importante étude de l'idéologie par des éducateurs et des éducatrices critiques. Pour Marcuse (1969b: 64), la culture

> signifies the totality of social life in a given situation, in so far as both the areas of ideational reproduction (culture in the narrower sense, the 'spiritual work') and of material reproduction ('civilisation') form a historically distinguishable and comprehensible unity.

Cette unité est loin d'être un reflet mécanique des relations économiques qui donnent suite à un contenu idéologique identique. Elle diffère aussi d'un tout où la logique entre l'aspect fonctionnel du monde des idées et celui des relations matérielles n'existe pas. Ces deux approches éliminent une notion d'idéologie qui pourrait mener à la dialectique critique et à l'action politique. La première approche empêche la possibilité de la pensée et de l'action contestaires. Kellner (1984: 213 et 214) l'explique:

> On the Orthodox Marxist analysis of the relations between the economic base and ideological superstructure, all ideology is an 'illusion' (Schein): mere ideas which reflect one set of class interests that exclude all conflicting or dissenting ideas. As a 'reflection' of the base, ideology represents reality but in a false form—false because they are one-sided—the ideas of the ruling class which claim universal validity.

La deuxième approche vise à dépolitiser la culture et l'idéologie. Elle tend à une unité harmonieuse et éclipse la volonté critique d'observer la relation entre la théorie et la pratique. Comme Giroux (1981: 148) le note, "De ce point de vue, la culture se définit comme étant simplement le mode de vie global, la totalité des biens, services et travaux produits par les êtres humains."

Contrairement aux tenants de ces deux approches, Marcuse comprend la culture d'une façon simultanément matérialiste et dialectique; la culture n'est jamais une seule culture, mais plusieurs cultures créées historiquement par la multiplicité des relations entre la domination et la subordination. La culture d'un moment historique précis a toujours au moins deux pôles: le maintien d'une domination et les efforts efficaces ou non, conscients ou non, qui lui résistent.

L'idéologie se situe dans une notion dialectique et politiquement vivante de la culture. Elle profite des mêmes dynamiques, contradictions et possibilités. Elle n'est pas seulement une "illusion" et une barrière à la libération, mais, comme Marcuse le dit (1958: 110)

> ...the function of ideology goes far beyond such service. Into ideology has entered material which—transmitted from generation to generation—contains the perpetual hopes, aspirations and sufferings of man (sic), his suppressed potentialities, the images of integral justice, happiness and freedom. They find their ideological expressions chiefly in religion, philosophy and art, but also in the juristic and political concepts of liberty, equality and security.

La rationalité technocratique et l'industrie de la culture

Marcuse croit qu'au début, les relations spécifiques de production du capitalisme n'ont pas tardé à appuyer une rationalité individualiste, qui y était pourtant opposée et relativement critique. Bien que Marcuse soit anti-capitaliste, il note que le sujet économique "trouvait une liberté d'agir dans une liberté de pensée et de conscience sans contraintes et mesurait tous les critères sociaux en fonction des intérêts rationnels de l'individu." (Marcuse cité par Geoghegan, 1981: 64). Avec la transformation du capitalisme naissant en capitalisme monopoliste, Marcuse soutient que la base économique d'une rationalité individualiste s'est progressivement érodée. Avec "l'escalade de la production des biens de consommation et l'exploitation productive" (Marcuse, 1969a: 7), l'hégémonie idéologique s'est transformée. Cette transformation économique et politique se caractérise par la "transition de la libre-concurrence, la concentration du pouvoir aux mains d'une omniprésente administration des techniques, de la culture et de la politique." (Marcuse, 1970: 46).

Ainsi, la définition des paramètres de la pensée a pu être manipulée en fonction des besoins des groupes sociaux dominants comme jamais auparavant. Sous une façade démocratique, la définition des problèmes, les types de questions le plus souvent posées, les critères de ceux et celles qui définissent la raison, la logique de la pensée au jour le jour ont tous subi une rationalisation. Ce qui les unifie est non seulement leur tendance à pétrifier la réalité, à la rendre immuable en mystifiant son aspect historique, mais c'est aussi leur effort pour définir une problématique qui échappe aux paramètres du discours et de la pensée dits rationnels. Les "promesses", les images subversives et les désirs qui sont des moments libérateurs de l'idéologie causent moins de problèmes dans le cadre d'un statu quo, et ce, même si ce dernier devient plus répressif. Le discours et le langage nécessaires pour comprendre ces aspects de la négation potentielle en relation avec la vie quotidienne mènent à une insatisfaction définie par des critères déjà établis: le besoin de consommer plus, de posséder plus, d'avoir plus de temps pour participer, d'une manière passive, à l'industrie de la culture. La culture dominante contribue à cette uniformité du discours social.

Dans ce contexte, la culture (matérielle et intellectuelle) est imprégnée d'irrationnalité, des intértêts et des besoins du monopole capitaliste, et de consommation. On maintient ansi la répression du statu quo requis et produit par ces relations. L'expansion de l'industrie capitaliste jusqu'au domaine de la culture a engendré, tel que prévu, l'industrialisation de la culture. La production et la dissémination prédominante de la culture ont envahi peu à peu le modèle industriel, e.g. l'industrialisation du film. Aronowitz et Giroux (1985: 51) soulignent l'importance de ce phénomène:

> ...in the last half of the twentieth century, the degree to which mass audience culture has colonized the social space available to the ordinary person for reading, discussion, and critical thought must be counted as the major event of social history.

Ce phénomène a produit une culture de plus en plus synonyme d'aliénation et de dégradation du travail dans un monopole capitaliste. Plutôt que d'être une force contre le processus répressif du travail, la

816

culture a progressivement pris les caractéristiques de ce processus même, et l'allure, sinon le contenu, du travail industriel. La répétition, le déjà-vu, le manque de contrôle de ceux ou celles qui la produisent et y participent caractérisent l'industrie de la culture. Le manque d'imagination, de conscience et d'effort de pensée convergent vers le processus de travail dominant. La culture dominante, comme "la pause qui rafraîchit", n'a pour fonction que d'apaiser et de contenir la frustration entretenue dans le cadre d'un processus de travail aliénant et instable. Le plaisir et les loisirs, au lieu de constituer un répit par rapport à un travail aliénant, deviennent une variation sur le thème du travail. L'organisation même du plaisir et des loisirs, étant une réplique de celle du travail aliénant, réduit l'aspect critique de la culture.

La culture, qui n'était auparavant qu'effleurée par l'idéologie dominante, est devenue par la suite un véritable moyen de répression et de contrôle. Comme le remarque Aronowitz (1981: 239)

> At certain historical periods, particularly in the era of late capitalism, ideas, mores, and mass culture, become material forces because they have gripped masses of people and serve, on the whole, to maintain social cohesion of the existing order...

Malgré ce contrôle, Marcuse ne tombe pas dans le désespoir. Même dans son livre célèbre L'homme unidimensionnel (Marcuse, 1964: xv; traduction française en 1968), il soutient qu'il existe "des forces et tendances (...) qui peuvent déchirer ce contrôle et faire exploser la société". Comme théoricien critique, il situe son espoir dans les réalités matérielles. Il souligne des contradictions dans cette tendance de la domination sociale qui tient au développement technologique. Ce dernier crée paradoxalement des conditions sociales qui effacent le type de travail productif basé sur l'aliénation des humains (Habermas, dans Pippen et al., 1988: 9). Ces contradictions, pour Marcuse, permettent un certain optimisme dans la réalisation de projets politiques et pédagogiques critiques. Néanmoins, Marcuse se pose le problème de la subjectivité sous un autre angle: même si une contradiction matérielle, dite "objective", existe dans la société nord-américaine, est-ce que les individus, dans le contexte d'une domination plus vaste, échapperont à la rationalité technocratique pour développer des visions alternatives? Pour répondre à cette question, Marcuse s'adonne à l'exploration d'un autre domain matériel, le corps,

817

et par la suite, à l'étude de la relation entre le conscient et l'inconscient.

D'une part, l'idéologie et la culture dominantes sont devenues des forces réelles parce qu'elles sont plus efficaces à réprimer la pensée critique, la création d'alternatives dans la vie quotidienne et l'action sociale. D'autre part, l'idéologie et la culture dominantes sont entrées dans des domaines matériels à un niveau jamais vu auparavant: le corps et la structure des instincts, la sexualité et l'inconscient. Le corps est devenu plus "idéologisé", l'idéologie, plus "corporelisée".

L'inconscient et le domain psycho-sexuel

Pour Marcuse, la gestion des besoins et l'idéologie dominante se sont infiltrées dans des domaines restés jusqu'à maintenant relativement indépendants. La culture, autrefois moins liée aux intérêts des groupes sociaux dominants, donne l'exemple d'un domain qui a subi cette invasion. Le corps et la structure de la relation entre le conscient et l'inconscient sont aussi transformés. Avec la transformation de l'histoire, on a assisté à la transformation de la condition humaine. Par exemple, Marcuse (1969a: 11) indique que:

> The so-called consumer economy and the politics of corporate capitalism have created a second nature of man (sic) which ties him libidinally and agressively to the commodity form. The need for possessing, consuming, handling, and constantly renewing the gadgets, devices, instruments, engines, offered to and imposed upon the people, for using these wares even at the danger of one's own destruction, has become a "biological" need... The second nature of man thus militates against any change that would disrupt and perhaps even abolish this dependency of man on a market ever more densely filled with merchandise —abolish his existence as a consumer consuming himself in buying and selling. The needs generated by this system are thus eminently stabilizing, conservative needs: the counterrevolution anchored in the instinctual structure.

Pour Marcuse, la structure des instincts du corps représente un champ matériel trop souvent ignoré par les marxistes traditionnels. Compte tenu des conditions de changements historiques on ne devrait surtout pas négliger ces données.

Dans ses recherches, Marcuse se sert de la theorie de la psychanalyse post-1920 de Freud pour appuyer ses propres analyses.[4] En l'abordant comme une théorie matérialiste et dialectique, Marcuse a essayé d'en identifier et d'en analyser les aspects radicaux. Adorno a indiqué dans son oeuvre "Sociology and Psychology" le potentiel de la thérie de Freud:

> Rigourous psychoanalytic theory, alive to the clash of psychic forces, can better drive home the objective character, especially of economic laws as against subjective impulses, than theories which, in order at all costs to establish a continuum between society and psyche, deny the fundamental axiom of analytical theory, the conflict between id and ego. (Adorno cité par Friedman, 1981: 87)

Mais, comme Wilhelm Reich le note, cette théorie doit être placée dans un contexte historique et politique:

> Our psychological criticism of Freud (began) with the clinical finding that the unconscious inferno is not anything absolute, eternal, or unalterable, that a certain social situation and development has created the character structure of today and is thus perpetuated. (Reich cité par Brown, 1973: 48)

Marcuse s'intéresse au développement psycho-sexuel avec l'intention de comprendre pourquoi les individus maintiennent souvent une négation d'eux-mêmes face à l'oppression et à la domination sociale. Il suffit ici de souligner que ses conclusions constituent l'héritage des propriétés dialectiques de sa propre théorie.[5] Bien que Marcuse ait trouvé que cette structure des instincts (la relation entre Eros et Thanatos) s'adaptait à l'oppression, plutôt que d'y offrir une résistance, il conclut que cette adaptation historique créait ses propres problèmes et ses propres contradictions. Malgré l'atténuation actuelle d'Eros par la "désublimation répressive"[6], la force du désir ancrée dans les mémoires demeure la base biologique, en relation à la situation historique, d'un espoir politique de libération sociale. Alors, tout en développant une analyse qui vise à mieux comprendre les dynamiques de la profondeur de l'oppression contemporaine dans la psychée et le corps, Marcuse indique les possibilités de transcender une telle impasse. Il démontre en même temps, que les intérêts de la liberté personnelle sont reliés à la diminution de la souffrance et à la nécessité d'un changement radical de la société.

Certaines limites et lacunes de la théorie de Marcuse

"On ne démontre pas la vérité des idées en s'y accrochant mais plutôt en les poussant plus à fond." (Horkheimer, 1982: 287) La théorie critique de Marcuse n'a de sens que si elle est "poussée à fond", que si elle est critiquée et reliée aux conditions historiques changeantes. Le fait de considérer cette théorie en rapport avec la pratique de l'éducation critique permet une recherche critique.

Parmi certaines limites et lacunes de sa théorie, notons, entre autres, la limite imposée par son androcentrisme et le peu d'attention qu'il accorde aux phénomènes de l'oppression et de la libération des femmes. Ajoutons à cela:

a. un manque de rigueur face à l'économie politique de l'Amérique du Nord, ansi que face à la relation de l'état vis-à-vis la domination et la libération. Par exemple, à cause de son androcentrisme, les catégories de base de sa conception de l'économie politique sont déformées. Ses propos sur l'état importent surtout au Québec, où la conjoncture est marquée par le désengagement de l'état dans le domaine social. Ce désengagement de l'état-providence structure de façon importante la situation des mouvements populaires et l'éducation populaire autonome (voir, par exemple: Favreau, 1989; Dumouchel, 1987);

b. l'absence d'une analyse précise de la praxis des mouvements sociaux dans l'engagement envers la libération sociale en Amérique du Nord. Cette absence est remarquable, surtout parce qu'un des objectifs de l'éducation populaire autonome au Québec est "d'être partie intégrante d'une démarche collective d'amélioration et de transformation du milieu" (Pelchat, 1988: 4);

c un manque de cohérence dans l'analyse du leadership des petits groupes et des mouvements sociaux. En fait, tout en

82

étant anti-autoritaire en général, il se montre peut-être innovateur en ce qui concerne le leadership. Il risque d'ignorer les leaders qui n'appartiennent pas au monde intellectuel bourgeois ou d'être condescendant envers eux (voir Chervie, 1988: 170-173). Cette ambiguïté menace l'éducation critique, surtout l'éducation populaire autonome au Québec, où on insiste sur le développement du leadership chez les participantes et participants, souvent de cultures différentes;

d. le peu de considération et de rigueur dans l'analyse de la domination sociale basée sur le racisme en Amérique du Nord, de la résistance de ceux qui subissent cette domination, et le peu de liens établis entre les relations de domination raciste et d'autres relations de domination. Il est primordial pour une approche adéquate de l'éducation critique de déceler toute relation raciste. Au Québec, comme au Canada, le racisme des institutions et de plusieurs Blancs contres les populations noires, amérindiennes et asiatiques, entre autres, de même que l'anti-sémitisme, fait partie du quotidien.

e. l'absence d'examen des relations historiques de domination et de subordination qui existent entre les pays d'Amérique du Nord et les pays du Sud et d'ailleurs exploités par ceux-ci.

Chacune des limites et lacunes de la théorie critique de Marcuse importent dans l'étude de sa contribution à l'éducation critique en Amérique du Nord. Néanmoins, elles ne peuvent pas toutes être examinées ici. Par contre, je tiens à explorer plus profondément la dimension androcentrique et le manque de considération adéquate de la spécificité des relations sociales qui oppriment particulièrement les femmes.

L'androcentrisme dans la théorie de Marcuse

La théorie de Marcuse, toute pertinente qu'elle soit vis-à-vis de l'éducation critique, reste androcentrique et donc problématique pour ce projet éducatif et politique. Sa théorie doit être compensée par une analyse qui vise consciemment à contrer l'oppression des femmes sous toutes ses formes. L'interprétation de Marcuse de l'approche et du mouvement féministes est abstraite et romantique. Malgré la solidarité et l'appui qu'il manifeste, en particulier à l'égard du mouvement socialiste féministe des années '70, son interprétation contribue à perpétuer l'oppression faite aux femmes en Amérique du Nord. Pour Marcuse, l'importance du féminisme réside dans des valeurs utopiques ou dans une "sensibilité" des femmes historiquement attribuée à elles seules: une réceptivité créatrice. Il utilise cette dernière comme symbole de la négation du "principe de performance" dominant, qu'il perçoit comme étant masculin. De son côté, Nancy Vedder-Shults (1978: 6), d'un point de vue féministe socialiste explique,

> ...we saw his conception of women idealized: separated from actual women in their struggle for liberation, such 'feminine characteristics' can only function as a model for a potential utopia, not mediated by the process to attain such a future. There is no connection between today's evaluation of 'femininity' as weak and inferior and the future society Marcuse posits where these characteristics will be viewed positively. In fact, in some undefined fashion, Marcuse expects the women's movement to bring about the future socialist utopia, using feminism in a way which several West German and American women's groups vehemently opposed.

L'analyse philosophique que fait Marcuse de la société nord-américaine ne semble pas explorer les causes primordiales de ce qui est spécifique à l'oppression faite aux femmes et ne permet donc pas de lutter efficacement contre ces causes. Kellner (1984: 192) reconnaît que Marcuse ne rend pas cette exploration nécessaire, et il identifie clairement son androcentrisme:

> Marcuse fails to make gender distinctions in Eros and Civilization and does not analyse the specificity of women's oppression. He does not address the problem of domestic labour, or the overcoming of oppressive sex roles and divisions of labour in the new society he envisages. For instance, although automation may liberate human beings from some types of economic bondage, this does not necessarily entail the liberation of women from domestic labour, unless the specificities of labour in the home are dealt with. Although labour time could be significantly reduced by automation and free time could be increased, under the system of

> patriarchy that co-exists with capitalism, male free time might very well be increased at the expense of women.

Vedder-Shults explique que la manque d'attention adéquate de Marcuse à l'oppression des femmes est non pas une mégarde superficielle mais plutôt une déformation de ses catégories théoriques de production et d'économie politique. Sa conception du rapport entre le travail traditionnel de la femme et les relations capitalistes et patriarcales est erronnée parce que "Marcuse se réfère toujours à un modèle androcentrique: les être humains mâles et leur travail constituant la catégorie centrale" (Vedder-Shults, 1978: 12). En tenant compte d'oeuvres plus récentes, comme "Marxisme et féminisme" (dans Marcuse, 1976), Vedder-Shults continue:

> According to Marcuse, the social and material base for male dominance has been eroded in the twentieth century through women's increasing participation in the work force. Since he defines production narrowly, including only work which creates profit, Marcuse views housework as a form of "surplus exploitation", above and beyond women's "productive labour". Women's oppression is thus a type of "surplus repression", a repressive moment which, since it is not based in economic conditions as defined by Marcuse, can only help to maintain certain forms of domination in capitalism. Consequently, feminism is a political force which can merely aggravate already existing contradictions in commodity production. (Vedder-Shults, 1978: 12)

Marcuse examine les relations de domination et de subordination liées au corps. Mais, dans une analyse où il évalue et redéfinit la théorie de Freud, il ignore la spécificité des femmes. En effet, il traite du corps et du développement psycho-sexuel en termes généraux face à la politique. Ce faisant, il étend l'expérience des gars et des hommes aux filles et aux femmes non seulement de façon simpliste et donc non-scientifique, mais aussi en camouflant l'oppression faite aux femmes. Par exemple, en se référant à la psychologie de Freud, il tire des conclusions qui sont suspectes pour la libération des femmes. Joan B. Landes (1979: 162) élabore:

> While Marcuse, like other members of the Frankfurt School, has criticized the fundamental connection between reason and aggressive masculinity, he remains committed to a theory of individuality deriving from Freud in which ego development requires the internalization of paternal authority. This tension in Marcuse's work means that the promise of an alternative form of ego identity and individuality rooted in communal forms of mutuality and solidarity—an individuality for which women appear to have a potential—remains theoretically ungrounded.

Même si Marcuse et Freire se sentent solidaires du socialisme féministe, il sont loin d'avoir une vue profonde de la lutte des féministes contre l'oppression des femmes. Ces critiques de Vedder-Shults face à l'universalité enchâssée dans les notions ontologiques et épistémologiques de Marcuse sont nécessaires à la démarche de l'éducation critique, comme celles qui émanent d'autres courants tels le féminisme post-moderne. Sinon, l'éducation critique ne ferait que dissimuler l'oppression faite aux femmes et, part conséquent, servirait à l'augmenter.

Les femmes du mouvement féministe et les membres d'autres groupes sociaux opprimés ont révélé que les relations sociales de domination/ subordination et leurs causes sont multiples et se chevauchent. La théorie critique de marcuse contribue à une telle analyse mais comporte des limites certaines, illustrées ici par les critiques de certaines théoriciennes socialistes féministes. Le travail éducatif et son analyse par des éducatrices et éducateurs critiques et féministes québécois et canadiens et des groupes populaires de diverses communautés culturelles sont indispensables à une telle analyse.

Quelques implications de la théorie de Marcuse pour des pédagogies critiques

Des objectifs de l'éducation critique

La réflexion des éducatrices et éducateurs sur leurs propres pratiques est nécessaire pour définir les buts et les priorités de leur travail. Alors, au lieu de présenter les objectifs de l'éducation critique qui pourraient découler de la théorie de Marcuse, je proposerai ceux que développent quelques éducatrices et éducateurs critiques du mouvement de l'éducation populaire autonome au Québec. Ces objectifs correspondent à la réalité québécoise et sont compatibles avec les points forts de la théorie de marcuse.

Marie Pelchat (1988: 3 et 4) du Mouvement d'éducation populaire et d'action communautaire du Québec (MEPACQ) caractérise les objectifs de l'éducation populaire autonome comme tels:

- développer toutes les possibilités d'apprentissage des adultes en dehors des réseaux institutionnels, dans une perspective d'éducation permanente;

- développer une approche éducative favorisant l'autonomie des individus et l'autodétermination collective;

- favoriser une prise de conscience et une connaissance critique des réalités sociales;

- développer des capacités d'analyse critique, de choix d'action et d'évaluation;

- encourager, chez les participants et les participantes une prise en charge collective de leurs milieux;

- être partie intégrante d'une démarche collective d'amélioration et de transformation du milieu;

- favoriser la participation active à la vie démocratique;

- rejoindre principalement les personnes et les milieux qui sont généralement privés des moyens de contrôle de leurs conditions de vie et de travail.

En accord avec ces objectifs, Louise Miller (1986: 11), du Regroupement des Groupes Populaires en Alphabétisation du Québec, caractérise "l'alphabétisation populaire" comme une

> ...approche polyvalente en "éducation populaire" qui ne se limite pas aux apprentissages de la lecture et de l'écriture. L'alphabétisation populaire vise aussi le développement des connaissances générales. Elle favorise chez les participants et animateurs le

> développement d'une conscience sociale et politique en développant des capacités d'analyse critique de son milieu et suscite une prise en charge collective du milieu afin d'améliorer les conditions de vie des personnes analphabètes.
>
> Elle se caractérise aussi par la place qu'occupent les participants à l'intérieur des groupes. Les participants sont impliqués dans la démarche de formation, ils ont leur mot à dire, ils définissent leurs attentes et leurs besoins. Leur participation ne se limite pas, non plus, qu'à leur formation. Ils ont leur mot à dire aussi sur la gestion de leur groupe, sur l'organisation des activités, sur l'embauche des animateurs.

Miller (1987: 10), comme ceux et celles du MEPACQ, souligne une des dimensions politiques importantes du Regroupement:

> Nous visons principalement à rejoindre les personnes ou les milieux qui ne contrôlent pas les outils essentiels pour améliorer leurs conditions de travail et de vie.

Les objectifs mis de l'avant par Pelchat et Miller montrent l'importance du développement du leadership dans les milieux populaires d'une façon plus nette que ne le fait la théorie de Marcuse. Elles chevauchent la théorie de Marcuse en prônant des priorités politiques qui favorisent l'autonomie des individus et l'autodétermination collective ainsi qu'une prise de conscience et une connaissance critique des réalités sociales. Voici quelques implications de la théorie de Marcuse pour la réalisation de ces objectifs.

L'éducation critique et les dialectiques de l'idéologie

Face aux pratiques pédagogiques, Miller insiste qu'il

> ...n'y a pas qu'UNE approche pédagogique en alphabétisation populaire. Chaque groupe et souvent même chaque atelier, développe son approache en fonction des besoins exprimés par les participants... (Miller, 1987: 10)

826

Cette donnée importe au développement de l'éducation critique; elle implique la recherche d'une multiplicité d'approches pédagogiques, au lieu d'une "pédagogie maîtresse" universelle. L'élaboration suivante de quelques aspects d'une approche de l'éducation critique en est donc une parmi tant d'autres. Ces aspects sont fondés non seulement sur la théorie critique de Marcuse, mais aussi sur ma propre expérience dans deux centres communautaires haïtiens à Montréal et à partir des cours de préparation des enseignants et enseignantes en milieu scolaire. Elle n'est destinée ni à tous les contextes ni à toutes les époques, et ne prétend pas répondre à tous les besoins. Elle propose plutôt d'élargir le domaine des choix offerts aux éducateurs et éducatrices critiques et aux participants et participantes. Cette contribution s'effectuera non pas par l'ajout d'une autre approche pédagogique, mais par l'examen de quelques implications non-universelles de la théorie critique de Marcuse pour l'éducation critique. Une de ces implications, soulevée dans l'introduction, est que sa théorie puisse favorablement contribuer à explorer le discours social qui soutient souvent les pratiques et les choix quotidiens des éducateurs et éducatrices critiques. Voici d'autres implications reliées à cette dernière.

Pour Marcuse, la critique de l'idéologie ne consiste pas à identifier l'idéologie, à la dénoncer et à l'éviter. Si l'idéologie nord-américaine est dialectique, et donc pleine de contradictions, une éducation critique ne peut consister à enseigner simplement aux gens à quel point, ils sont dupés par l'idéologie dominante. L'accent se place plutôt sur l'identification collective des contradictions d'une idéologie à un moment particulier de l'histoire. Il s'agit de nommer ses aspects libérateurs (possibilités critiques) et de les problématiser en fonction des pratiques et relations quotidiennes, ainsi qu'en fonction des sentiments perçus dans ces relations.

D'un point de vue pédagogique, c'est par la relation entre la théorie et la pratique qu'on pourrait mieux déterminer les aspects de l'idéologie qui visent à maintenir la domination et ceux qui peuvent contribuer à une vie plus autonome pour les participantes et participants. Par cette démarche, une distance théorique et critique est paradoxalement créée entre la théorie et la pratique. Cette démarche pousse ceux et celles qui collaborent à un tel processus non pas à éliminer l'idéologie de façon mécanique, mais plutôt à réaliser les moments libérateurs qui en font partie. Ainsi, l'aspect de l'idéologie qui mythifie le quotidien,

827

normalement "invisible" pour les personnes dans leur discours quotidien sur le quotidien, peut être perçu par elles plus facilement.

Mais, comme le note Judith Williamson (1981/82: 85) en réfléchissant sur son expérience de l'éducation critique,

> ...students learn best to 'see' the 'invisible', ideology, when it becomes in their own interest to—when they are actually caught in a contradiction, believing things which are directly hindering their own well-being or wishes, or which conflict with a change of experience.

Ces désirs et ce "bien-être" des personnes font non seulement partie de la réalité matérielle, par exemple le corps, mais de là sont aussi exprimés dans l'idéologie. Ils constituent des éléments profondément radicaux, mais pourtant problématiques. Notons, par exemple, la désublimation répressive que Marcuse propose—en bref, la façon dont les désirs et les besoins profonds et radicaux des personnes sont manipulés par le discours social dominant pour récupérer leur potientiel libérateur. En plus, les désirs et les perceptions de "bien-être" sont définis parmi la multiplicité des situations de privilèges sociaux qui perpétuent le racisme des Blancs, le sexisme des hommes, etc., ce que Marcuse n'explore pas assez. Il suggère que les besoins et les perceptions de "bien-être" n'échappent pas à l'historicité des intérêts des groupes sociaux, mais il reste plus préoccupé par certaines tendances universelles nord-américaines qui anesthésient une rationalité critique, tendances servant les intérêts du capital monopoliste et de ceux qui en profitent.

Selon Marcuse, les aspects radicaux des désirs profonds et le bien-être des personnes se présentent souvent comme le côté dit 'négatif' de la médaille idéologique, le côté qui n'est pas (encore) satisfait des conditions actuelles, et qui existe en contradiction avec elles. L'autre côté, le "positif", tend à nous convaincre que les conditions actuelles nous gratifient tous et toutes, ou à nous faire croire que des conditions non-gratifiantes sont nécessaires. Il en vient à effacer la conscience des tensions ou des contradictions senties, souvent en les pétrifiant, comme si elles étaient naturelles et donc éternelles. Ce côté positif tend alors à déclarer qu'il constitue l'unique face de la médaille; sous la surface et de l'autre côté, il n'y a rien qui incite ou oblige au changement.

Pour Marcuse, c'est une tâche pédagogique et politique importante que de soutenir l'existence et la conscience des désirs, des besoins profonds de bien-être, d'absence de souffrance gratuite, de paix.... Cette tâche, qui fait souvent appel à la mémoire, protège et développe des qualités qui appuient et catalysent des analyses critiques des réalités sociales. En même temps, elle sauvegarde des images et pratiques qui peuvent créer et soutenir les objectifs d'un avenir qui mérite qu'on lutte pour lui. Elle s'oppose aussi au désespoir dans une démarche d'éducation critique.

Une travail d'éducation critique ne se limite pas à amorcer un processus que ceux et celles qui vivent des situations de subordination dans leurs relations sociales entreprennent eux-mêmes. L'éducation critique vise aussi à créer un espace théorique où les participantes et participants peuvent revoir ou problématiser leur façon de comprendre les contradictions de leur quotidien. Une telle problématisation est nécessaire, par exemple, étant données "les attitudes discriminatives répandues dans la société et le lieu d'apprentissage" (Elliot, 1988: 6). Les expériences de personnes occupant différentes positions parmi de multiples relations de pouvoir social donnent suite aux récits des participants et participantes, et des éducateurs et éducatrices qui forcément n'ont pas le secret de l'impartialité (Ellsworth, 1989: 304 et 305).

La pensée dialectique est au coeur d'une démarche d'éducation critique qui s'occupe d'idéologie, pensée souvent développée et aiguisée, consciemment ou non, par des éducateurs et éducatrices critiques. Marcuse explique la pensée dialectique inspirée en grand partie de Hegel (voir Bernstein dans Pippen et al., 1988: 13-28)

> Dialectical thought starts with the experience that the world is unfree; that is to say, man (sic) and nature exist in conditions of alienation, exist as "other than they are." Any mode of thought which excludes this contradiction from its logic is faulty logic. Thought "corresponds" to reality only as it transforms reality by comprehending its contradictory structure...to comprehend reality means to comprehend what things really are, and this in turn means rejecting their mere factuality. Rejection is the process of thought as well as of action.... Dialectical thought thus becomes negative in itself. Its function is to break down the self-assurance

> and self-contentment of common sense, to undermine the sinister confidence in the power and language of facts, to demonstrate that unfreedom is so much at the core of things that the development of their internal contradictions leads necessarily to qualitative change: the explosion and catastrophe of the established state of affairs. (Giroux, 1983: 18 et 19, qui cite Marcuse, Reason and Revolution)

Ce qui entraîne cette démarche de l'éducation critique n'est pas l'introduction d'un nouveau schéma théorique, mais plutôt l'expérience de celles et ceux qui vivent ces contradictions sociales et partagent, souvent avec émotion, ce qu'ils avaient l'habitude de taire. Le processus éducatif n'est pas de la thérapie, c'est sûr. Toutefois, ses conséquences peuvent inclure des aspects thérapeutiques. Dans une société qui réprime non seulement les désirs et images qui s'écartent de la "norme", mais aussi les émotions résultant de la contradiction entre les désirs profonds et la réalite sociale, l'éducation critique oblige à créer un espace théorique sans danger au niveau émotionnel. Les éducateurs et éducatrices ont la responsabilité éthique d'accueillir chaleureusement et de soutenir avec compassion ces efforts de rejet de la répression psychologique et sociale. Ils ont aussi la responsabilité de ne pas forcer les gens à entrer dans un tel processus ou à y participer plus "activement". Le respect non seulement des décisions bien exprimées, mais aussi de l'indécision des participants et participantes s'impose aux éducateurs et éducatrices critiques.

Il importe néanmoins, en plus de valoriser cette expérience collective souvent cathartique, de la problématiser, pour parvenir à des analyses et des pratiques plus contestataires. Les effets de la répression idéologique et culturelle peuvent être plus clairement identifiés dans un espace plus large, plus public, grâce à une pratique pédagogique collective de dé-censure. L'historicité d'une telle répression nécessite une exploration puisque les participants et participantes reconnaissent souvent que ce n'est pas un phénomène purement individuel ou psychologique; c'est un phénomène partagé, social. Quels désirs multiples, quels différents besoins, quelles attentes existent chez les participantes et participants? Quelles réalités de leur situation partagée frustrent ces désirs? Pourquoi cette répression existe-t-elle? Qui la subit? Qui en profite? Qui contrôle principalement la situation et les relations dans lesquelles ces contradictions se situent? Qu'a-t-on fait pour résister, pour diminuer ce contrôle qui échappe à ceux ou celles qui subissent cette répression? Comment cette résistance pourrait-elle être plus efficace et plus collective?

Une telle démarche vise l'affranchissement d'une vision individuelle parfois auto-destructrice pour tendre vers une vision collective plus efficace contre l'oppression sociale. Elle propose une conscience et une fierté publiques profondes. Cette activité éducative vise à transformer la résistance en action contestataire[7], mais selon les termes des participants et participantes, non pas selon ceux qu'imposeraient les éducateurs et éducatrices critiques.

Une critique de quelques implications de la théorie de Marcuse pour l'éducation critique

Un courant, entre autres, des critiques de la tradition dite humaniste (voir, par exemple: Trinh Minh-Ha, 1989; Lugones et Spelman, 1983; et Mohanty, 1988) importe aux projets d'éducation critique (Ellsworth, 1989). Bien que Marcuse montre le rationalisme comme une tradition philosophique et politique libérale au service des intérêts de la domination, l'humanisme chevauche la théorie critique malgré elle. Une éducation critique influencée par cette tradition universaliste donne suite à une considération fort inquiétante: au lieu de fournir des approches et des pédagogies qui jouent contre l'ensemble des relations oppressives, il est possible que les discours de la théorie critique et de l'éducation critique constituent, en fin de compte, un obstacle à ces initiatives.

Ces critiques représentent une variété de disciplines incluant l'éducation, l'anthropologie, la sociologie et la philosophie. Les grandes approches qui les soutiennent sont diverses, du féminisme au post-modernisme et au post-colonialisme. Elles sont souvent, mais pas toujours, les fruits des réflexions sur les pratiques des mouvements féministes, anti-racistes, et anti-colonialistes par des théoriciennes qui s'y impliquent.

En se basant sur son expérience de l'éducation anti-raciste dans le milieu universitaire, Ellsworth (1989: 307) affirme que les catégories abstraites et décontextualisées du courant de l'éducation critique qui s'appelle la "pédagogie critique" (par exemple: Giroux, Freire, Shor), inspirées à divers degrés de la théorie de Marcuse, font obstacle aux démarches éducatives critiques qui visent à défier une position sociale ou politique en particulier. De plus, Ellsworth (1989: 304) propose que

831

la rationalité qui souligne la pédagogie critique perpétue le mythe de la personne rationnelle idéale, base de l'humanisme. Ce mythe, affirme-t-elle, accompagnée par l'universalité des propositions dites rationelles, à été construit à l'exclusion et au détriment violent des membres des groupes sociaux qui ne correspondaient pas à l'idéal ou aux intérêts des Européens blancs, mâles, chrétiens, héterosexuels et de classe moyenne (Trinh Minh-Ha, 1989: 54-67; Lugones et Spelman, 1983: 574; Aronowitz, 1987/88: 103-107). Dans une démarche d'éducation critique, ces propos font taire et éloignent plusieurs de ceux et celles qui subissent des relations sociales de pouvoir, toute en laissant les priviligiés ignorer, et par conséquent, imposer l'impérialisme de leur discours, donc leur pouvoir.

Même si Marcuse dénonce vivement la conception de la rationalité libérale classique qu'Ellsworth critique, et attaque d'une façon détaillée la rationalité moderne, on peut noter que sa propre approche envers la rationalité semble s'impliquer dans un discours lui-même émaillé de ces universalismes, et ce avec des conséquences oppressives qu'il n'avait pas envisagées. Il en vient parfois à brandir les spectres de certaines conceptions de la raison humaniste et libérale, et de la "vérité", comme points de référence critique vis-à-vis la rationalité technocratique. Par exemple, Marcuse (dans Wolff, Moore Jr. et Marcuse, 1969: 93) caractérise et semble valoriser la rationalité comme étant "l'expression et le développement de la pensée indépendante, libre d'endoctrinement et de la manipulation de l'autorité superflue", mais il la trouve sans fondement dans ce moment de l'histoire, puisque la pensée nord-américaine n'est pas indépendante ou libre d'une manipulation profonde due au capitalisme-monopoliste. Même si dans ce contexte une telle rationalité semble très désirable, elle suppose un idéal qui n'est pas déformé par les relations multiples de domination et de subordination. Cette idéal perpétue alors un mythe aux conséquences graves pour ceux et celles qui subissent le pouvoir exercé dans le discours dit "indépendant" des groupes sociaux et des personnes dominantes.

Marcuse insiste, tout de même, sur le fait que la culture libératoire "donne mot, ton et image à ce qui est silencieux, déformé ou supprimé dans la réalité établie" (Marcuse, dans Held, 1980: 85). Dans la même veine, il affirme sans équivoque que la raison

> ...contradicts the established order of men (sic) and things on behalf of existing societal forces that reveal

832

> the irrational character of this order—for rational" is a mode of thought and action which is geared to reduce ignorance, destruction, brutality and oppression. (Marcuse, 1978: 142)

Il semble qu'anomalies et contradictions marquent la théorie de Marcuse à cet égard. Giroux et Freire (voir leurs introductions dans Weiler, 1988: ix-xiv, et dans Giroux, Simon, et al., 1989: vii-xii) semblent conscients de questions pareilles à celles d'Ellsworth, et ils soutiennent une démarche valorisant la différence et la multiplicité de voix qui ne sont jamais complètes ou définitives. Néanmoins, il semble que malgré de bonnes intentions, les bases de leurs théories soient encore contradictoires; les pédagogies échafaudées sur ces fondations peuvent alors présenter des dangers.

L'ontologie et l'épistémologie de la théorie critique soutiennent peut-être une rationalité critique universaliste qui, malgré des belles paroles, n'est pas assez auto-réflective quant à l'aspect partial de son propre discours. Comment et à quel degré la théorie de Marcuse rejoint-t-elle une conception de la rationalité qui éclipse les discours narratifs partiels, donc partiaux, des personnes? Comment et à quel degré contribue-t-elle aux mythes qui découlent d'une conception humaniste, malgré ses critiques profondes de la rationalité dominante, instrumentaliste et technocratique? A quel point la théorie de Marcuse renverse-t-elle ces mythes? Quelles sont ses implications pour l'éducation critique? Ces questions importantes méritent davantage d'étude. Dans sa théorie, Marcuse souhaite une vie quotidienne plus libre pour tout le monde. Pour que cette théorie puisse contribuer de façon cohérente à l'éducation critique face à la multiplicité des oppressions, elle devra elle-même bénéficier d'une critique immanente.

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Notes

1. La traduction de certaines citations anglaises sont de l'auteur de cet article.
2. Freire, au cours d'une discussion lors d'un séminaire à l'Université du Massachusetts, Amherst, Mass., en 1985.

3. Freire, par exemple, a souligné l'importance de cette démarche auprès d'un groupe d'éducateurs et d'éducatrices et d'animateurs et d'animatrices communautaires à Springfield, Mass., en 1985.

4. Voir, par exemple, Freud, Beyond the Pleasure Principle (1922) pour son approche plus dialectique des instincts.

5. Pour des études plus élaborées des analyses de Marcuse sur l'inconscient, la structure des instincts et la sexualité, voir, par exemple: "Psychic Thermidor and the Rebirth of Rebellious Subjectivity", dans Pippen, et al. (1988); "Eros and Freedom", Edward Hyman, dans Pippen et al. (1988); Repression, Gad Horowitz (1977); et Marcuse's Critical Theory as relationed to Social Education, (thèse de maîtrise) de l'auteur (1988).

6. Voir Marcuse, Eros et civilisation (1963), préface, p. 12, pour une esquisse de la "désublimation répressive".

7. Pour une discussion sur la différence entre un projet politique de résistance et de contestation, voir Giroux, Teachers as Intellectuals (1988), pp. 162 et 163.

Pages 73-93 were removed because they contained an article that was found to be plagiarized. See volume VI, no. 2, pp. v-vi.

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CRITICAL EDUCATION RESEARCH[1]

Stephen Kemmis
Deakin University, Australia

Abstract

This paper makes an argument that 'critical' educational research is oppositional in four senses: epistemological, cognitive, cultural and political. It utilises a critique of conventional approaches to educational research to outline five key requirements of an adequate educational science. These requirements provide a foundation for a critical approach to educational research. The paper distinguishes 'critical theory' from 'critical social science' and goes on to show how critical educational research is oppositional in the four senses outlined, and how it meets the suggested criteria for an adequate educational science. A program of educational research conducted by a group of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal researchers in North East Amheim Land (in Northern Australia) provides an example of critical educational research, in some ways demonstrating its promise in the development of educational theory and practice.

Résumé

Cet article soutient que la recherche «critique» en éducation présente des positions antagonistes au sens épistémologique, cognitif, culturel et politique. Suite à un examen critique des approches habituellement utilisées dans la recherche en éducation, l'article dégage cinq conditions essentielles à une véritable science de l'éducation. Ces conditions constituent les fondements d'une approche critique de la recherche en éducation. L'article distingue d'abord théorie critique et science de la critique sociale, puis il montre en quoi la recherche «critique» en éducation présente des positions antagonistes et en quoi elle satisfait aux conditions essentielles qui ont été dégagées. Un programme de recherche en éducation mené par un groupe de chercheurs/es aborigènes et non-aborigènes de North East Arnheim Land (au nord de l'Australie) donne un exemple de recherche critique en éducation tout en démontrant, d'une certaine façon, ce qu'elle a de prometteur dans le développement de la théorie et de la pratique en éducation.

What is 'critical' educational research? One may like to think that the label is a kind of banner, proclaiming not only the distinctiveness of 'critical' research but also a kind of radicalism. For angry young men and women, critical social science is the place to be. But 'critical' research has also come to have a technical meaning which locates it in the charted and explored regions of philosophy and methodology in social and educational science. It has by now become familiar, institutionalised—perhaps domesticated. If not angry, then at least disgruntled old men and women can also find a place in its shade.

These two faces of being 'critical'—the oppositional and the domesticated—are, of course, interrelated in the life of critical science as it is lived by its practitioners. But who are its practitioners? They will be people for whom such questions are relevant—they are people who aim to be 'critical' in some sense, but they are also people who are in one way or another connected to the institutionalised traditions and practices of social and educational science, and with the state apparatus of educational research, policy and practice. Seen in this light, critical educational researchers may be, at one and the same time, both a part of the solution of the world's educational problems, but also a part of those problems. Whatever the achievements of critical educational researchers in finding an audience and a readership for the ideas of critical educational research, the actual achievements of critical research in resolving the world's educational problems remain infrequent, limited and precarious. As its school report card might say, critical educational research "can do better".

A way one can limit the role of critical research is through our language. There are those who can speak with confidence about 'revolutionary praxis' or about the role as 'transformative intellectuals'. As always, by creating such terms, one helps to create the possibility of living the new forms of life they invoke. But, equally, using such terms can be a way to mystify the processes of criticism and to limit the possibility of extending critical thought and action to new groups. A second way one can limit critical educational research is in one's relationship with the state machinery of educational policy and practice—relationships which are both necessary (to continue one's work) and potentially compromising. Most of us remain at the margins of the culture and machinery of educational policy and practice, as nervous about cooption into the mainstream of the state machinery as we are about the kind of success that would institutionalise critical educational research as a 'methodology'.

This marginality, this tension, is a unique feature of critical educational research and researchers. It is the concrete expression of the dialectic of critical research—a dialectic which expresses itself in the forms of reasoning, the practices, and the forms of organisation of critical educational research. It is a tension which calls for acute self-awareness.

Like charity, criticism begins at home. It is legitimate, proper and necessary to develop models and approaches for kinds of educational research which can and will have an accumulating and accelerating impact on the world's educational problems; but it is equally necessary to be sober and cautious in evaluating the quality of one's work.

Critical Research, Opposition and Resistance

'Critical' social and educational research is 'critical' in the sense in which Marx spoke of criticism:

> ...we do not anticipate the world dogmatically, but rather wish to find the new world through criticism of the old; ...even though the construction of the future and its completion for all times is not our task, what we have to accomplish at this time is all the more clear: *relentless criticism of existing conditions*, relentless in the sense that the criticism is not afraid of its findings and just a little afraid of conflict with powers that be.[2]

It is a stirring call. Clearly, criticism requires courage, sometimes plain heroism. It must be conducted with wisdom and prudence or it cannot be conducted at all.

Critical educational research is oppositional. What it means to 'oppose', however, may need clarification. 'Opposition' is not a matter of attitude or personal style. The *task* of opposition is not necessarily guaranteed by adopting a *style* of opposition. Such personal styles as contrariness, negativism and radical triumphalism ("when the revolution comes...") are often eloquent indications of the alienation of those who adopt them; as styles of opposition, they are self-limiting, and impose sharp constraints on the task of opposition. Neither is criticism oppositional in a simply 'theoretical' sense, as if by establishing a better theory, practical and political consequences could flow as a matter of technical 'application' (whether achieved by 'enlightenment', political action or coercion). A critical social or educational science rejects as rationalistic this facile dualism of theory and practice.[3]

A critical social or educational science is oppositional in four senses.

First, at this time in history at least, it is *epistemologically* oppositional. It rejects empiricism and idealism, positivism and intepretivism. That is to say, it rejects the foundations upon which much social and educational research are based. I will have more to say on this matter when I return to the formal requirements of a critical educational science.

Second, a critical social or educational science is *cognitively* oppositional. It is alert to the possibility that our perceptions of the social world are socially-constructed, and open to distortion. The cognitive opposition of critical social and educational science consists in acknowledging and struggling to counter the tendency to interpret the world as 'received' and structured by our language, culture and traditions, and by our social and economic structures and the interests they serve. It is an opposition expressed in treating our familiar ways of understanding of the world, our activities and our social relationships as problematic. It is to acknowledge that the rationality of our understandings, the value of our productive activities, and the justice of our social relationships may be ideologically distorted in a first sense (false consciousness), so that they may be something other than what they appear to be.

Third, a critical social or educational science is *culturally* oppositional. It recognises that the substantive modes of life of a culture can sustain irrationality, unsatisfying forms of life, and unjust social relationships. It recognises the possibility of ideological distortion in a second (hegemonic) sense—it recognises the possibility that certain modes of life of the culture are systematically structured to preserve the self-interests of some at the expense of others.

The cognitive and cultural senses of opposition are closely related. Together they create the fourth sense in which a critical social or educational science is oppositional—the *political* sense. It is in this sense that a critical social or educational science is most different than other forms of science—it engages the world through social and cultural action, not merely to interpret the world but to change it. A critical social or educational science creates conditions under which people can act together as knowing subjects, as products and producers of history who can help "to find the new world through criticism of the old" *and* who can act collaboratively, wisely and prudently, to bring the new world into being.

Especially in this sense, a critical social or educational science is more than just oppositional. It is a form of *resistance*. It is organised. It resists accepting the actual by systematically awakening a critical sense of the possible. More than this, it organises action to bring new possibilities into being—the possibility of more rational, more productive, more satisfying, more just and more humane forms of life for all. And, beyond even this, it aims to enact the new world through the way it organises its own work—through establishing self-critical communities committed to a rational, productive, satisfying, just and humane way of life in the educational research task.

The Critique of Conventional Approaches to Educational Research

In our critique of approaches to educational research, Wilfred Carr and I have argued[4] that there five formal requirements which a properly justifiable approach to educational theory needs to accept. Together, these define a 'critical' perspective on educational theory and research. Such a perspective arises from the critique of the positivistic and interpretive approaches of conventional educational theory and research. Table 1 presents a classification of approaches to educational research based on distinctions between positivist (empirical-analytical), interpretive (historical-hermeneutic) and critical research.[5]

	FORM OF RESEARCH		
	POSITIVIST (Empirical-analytic)	INTERPRETIVE (Historical-hermeneutic)	CRITICAL
PRESUMED NATURE OF EDUCATION AS AN OBJECT OF RESEARCH	Education as a 'phenomenon'; schooling as a delivery-system (technology)	Education as a developmental process; schooling as lived experience	Education as a social project; schooling as an institution for social and cultural reproduction and transformation
RESEARCH METHODS	Natural-scientific; experimental; 'quantitative'	Historical, interpretive; 'qualitative'; ethno-methodological; illuminative	Critical social science; emancipatory action research
FORM OF RESEARCH KNOWLEDGE	Objective; nomological causal explanation	Subjective; idiographic; interpretive understanding	Dialectical; reflexive understanding aimed at critical praxis
EXAMPLES OF SUBSTANTIVE THEORETICAL FORMS	Functionalist psychology; structure-functional sociology	Structuralism in Psychology, sociology, anthropology	Ideology-critique; critical curriculum theorising by collaborating teachers
HUMAN INTEREST	Technical	Practical	Emancipatory
PRACTICAL PURPOSE AND FORM OF REASONING	Improvement of the 'technology' of schooling; instrumental (means-ends) reasoning	Enlightenment of practitioners; practical-deliberative (informs judgement)	Rational transformation of education; critical reasoning (i.e., practical reasoning with emancipatory intent)
THEORY OF HUMAN NATURE	Deterministic	Humanistic	Historical-materialist
EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY	Neo-classical, vocational	Liberal-progressive	Socially-critical, democratic
EDUCATIONAL VALUES	'Moulding' metaphor. Individuals prepared for a given form of social life	'Growth' metaphor. Self-actualisation of individuals within meritocratic forms of social life	'Empowerment' metaphor. Individuals collectively producing and transforming existing forms of social life through action in history
VIEW OF EDUCATIONAL REFORM	Research, development and dissemination; bureaucracy, corporate management	Enlightened action; liberal-individualist, reconstructionist	Contestational, communitarian; reproduction and transformation through collective action

Table 1: A Classification of Alternative Styles of Educational Research

The five formal requirements of an adequate educational science provide the terms in which a critical social of educational science can be characterised.

First, following the criticisms of positivism, it is apparent that any adequate approach to *educational theory must reject positivist notions of rationality, objectivity and truth*. In particular, it rejects the positivist idea that knowledge has a purely instrumental value in solving educational problems and the consequent tendency to see all educational issues as technical in character needs to be firmly resisted. Secondly, and accepting the interpretivist argument that educational research must grasp the meanings that educational practices have for those who perform them, any adequate approach to *educational theory must accept the need to employ the interpretive categories of teachers and other participants in the educational processes*. Indeed, for educational theory to have any subject-matter at all, it must be rooted in the self-understandings of educational practitioners.

However, the recognition that educational theory must be grounded in the interpretations of teachers and other participants in the educational process is not in itself sufficient. For while it may be true that consciousness 'defines reality', it is equally true that reality may systematically distort consciousness. Indeed, one of the major weaknesses of the interpretive approach to educational research is its failure to realise how the self-understandings of individuals may be shaped by illusory beliefs which sustain irrational and contradictory forms of social life. For this reason, a third feature of any adequate approach to educational theory is that *it must provide ways of distinguishing ideologically distorted interpretations from those that are not. It must also provide some view of how any distorted self-understanding is to be overcome.*

Another related weakness of the 'interpretive' approach is its failure to recognise that many of the aims and purposes that people pursue are not the result of conscious choice so much as the constraints contained in a social structure over which they have little, if any, direct control. A fourth requirement for educational theory, then, is that *it must be concerned to identify and expose those aspects of the existing social order which frustrate the pursuit of rational goals and must be able to offer theoretical accounts which make teachers and others aware of how they may be eliminated or overcome.*

The fifth requirement of an adequate approach to educational theory and research is that it be practical, in the sense that *the question of its educational status will be determined by the ways in which it relates to practice*. For this reason, educational theory cannot simply explain the source of the problems that practitioners face. Nor can it rest content with trying to solve problems by getting teachers to adopt or apply any solutions it may produce. Rather, its purpose is to inform and guide the practices of participants in education by indicating the actions that they need to take if they are to overcome their problems and eliminate their difficulties. In this sense, educational theory must always be orientated towards transforming the ways in which participants see themselves and their situation so that the factors frustrating their educational goals and purposes can be recognised and eliminated. Equally, it must be oriented towards transforming the situations which place obstacles in the way of achieving educational goals, perpetuate ideological distortions, and impede rational and critical work in educational situations.

One view of theory and research that incorporates these five requirements has been developed and articulated by the 'Frankfurt School' of philosophers and social scientists.[6] What, in general terms, unites these people is the belief that the all-pervading influence of positivism has resulted in a widespread growth of instrumental rationality and a tendency to see all practical problems as technical issues. This has created the illusion of an 'objective reality' over which the individual has no control, and hence to a decline in the capacity of individuals to reflect upon their own situations and change them through their own actions. An overriding concern of the Frankfurt School, therefore, has been to articulate a view of theory that has the central task of emancipating people from the positivist 'domination of thought' through their own understandings and actions.

This view of theory is usually labelled 'critical theory'. It is clear, however, that the term 'critical theory' can be interpreted in various ways. To some, critical theory is primarily an attempt to overcome some of the weaknesses of orthodox Marxism. To others, it is a part of a long-standing dispute about hermeneutic philosophy. Yet others see it as an attempt to synthesise neo-Wittgensteinian philosophy with European philosophy. In our own view, we have given primary emphasis to the aspect of critical theory which has generated what Habermas referred to as *critical social science* and we have begun to explore the ways in which a critical social science addresses the theory-practice relationship in education—a way very different from that suggested by positivist and interpretive social sciences. Among other things, we have therefore concerned ourselves with forms of educational theory and research aimed at changing the work of schools and educational systems—forms of research whose aim is not merely to interpret the world but to change it.

Critical Theory and Critical Social Science

A distinction can be made between '*critical theory*' as it is frequently practised and '*critical social (or educational) science*'.[7] A first understanding of critical theory is as a product—the product of a critical science. A second understanding of critical theory seems to me more general, however—it is of a way of doing social science which is critical of things as they stand. Understood in this way, critical theory may simply be a species of interpretive social science. The commitment of a critical social science to organised, active resistance to existing forms of life which perpetuate irrationality and injustice marks a major distinction between the work of 'critical social and educational science' and that of much 'critical theory' in social science and education.

In practice, much of what passes as critical theory fulfils only a first condition of criticism—it contributes to changing the world primarily through reinterpreting it, through changing the way in which individuals see the world, and, therefore, how they orient themselves in their action to it. That is, of course, a substantial, significant and necessary element of changing the world. It is a great part of the achievement of any great social theorist who gives us new ways of understanding social life. But, in practice, the work of (interpretive) critical theory is completed when the new perspective has been offered. Its own enactment of the relationship between theory and practice is the same as that of other interpretive social science: it aims to educate the perceptions of people (frequently only the perceptions of an elite and highly educated group of people) but leaves it unclear as to how they might themselves participate in changing the social realities of which they are part.

This is a familiar role for most of us. Yet more can be done. The lesson was forcibly driven home once when I was lecturing a group of teachers on the role of IQ testing in maintaining the meritocratic order of society. When I concluded, my audience sat paralysed and, worse than that, ashamed of themselves and angry with me. They felt disempowered. I had 'demonstrated' that they were cogs in the meritocratic machine, a machine which they felt powerless to challenge, let alone to change. Of course, such lessons are significant and important in learning to see the world differently and in creating reasons for action; my point is that it is possible not only to identify contradictions and injustices in social life but also to help people find ways of overcoming them.[8] Criticism can be more direct in empowering people.

Unlike more passive, interpretive forms of critical theory, critical social or educational science fulfils a second condition : it is directed towards action and it takes action. More than this, it is organised to produce collaborative action which can then be submitted to reflection and evaluation, and produce further action. It is learning by doing in collaborative groups—'critical and self-critical communities'—whose aim is to improve their understandings of the world, their practices, *and* their organisation as groups committed to the development of more rational, productive, satisfying, just and humane forms of life.

Yet even commitment to action is not without problems. A critical social or educational science must be wary of generating *mere* activism.[9] Mere activism can be naive and, at worst, dangerous. A critical social or educational science engages in changing the world within the limits of possibility. Of course this raises a spectre of tinkering [illegible] the edges of needed social change, leaving social, economic and cultural structures unchanged. In that sense, it runs the risk of being conservative or at least prudent.

The radical possibilities of a critical social or educational science do not necessarily lie outside the critical and self-critical community of participants in the research process. They lie within the process itself. If the process is 'successful' in creating groups that can organise themselves to learn systematically about how to improve their understandings, their practices and their social organisation, then it has created groups in which an alternative possible form of social life is already being realised. This turns out to be an extraordinarily difficult lesson to grasp. In a culture increasingly inured to the possibility of authentic, collaborative decision making and increasingly accustomed to comply with short-term, narrow views of productivity and accountability—a culture which affects most of our institutions, including universities and schools of education—there is a simple conflict between, on the one hand, members' expectations about the familiar (irrational, unjust and unsatisfying) ways in which their work and world is organised and, on the other, the group's specific 'rules' for collaboration in critical research. Creating and exploiting this tension—between the work of the group and the culture in which and through which it normally operates—is the task of critical social and educational science. It is what teaches the group about the power of criticism and about its own power as a group, but it also teaches about the power which is locked within the existing forms of the culture and the state.

A critical social or educational science, through establishing itself on collaborative principles, brings the group into opposition with the culture and the state, and it provides a form of organisation through which that power can be resisted. It is oppositional and organises itself to resist the dominant forms of contemporary culture in each of the four senses outlined earlier.

- It is epistemologically oppositional. Its form of reasoning is dialectical. Critical educational research rejects the dualisms characteristic of positivist and interpretivist research, such as subject and object, individual and society, theory and practice. It sees each of these pairs of terms as mutually-constituted in the practice of reasoning. In its productive practices, it similarly rejects means-ends instrumentation and idealist, rationalistic forms of action. Instead, it adopts forms of action which aim to achieve progressively more satisfactory resolutions of the actual and the possible.

- It is cognitively oppositional. It is organised as a process of enlightenment for its participants. It aims to recover and analyse the formation of participants' values, understandings, activities and social relationships, relating their autobiographies to broaden the historical processes at work in society, the economy and culture.

- It is culturally oppositional. It is organised to identify and expose those aspects of the social order which frustrate the pursuit of rational goals, through analyses of the processes of contestation through which particular ideas and modes of language become institutionalised in taken-for-granted discourses, particular activities become institutionalised in established practices, and particular social relationships are institutionalised in the power structures of the organisations.[10]

- It is politically oppositional. In its forms of organisation, it rejects, on the one side, hierarchy, bureaucracy, and coercion, and, on the other, liberal individualism and libertarianism. Instead, it uses such communitarian values as social equity and symmetrical communication as critical concept against which social action can continuously be evaluated.

Role for Critical Researchers: Lessons from Experience

It was suggested earlier that we might learn something about critical educational research by identifying it through its practitioners. Practitioners might include people able to answer the question "what is 'critical' education research?" But its practitioners should include far more people than just these. It includes people who do critical education research without the benefit of a distinctive label for it, and who rely as much on their own capacities to learn as a basis for their judgements about how the world can be changed as upon any formal theory of science.[11]

With the best intentions and a familiar kind of academic self-importance, my colleagues and I at Deakin University began our work in educational action research by offering a kind of technical support service to teachers and others interested in researching their own practices. We saw ourselves as agents of change made by others. We helped teachers and parents to form questions about the problems and issues confronting them in their own situations, and offered advice on techniques of data-gathering which they could use in their investigations. In this phase of our work, we were inclined to regard ourselves as interfering if we intervened too much to shape the enquiries undertaken by teachers and others. In this role, we tried to leave all the power over the substance and direction of investigations with practitioners. We regarded any attempt to direct their action as implicit disempowerment of those with whom we worked—the 'real' researchers. We discovered that our 'non-intervention' frequently deprived the teacher-researchers of relevant sources of theory in the research literature. Substantively speaking, the researchers had to learn everything for themselves, our approach seemed to say, or else they would learn nothing worth knowing at all. In this way, we had structured the work so that it became excessively pragmatic—a kind of trial and error learning that refused to acknowledge the structures that deprived these teachers of intellectual resources for change and, worse still, of an understanding of the ideological structures (including false consciousness) that made it difficult for them to reconstruct their understandings of their situations. The social and political limits on what they could achieve seemed arbitrary; they frequently described themselves as prevented from transforming their work and their situations by arbitrary 'politics' rather than by ideological structure (hegemony). We had made them acutely aware of the limits of their power to change things; at worst, confronting them with their alienation without offering an analysis of how it was produced by wider historical, social and political dynamics.

A second phase of the work entailed taking a more active educative role. We saw ourselves as 'facilitators' and then 'moderators' of the action research process, again offering advice and support on research techniques, but also beginning to offer theoretical perspectives which could link the work the researchers were doing to relevant literatures about their substantive problems and about ideology. We still believed that we should not intervene too strongly lest the researchers lose intellectual control of their own research work. In the final analysis, it was to be their work and not ours. Our language of 'empowerment' rested heavily on an individualistic theory of empowerment as authentic understanding which could underpin *individual* praxis. We saw ourselves as making a commitment to the work of these researchers, but we knew that, in their own situations, they would have to be able to justify their understandings and their action for themselves—so we left the responsibility for final decisions with them. In this phase, we found ourselves in a difficult and somewhat hypocritical position—we wanted to share the commitment, but we did not share final responsibility for the action taken by the researchers as they learned by doing.

Each of these two phases of the work was marked by an 'us-them' relationship between our Deakin group and the teachers and other researchers with whom we worked. At the risk of putting it too picturesquely, one could say that our theory of the relationship was one in which we were the avant-garde and they were the masses, we were the enlighteners and they were the ones to be enlightened. At a seminar at Deakin University in 1986[12] in which the Deakin group and some colleagues from elsewhere reviewed our theory and practice of the previous six or seven years, participants finally penetrated the deception (and self-deception) involved in our understanding of our research relationships ('us-them') during these first two phases. We began to understand more clearly what it means to say that in the process of critical action research, there is room for only participants. In genuinely critical and self-critical research, *all participants* must take on genuinely collaborative roles, as members of, not outsiders to, the research work, even if roles within the group are differentiated. The projects should be collaborative projects governed by open decision making in a group committed to examining its own values, understandings, practices, forms of organisation and situation.

In this third phase, we have placed far greater emphasis on communitarian values and the importance of the research collective. Taylor[13] suggest that a community exists when (1) people hold in common shared beliefs and values, (2) relationships between people are direct and many-sided, not indirect as between people isolated from one another, nor role-specialised and narrow, and (3) the relationships between people are characterised by balanced reciprocity, in which there is a direct two-way flow of action in which individual actions are seen as benefitting all, and in which there is a sense of solidarity, fraternity and mutual concern. To be a *critical* community, a group of people would first of all strive to meet these conditions; in doing so it would come to understand how contemporary culture operates from without to mitigate against the formation and maintenance of communities; and in doing so, it would also become self-critical, discovering how the habits and expectations of its members, learned in cultures decreasingly characterised by these features of 'community', operate from within to prevent a group from establishing itself as a community in Taylor's sense.

This third phase of work has allowed us to reconcile our interests in participatory action research with broader questions of ideology-critique in curriculum studies, especially theories of social and cultural reproduction and transformation in education. Defining our conception of critical theorising in curriculum, Lindsay Fitzclarence and I wrote:[14]

> The mode of curriculum theorising we envisage can be realised in a participatory democratic process of collaborative research undertaken by local communities (of teachers and other participants in the educational

> process) who aim, on the one hand, to relate their theory and practice in constructive and cumulative cycles of action and reflection, and, on the other, to locate the specific educational values and practices of their schools and classrooms within the wider history, traditions and forms of organisation of their society. These two aspects of collaborative critical curriculum theorising are integrated in the work of emancipatory action research which sustains the critical and self-critical analysis of concrete and particular cases of the curriculum and curriculum development work (in classrooms, schools and in society generally) in a particular community as manifestations of more general historical processes of social and cultural reproduction. The products of this work, generated and continually revised as it proceeds, emerge in the form of ideology-critiques which dialectically incorporate a shared 'autobiography' of the local community of participant researchers within a wider history, locating collaborative self-reflection interpretively in more general social analysis, and locating the shared human agency of political action in a deepening analysis of social structure.

Now these values are not easily realised. In our work at Deakin, we have begun to do less of the kind of 'facilitatory' work we used to do with groups of teachers and others, 'teaching' them about action research and techniques for gathering and analysing data from their own settings. We have attempted to work in situations where the role distinction between 'facilitator' and 'researcher' can be transcended, where we can be co-researchers with others on problems and issues we share.[15] This shift in roles can be illustrated through the history of a series of projects undertaken in Aboriginal education and teacher education.

From Facilitation to Collaboration

Since 1983, work with Deakin colleagues[16] has been on-going with a series of projects in Aboriginal education and teacher education in the Northern Territory. The first of these projects involved acting as 'facilitators' to staff of Batchelor College, a teacher education institution preparing Aboriginal teachers. The college wished to of the previous six or seven years, participants finally penetrated the deception (and self-deception) involved in our understanding of our research relationships ('us-them') during these first two phases. We began to understand more clearly what it means to say that in the process of critical action research, there is room for only participants. In genuinely critical and self-critical research, *all participants* must take on genuinely collaborative roles, as members of, not outsiders to, the research work, even if roles within the group are differentiated. The projects should be collaborative projects governed by open decision making in a group committed to examining its own values, understandings, practices, forms of organisation and situation.

In this third phase, we have placed far greater emphasis on communitarian values and the importance of the research collective. Taylor[13] suggest that a community exists when (1) people hold in common shared beliefs and values, (2) relationships between people are direct and many-sided, not indirect as between people isolated from one another, nor role-specialised and narrow, and (3) the relationships between people are characterised by balanced reciprocity, in which there is a direct two-way flow of action in which individual actions are seen as benefitting all, and in which there is a sense of solidarity, fraternity and mutual concern. To be a *critical* community, a group of people would first of all strive to meet these conditions; in doing so it would come to understand how contemporary culture operates from without to mitigate against the formation and maintenance of communities; and in doing so, it would also become self-critical, discovering how the habits and expectations of its members, learned in cultures decreasingly characterised by these features of 'community', operate from within to prevent a group from establishing itself as a community in Taylor's sense.

This third phase of work has allowed us to reconcile our interests in participatory action research with broader questions of ideology-critique in curriculum studies, especially theories of social and cultural reproduction and transformation in education. Defining our conception of critical theorising in curriculum, Lindsay Fitzclarence and I wrote:[14]

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The contradiction implicit in such a role soon became apparent. As articulators of emerging principles and supporters of innovative approaches to teaching and learning, the facilitators not only confronted college staff with their own differences and competing and conflicting interests, but, based on discussions with students and members of their communities, they also became identified with certain kinds of innovative approaches. Increasingly, the facilitators were perceived as spokespersons for particular approaches, not as acting neutrally to any and all suggestions. Increasingly they were perceived as 'captured' by a specific group on the staff. And, although they took no part in writing or presenting it, the new curriculum reflected many of their preferences formed in the assisted self-evaluation process.

During the assisted self-evaluation, the Principal of the College suggested the facilitators visit some of the tradition-oriented Aboriginal communities who sent students to Batchelor for teacher education. They were invited to work with Aboriginal teachers and assistant teachers in some community schools—normally small schools serving remote communities, and staffed by a majority of non-Aboriginal teachers assisted by a number of Aboriginal 'teaching assistants'. They helped organise 'action groups' of Aboriginal staff—groups who could organise their own professional development activities as part of a systematic process of their teaching and learning—and as a means of stimulating stronger community participation in school decision making. The Aboriginal staff involved made organisational links to community councils,and explored ways of improving the work of the schools so that it would more nearly reflect the culture and aspirations of their communities. While only occasional visitors to these schools, in three schools, the action groups thrived, exerting strong influence on the schools themselves. In these cases, Aboriginal teachers and their communities took clear responsibility for their developments, and began to relate the role of the action groups to clan structures and patterns of interaction in ways we could only begin to understand.

This pattern of activity suggested that Batchelor and the community schools could together explore the power and limitations of a concept of 'both ways' education[18]—education which would help aboriginal students to gain access to non-Aboriginal knowledge and culture, and to the 'mainstream' economy, while also actively respecting and nurturing the dynamically-evolving and changing traditional culture and economy of these communities. In the schools and in some aspects of the College's work (notably through its Remote Area Teacher Education program[19] which provided external studies in community schools for Aboriginal assistant teachers) this possibility was enthusiastically received, and investigations began into how 'both ways' education might be articulated, understood and realised.[20]

But this possibility required quite dramatically changed research relationships. In a culture and economy like Australia's, in which non-Aboriginal modes of life and being are too readily understood as 'the dominant culture', non-Aboriginal researchers have only a very limited understanding of Aboriginal knowledge and culture, and are poorly equipped to articulate the relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal modes of understanding and being. On the other hand,

856

most Aboriginal teachers have a good understanding of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal modes of life and being. Their 'bi-cultural' experience equips them far better for investigating the potential and limitations of 'both ways' education. In order to explore the concept, it was necessary for those non-Aboriginal researchers to develop a new humility about how data could and should be gathered, and about what was important for the development of the community and its educational needs. Much of the research could only be undertaken by Aboriginal men and women with standing in their clan and family groups. At the same time, non-Aboriginal researchers were in some ways better equipped to deal with some of the administrative relationships of the non-Aboriginal education systems governing the schools, with aspects of curriculum, and with the history and character of schooling as understood from a non-Aboriginal perspective. The project has required coordinating enquires across the cultural 'divide', drawing a widening range of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people into the enquiry process.

The process has been richly realised in the work of Helen Watson, who, working with Aboriginal teachers and communities in the desert community of Lajamanu and the coastal community at Yirrkala in North East Arnhem Land in the Northern Territory, has begun to explore the problems and possibilities of 'both ways' education in mathematics.[21] For example, she has shown that the epistemological and ontological presumptions of Aboriginal languages and English are quite different, and that, as a consequence, the teaching of number presents special difficulties. On the side of the conventional school curriculum, her Aboriginal co-researchers have therefore decided to try teaching number only after children have a reasonable grasp of English—as late as the fifth grade of primary schooling. Watson has now become an active participant in a long-term development project assisting the staff at Yirrkala community school to develop a 'both ways' curriculum, and, along with other Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal members of the school staff and the community,[22] has helped to establish a lively community of researchers exploring the possibilities of 'both ways' education in the school.

At the same time Watson and I have been consultants to projects conducted by the Laynhapuy Community Council in North East Arnhem Land, aimed to support the development of Homelands Centres Schools, away from 'artificial' settlements created by missions or governments. In these schools, the communities argue, it is possible to retain and develop the traditional modes of life of Aboriginal clans and families, while at the same time conducting non-Aboriginal schooling. Our role in the Homelands Centres project was not the collection of data; that was the responsibility of an Aboriginal research team, with Bakamana Yunupinga as the primary data-gatherer, under the supervision of Daymbalupa Munungurr (an elder of one of the clans and a senior member of the Laynhapuy Council) and Wulyanbuma Wunungmurra (the School Council Chairperson). Our role was to help relate the views of the clans involved to the concerns of non-Aboriginal authorities, and to help with the editing of the final report of the project.

This example of the development of 'both ways' education offers interesting insights into the nature of critical educational research. Because it is 'cross-cultural', it admits that researchers from two cultures have more or less limited understandings of one another's knowledge and cultures. The 'both ways' education project can be treated as a limiting case of critical research which admits that one's own understandings, practices and modes of life and those of others are different. It therefore requires a collaborative effort which actively respects differences and attempts to locate them with respect to one another in a cognitive, social, cultural, economic and political framework. Yet it is neither assimilationist (reducing one culture to the terms of the other) nor relativist (adopting a static view of the two cultures as different but, in some ahistorical apolitical sense, 'equal'). It adopts a dialectical stance, attempting to understand the epistemological bases, the history and the political economies of the two cultures in relation to one another, and to find means by which the two can be mutually-generative (generative both for themselves and each other).

This work seems to meet the five formal requirements of a critical educational science outlined earlier. First, it rejects positivist notions of rationality and truth in favour of a dialectical view. In particular, it does so by recognising and exploring Aboriginal epistemology and its relationships with non-Aboriginal epistemology. Moreover, it explores the dialectical thinking within Aboriginal knowledge and culture—a notion which is at its most explicit in moiety and gender relations in Aboriginal culture, but also can be found in the modes of life through which Aboriginal law is lived (for example, in relationships between clans in ceremonial matters).

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Second, it employs the interpretive categories of those involved—both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal participants. These concepts include notions drawn from the non-Aboriginal language of schooling ('curriculum', 'teaching', etc.) and notions drawn from Aboriginal languages (in the case of the Yirrkala projects, a concept like 'ga_nma' which has explicit sacred and secular references but which can also be used to refer to the relationships between different ways of life and different kinds of knowing). It also employs the interpretive categories of those involved in a more usual sense—the sense of treating as problematic the key ideas used by participants in the projects in their own language and discourses about schooling, education, community development and the like.

Third, the projects attempt to identify and overcome distorted self-understandings through seeing how the work and life of the schools involved are shaped by broader cultural, economic and political conditions. In relation to understanding schooling, for example, this has entailed seeing how the conventional non-Aboriginal language and practices of schooling serve particularly non-Aboriginal educational purposes, and how the language of schooling has frequently caused Aboriginal people to understand themselves in distorted ways (for example, as lacking mathematical ability or even the ability to form hypotheses, or as preferring modes of learning which exclude the possibility of attaining the levels of schooling necessary if Aboriginal people are to achieve full professional roles and responsibilities in their own communities and community schools). The projects have also suggested ways in which participants could overcome such distorted self-understandings (for example, by recognising the cultural location of non-Aboriginal 'school knowledge', by demonstrating the power of high level Aboriginal knowledge in reaching understandings of education and schooling, by locating non-Aboriginal knowledge in relation to Aboriginal knowledge, by showing how the use of Aboriginal ideas can lead to productive and valued changes in the organisation of teaching and learning, and the like).

Fourth, the projects identify aspects of the social order which frustrate change and the pursuit of rational goals. In particular, they have demonstrated how the imposition of non-Aboriginal views of schooling on Aboriginal people has actually limited the achievement of the educational aspirations of Aboriginal students and communities. By relativising these non-Aboriginal views (comparing and contrasting them with Aboriginal views), it has been possible to identify ways that the educational aspirations of Aboriginal people can be made more achievable (for example, by delaying the teaching of number until the upper grades of primary school, or by supporting the development of bilingual programs and the development of Homelands Centres education).

And finally, the projects recognise that the truth status of the developing educational theory—the theory of 'both ways' education—is tested in practice. The projects proceed through action research investigations which explore new possibilities and take a critical view of how they turn out in practice. Indeed, Wulanybuma Wunungmurra, the Yirrkala School Council Chairperson, is so committed to this principle that he is reluctant to allow the structure of the School Council (developed through an association between action groups and men and women elders of the clans in the community) to be seen as a model for development by Aboriginal communities elsewhere, because it will take at least five years for the power and limitations of the model to be tested in practice.

Some Conclusions

The projects in Aboriginal education and teacher education undertaken in the Northern Territory exemplify the shift from 'facilitatory' roles to collaborative ones. They have shown how one can establish modes of work which recognise and respect different interests. These projects were described as a kind of "limiting case" for critical research, in which the difference between interests is marked by a kind of cultural divide. In a sense, however, these are also easier cases, where it is easier to understand that one does not fully understand the culture and the interests of the 'other'. It is easier, too, to know that one stands in opposition to established modes of interaction between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in these communities, and in opposition to entrenched interests in the assimilation of Aboriginal culture to the dominant culture of Anglo-Australia.

These projects also demonstrate that it is possible to be a critical educational researcher without a view on what critical educational research is. Contrary to my earlier suggestion, its practitioners are not only those who can answer the question "what is 'critical' educational research?"

What is encouraging about these projects is that they have made a substantive contribution to Aboriginal education and teacher education. They have given Aboriginal teachers and their communities a central role in their own professional development. They have changed the work of the community schools involved, in ways endorsed by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal teachers and by the schools' communities. But they have also provided tangible benefits to non-Aboriginal people working in these settings. For example, they have offered models to Batchelor College for the development of its curriculum as a 'both ways' curriculum (for example, in its developing Remote Area Teacher Education program). And the notion of 'both ways' education has provided both form and substance to the Deakin University Aboriginal Teacher Education programs (one offered in association with Batchelor College in the Northern Territory, and another offered to Aboriginal students at Deakin in Victoria) through which Deakin has been able to explore and develop the practice of Aboriginal teacher education.

While promising, these are small and precarious steps. They are also double-edged. These projects also demonstrate the dangers of compromise and cooption. They make teacher education institutions more accessible and acceptable to tradition-oriented Aboriginal people, but in doing so make the impact of those institutions on Aboriginal communities the more powerful and pervasive. It is significant that some of our most promising examples of critical educational research are in Aboriginal education and teacher education—widely regarded by teacher educationists in Australia as marginal to 'mainstream' education and teacher education. The experience of the conventional teacher education program at Deakin has been that it is much more difficult to overturn the assumptions, expectations, habits and traditions which support conventional teacher education as a process of transmitting a 'craft' to student teachers. While some successes in the mainstream program has been possible the record is far from satisfactory. Since a conspicuous record of success in changing our own 'mainstream' programs is lacking, does this suggest that we have merely elaborated the educational machinery of the state to incorporate Aboriginal people and communities which the institutions were previously unable to accommodate?

The argument presented at the beginning of this article was that critical educational research is both oppositional and "domesticated". One should not conclude that it is just one of these or the other. It is both. It challenges existing presuppositions about education and educational research. But it has also established a place for itself in the institutions (and the literature) of education and educational research. It is the critical awareness of this tension, of the potential and limitations of critical research as it is practised, of the historical dialectic of the actual and the possible, which sustains one's reasonable hope as critical educational researchers that it is possible to "find a new world through criticism of the old".

Reference Notes

1. This article was prepared as a paper for a meeting of the Critical Theory PreConference of the North American Adult Education Association Research Conference, University of Calgary, May 5-6, 1988.

2. Marx, K. (1967) *Writings of the Young Marx on Philosophy and Society*, ed. and trans. L.D. Easton and K.H. Guddat, New York, Anchor Books, p. 212.

3. On the limits of the rationalistic theory of action implied by this view of "theory", see Hindess, B. (1977) *Philosophy and Methodology in the Social Sciences*, Hassocks, Sussex, Harvester Press. Hindess writes: "Rational epistemology conceives of the world as a rational order in the sense that its parts and the relations between them conform to concepts and the relations between them, the concept giving the essence of the real. Where rationalist epistemology presupposes an a priori correspondence, a pre-given harmony, the rationalist conception of action postulates a mechanism of the realization of ideas. For example, in Weber's conception of action as 'oriented in its course' by meanings the relation between action and its meaning is one of coherence and logical consistency: the action realizes the logical consequences of its meaning. Is it necessary to point out the theological affinities of this conception of action? While theology postulates God as the mechanism par excellence of the realisation of the word, the rationalist conception of action conceives of a lesser but not essentially dissimilar mechanism." (p.8). On the relationships between the development of critical theorems, the organization of enlightenment and the organization of action, see Habermas, J. (1974) *Theory and Practice*, trans. J. Viertal, London, Heinemann. On the relationship between theory and practice in educational research, see Carr, W. and Kemmis, S. (1986) *Becoming Critical: Education, Knowledge and Action Research*. London, Falmer (and Geelong, Victoria, Deakin University Press).

4. In *Becoming Critical, ibid*. pp. 129-130 (where the argument of earlier chapters in summarised).

5. The classification is based on the arguments in Carr, W. and Kemmis, S. (1986) ibid. See also Bredo, E. and Feinberg, W. (1982) (Eds.) *Knowledge and Values in Social and Educational Research*. Philadelphia, Temple University Press, and Popkewitz, T. (1984) *Paradigm and Ideology in Educational Research*, Lewes, Sussex, Falmer Press.

6. See, for introductions, Jay, M. (1973) *The Dialectical Imagination: The History of the Institute for Social Research and the Frankfurt School, 1923-50*, Boston, Little, Brown & Co, and Held, D. (1980) *An Introduction to Critical Theory*, London, Hutchinson.

7. See Carr and Kemmis (1986), ibid., p. 144 ff. The account of critical educational science (in Chapter 6) draws upon Habermas's arguments (in Theory and Practice, ibid.) for a critical social science in general, as well as on our critique on the presuppositions of different forms of educational research about the relationship between educational theory and educational practice.

8. Though it was only a small advance on the first occasion, the next time I lectured on ideas of ability and the meritocracy I suggested to my audience that they attempt to expunge words relating to 'ability' (for example, 'bright', 'less able', 'dull', 'clever' etc.) from their language for a week, to discover the kinds of situations in which they made recourse to the term, so they could reflect on its social functions.

9. When it does so, it is doubtful whether it can claim to be theorising, let alone critically theorising.

10. For further discussions on contestation and institutionalisation, see Kemmis, S. and Fitzclarence, L. (1986) *Curriculum Theorising: Beyond Reproduction Theory*, Geelong, Victoria, Deakin University Press; Kemmis, S. and McTaggart, R. (1988) *The Action Research Planner*, Geelong, Victoria, Deakin University Press; and Rizvi, F. and Kemmis, S. (1988) *Dilemmas of Reform: The Participation and Equity Program in Victorian Schools*, Geelong, Victoria, Deakin Institute for Studies in Education.

11. For a sophisticated account of the tension between North American action research and the possibility of a science of the proletariat, see Fals Borda, O. (1979) Investigating reality in order to transform it: the Columbian Experience, *Dialectical Anthropology*, vol. 4, March, pp. 33-55 (Reprinted in McTaggart, R. et al. [Eds.] *The Action Research Reader*, Geelong, Victoria, Deakin University Press, pp. 291-313].

12. See McTaggart, R. and Garbutcheon-Singh, M. (1988) "A Fourth Generation of Action Research: Notes on the Deakin Seminar" in McTaggart, R. et al. [Eds.] *The Action Research Reader*, Geelong, Victoria, Deakin University Press, pp. 409-428.

13. Taylor, M. (1982) *Community, Anarchy, and Liberty*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

14. Kemmis, S. with Fitzclarence, L. (1986) *Curriculum Theorising: Beyond Reproduction Theory*, Geelong, Victoria, Deakin University Press, p. 129.

15. A recent example was in a course on school self-evaluation in which Robin McTaggart, Ian Robottom and I worked with teachers, education consultants and others to prepare materials for teacher and parent organizations confronted with retrogressive proposals (from a project team of the Victorian State School Board of Education) for intrusive mechanisms for school monitoring and accountability. In this case, we were course organisers, but we worked collaboratively with the group as a whole to define the problems and issues through reference to relevant literature, try out approaches in their own work settings, and (ultimately) produce a resource pack of materials to inform debate about school monitoring among affected groups.

16. Including Rhonda Bunbury, Frances Christie, Jenny Grenfell, Warren Hastings, John Henry, Robin McTaggart, Neil Pateman, and Helen Watson.

17. The following are example of the kinds of principles or theorems we strove to develop:

- Aboriginal self-determination is of fundamental importance politically, socially, historically, and culturally;
- Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Australians have different ways of life and different ways of understanding the world, and schooling should actively respect both ways;
- Aboriginal languages are fundamental and must be maintained and supported in schooling (as well as by other means available by government);

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- Aboriginal people are, by in large, better equipped by their experience to be interpreters of bi-culturality than Anglo-Australians and are likely to be able to use this knowledge more tellingly in research into bi-culturality and "both ways education";
- schooling has been an instrument of white colonialism and the destruction of Aboriginal culture and society; policies of "assimilation" and "integration", while less overt and more respectful of Aboriginal persons than the practices of cultural supremacy they replaced, may ultimately have the same practical effect (the destruction of Aboriginal cultures and communities).

18. The concept of "both ways" education was offered by the Aboriginal teachers. As far as we are aware, it developed from the concept of "both ways" religion developed by some missionaries in North East Arnhem Land in the 1960s. According to this view, communities could retain their own religious beliefs while also adopting Christianity. This possibility seemed somewhat remote to the non-Aboriginal observer familiar with the history of "modernisation" and "development" (see, for example, Berger, P., Berger, B. and Kellner, H. [1973] *The Homeless Mind: Modernisation and Consciousness*, New York, Random House). The problem, however, is more acute for the Western observer accustomed to thinking in terms of dualisms—either Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal but not both. From an Aboriginal perspective, however, the possibility of strengthening and retaining two alternative modes of life in relation to one another is not remote or unlikely—indeed moiety and gender relationships express and engender a highly dialectical notion of the unity of opposites through which opposed categories retain and develop their own integrity and regenerate each other through interaction. Thus, from an Aboriginal perspective, "both ways" religion could have the potential for strengthening traditional religion as well as offering new modes of religious life (though this potential may not be realised, or it may be denied through discovering a hidden assimilationist motive). Similarly, "both ways" education could have the potential for offering access to new modes of life while retaining and developing traditional modes of life, including traditional modes of education.

19. Leon White, Glenda Livett (now Schopen), Richard Geeves and Vicki Shardlow of Batchelor College's Remote Area Teacher Education (RATE) program and Bakamana Yunupinga of Yirrkala Community School took special responsibility for developing the idea of "both ways" education in the context of RATE.

20. The principles for the operation of RATE were articulated by the Batchelor RATE staff in July 1987 as follows:

1. RATE programs should only operate with the full support and involvement of the local community.
2. RATE programs should only operate with the full support and involvement of the local Principal and the staff at the local community school.
3. RATE programs should only operate in schools in Regions where the Regional Superintendent has supported the establishment and operation of programs.
4. In accordance wit the Batchelor College 1985 Reaccreditation Document, RATE programs primarily operate to increase the confidence and contribution of the Aboriginal participants as educators in and for their communities.
5. In accordance with the Batchelor College 1985 Reaccreditation Document, RATE programs require a commitment by all of the involved non-Aboriginal staff to the goal of self management and self determination for aboriginal communities.
6. In accordance with the Batchelor College 1985 Reaccreditation Document, RATE programs are required to implement stage 1 of the Batchelor College teacher education program.

7. After negotiation for the commencement of a Program, RATE programs require schools to undertake to release RATE tutors for activities that relate to their roles as RATE tutors.

8. RATE programs, by their very nature must provide for the Aboriginal educators who are participants in the programs to develop strategies to deal with a wide range of issues concerned with the delivery of educational services in their communities.

21. Watson's work in this field began in explorations into language and mathematics among the Yoruba in Nigeria.

22. Notably Leon White, a Batchelor College staff member offering a Remote Area Teacher Education program at Yirrkala, and Bakamana Yunupingu and Greg Wearne, Co-Principals of Yirrkala Community School.

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CRITICAL SOCIAL THEORY: A PERSPECTIVE FOR CRITIQUING PROFESSIONALIZATION IN ADULT EDUCATION

Anne Alexander
The University of Regina

Abstract

This article explores how critical social theory can provide a perspective for critiquing professionalization in adult education. In so doing the nature of the relationship between the professionalization and social movement trends in adult education is addressed. A number of concepts articulated within critical theory are discussed for their relevance to the professionalization issue. Habermas's work is highlighted, drawing parallels to the work of Freire. Lastly, the specific issues and questions raised by the perspective of critical theory are reflected upon as they apply to the professionalization of adult education today.

Résumé

Cet article explore la théorie de la critique sociale en tant qu'approche pour une analyse critique de la professionnalisation de l'éducation des adultes. Ce faisant, la nature du lien entre professionnalisation et courants sociaux est spécifiée. Certains concepts propres à la théorie critique sont discutés quant à leur pertinence dans le domaine de la professionnalisation. L'oeuvre de Habermas est mise en lumière et des parallèles sont établis avec l'oeuvre de Freire. Enfin, certaines questions spécifiques dégagées de la théorie de la critique amènent une réflexion sur l'état actuel de la professionnalisation de l'éducation des adultes.

A decade ago, Gordon Selman and Jindra Kulich described the development of adult education in Canada to be a "shifting balance between adult education as a social movement and as a professional field."[1] In their article, "Between Social Movement and Profession—a Historical Perspective on Canadian Adult Education," they outlined the activities within the field which indicate that "ever since the mid-

868

1930s there has been creative tension between the professionalization trends and the social movement trends."[2] These authors asserted that commitment to both the social movement tradition and to professionalization is necessary for the field's vitality and advocated that the field unite both social movement and professionalization thrusts in its future development.[3] Today, debates ensue about adult education's professionalization. Claims are levied that, with the present state of professionalization in adult education, the field is dislodging itself from the social thrust of its roots. Social movements within adult education's history, such as the Antigonish Movement, fade into the past. Indeed, many adult educators do not even know about these early beginnings.

Today, it is useful to consider the manner in which professionalization may influence the thinking about adult education in a normative sense. Professionalization, when seen from different points of view, may orient the field in particular directions. For example, some adult educators contend (and warn) that in defining the professionalization of the field as

> those elements which have placed emphasis on providing adult education with a sound theoretical base, have emphasised research and the application of scientific standards to methods, materials and the organisation of the field and have promoted the need for professional training and staffing[4]

the potential exists for scientific standards and the concomitant scientific method of thinking to pervade the field and objectify adult learners. Other adult educators, however, argue that professionalization (as defined above) can only improve the quality of the adult education delivered, is desirable, and has limited potential disadvantages.

When professionalization is considered against the backdrop of the original values of adult education, this dichotomy of viewpoints sharpens. As Selman and Kulich point out, in the early years the adult education field was noted for such developments as the social reform efforts of the Antigonish Movement and for the social reform-oriented statements of the Canadian Association for Adult Education.[5] Both organizations shared a commitment to democratic ideals, envisioning adult education as a liberating force. In the words of Moses Coady, a leader of the Antigonish Movement, adult education was to "unlock life for all the people."

Social movements can be progressive or reactionary, can champion the interests of the everyday citizen and the marginalized, or of the privileged elite. From a theoretical perspective, the social movement's development often follows a pattern which begins with the mobilization of people committed to change. As the group grows, gains momentum, and acts collectively to seek social change, it becomes organized to achieve the tasks at hand. The movement's organization may become increasingly complex and later become institutionalized, although factions may develop and attempt to revitalize the movement. Yet, regardless of the social movement's initial configuration (e.g. many loosely-organized groups) the members possessed a "sufficient sense of common cause to create a movement."[6]

With the social movement's pattern and concept of common cause in mind, some questions arise when considering the definition used by Selman and Kulich to describe the social movement aspect of adult education ("all conscious efforts to improve the nature of society by means of adult education and its wider application in the community"[7]). For instance, whose interests are being served primarily by the "conscious efforts" undertaken—adult learners, adult educators, or adult organizations? Also, what is the nature of the improvement in society being sought—greater social justice, individual fulfilment, or other change?

In attempting to answer these questions for the past or present, one may debate the existence of the field of adult education as a strong, unified social movement in the purely theoretical sense. Yet, solid examples of social reform initiative comprise the historical record of adult education in Canada.[8] In these are found the progressive social movement-type roots. Given the current debate about professionalization, the question must be asked: can the present professionalization of adult education be considered as a neutral trend which temporarily shifts the focus of attention away from social movement concerns?

In this article, this question is addressed by examining briefly the perspective of critical social theory in general and its view with respect to professionalization in particular. The work of Jurgen Habermas will be highlighted, with the orientations of Paulo Freire and members of the earlier Frankfurt School, Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, also presented.

Critical Social Theory

Critical social theory can be distinguished from traditional theory on the basis of the conception of the relationship of nature to history. Traditional theory grants priority to nature whereas critical theory gives priority to the historical world "in which, as the whole, interpretations of nature appear as human constructions."[9]

Traditional theory, in the form of positivist social science, has dealt with human behaviour as if it were an object of scientific inquiry, minimizing the importance of the historical, cultural and social context. Accordingly, social phenomena and human behaviour are subjected to scrutiny through processes which reduce them to manageable units: dependent and independent variables which can be controlled and manipulated. An outcome of employing such a method is that results are obtained which are believed to be explanatory and predictive of human social action. Social practices are subsequently formulated and reformulated upon the recommendations postulated by such research. While proponents of positivist social science justify it on the basis of providing objective results, Habermas argues that "positivism conceals a commitment to technical rationality behind a facade of value freedom"[10] and designates "the idea of a cybernetically self-regulated organization of society as the highest expression of the technocratic consciousness."[11]

In *Knowledge and Human Interests*, Habermas elaborates upon this critique in his critical theory of cognitive interests.[12] He posits a connection among cognitive interests, processes of inquiry, and social organization. The *technical cognitive interest*, concerned with predicting and controlling events in the natural environment, guides the process of inquiry of the empirical/analytic sciences which aims at producing nomological knowledge. The technical interest is grounded in the social organization of work insofar as work involves people in instrumental or purposive-rational action. The *practical cognitive interest*, concerned with attaining intersubjective and self understanding, guides the process of inquiry of the historical/hermeneutic sciences which aim at interpretive understanding. The practical interest is grounded in interaction or communicative action which attempts to gain understanding of the human condition through language and which is governed by consensual norms. The *emancipatory cognitive interest* guides the process of inquiry of the critically-oriented sciences which aims at critical reflection. The emancipatory interest exists in relation to a means of social organization—power.

Underlying Habermas's theory of cognitive interests is a view that modern western society is becoming dominated increasingly by *instrumental rationality*, a rationality oriented towards the goal of increasing the effectiveness of social interventions. The growth of this trend has lead to the supremacy (and domination according to the views of Adorno and Horkheimer) of the scientific method, a method which was intended to enable the realization of the ideals of the Enlightenment, such as "social emancipation from ignorance, unreflected force, and suffering."[13] In addition to distinguishing between reason in the ideal sense of human emancipation and the actualities of social life, critical theory affirms the ideal of reason, advocating that critical thought must remain separate from and be applied to societal organizations.[14] Indeed, critical theory must critique instrumental rationality.

Critical Social Theory: Key Concepts Concerning Professionalization

Critical social theory provides a particular perspective for reflecting upon the process of professionalization in social practice. To the extent that professionalization represents an attempt to increase instrumental rationality, a corresponding critique could be provided by critical theory. In particular, the following concepts articulated within critical theory are considered to be central to the issue of professionalization and will be examined with respect to the questions they raise: the assessment of the rationality of instrumental action, the conflict between instrumental reality and communicative action, cultural invasion, colonization of the life-world, the difference between the technical and practical interests, and the application of social science to the social world. Stipulative definitions will not be assigned to these terms but rather their meanings will be brought out of context through the discussion which follows.

Habermas considers that *the rationality of instrumental action* can only be assessed in terms of the success or failure of actions in achieving a goal and that goals themselves are unquestioned, unless they turnout to be unrealizable.[15] This idea identifies an important issue concerning professionalization, namely, to what extent is the question raised: "Is professionalization a desirable goal for adult education?" An implicit acceptance of the desirability is promoted by adult educators who claim better service to adult learners as a result, using a "quality control" argument. Professionalization is often assumed to be the means which will improve the effectiveness of adult educators, thereby justifying the trend in the field towards professionalization. Other arguments supporting this trend and cited in adult education journals are reminiscent of Dreeben's analysis of the advantages of the traditional professions, namely, increased status and power.[16] Professional knowledge, it would seem, is to be equated with technical knowledge that improves the effectiveness of adult education as a social intervention. In Habermas's terms, such a preoccupation is the example of instrumental rationality. Thus, the only criterion available for the evaluation of such professionalized actions in the field is the ability of those actions to provide technical, rational and scientific solutions to andragogical problems.

Critical theory and Habermas's work in particular develop "criticisms of the process of rationalization in Western societies as it has occurred so far."[17] One extreme forecast of his is that the trend towards increasing instrumental rationality, in which the scientific technique is applied to the management of social affairs, could lead to the end of the individual's autonomous ego organization and self-identity,[18] ultimately leaving society collectively in a state of speechlessness.[19] As extreme and unbelievable as this scenario appears, the preconditions and events leading toward this situation offer some points for reflection on the effects of the process of professionalization. In particular, the demise of the philosophical considerations, which occurs when philosophy is replaced by social science,[20] increases the danger that aspiring professionals will think about their vocation and adult learners in ways that are shaped by the mechanistic paradigms of quantitative social science. The potential for critical reasoning to be contained and suppressed also exists when solely technically efficient methods of facilitating and administering education are introduced. If these developments were to proceed unchecked, then the individual (adult educator or learner) may be constrained in his or her capacity to influence the nature of his or her experiences and the institutions in society, leading to a sense of personal powerlessness.

Critical social theory identifies the rationality of social science as linked with technical rationality which is concerned with predicting and controlling events. This type of rationality, while appropriate for the natural sciences, is not deemed by critical theorists to be appropriate for the social world; indeed, critical social theory proposes that a different approach be taken, one rooted in democratic ideals and concerned with social emancipation in which individuals may experience "self-emancipation...from the constraints of unnecessary domination in all its forms."[21] Rather than become objects of a technocratic educational and administrative process which reifies social relationships, separates facts from values, means from ends, and which may "lead to a repression of the category of ethics,"[22] individuals may become active subjects who not only live with societal institutions but also critique them.

This condition of domination is described in similar ways by Paulo Freire's concept of *cultural invasion* and Habermas's notion of *the colonization of the life-world*. From the standpoint of critical social theory, "the technical reorganization of modes of social understanding appears as a form of cultural invasion...the suppression of capacities for cultural and social criticalness."[23] In Habermas's terms, the rationalization of societal action systems which are intended to intervene successfully in the environment or co-ordinate social interaction efficiently, may lead to rationalizing the life-world, the shared understandings, or as Habermas denotes "the horizons of the communicative organization of social relations, themselves encapsulated in the structure of three separable, yet related validity claims"[24] of truth, truthfulness and normative rightness. When this occurs, these societal action systems become independent from the generally shared life-worlds of people in society by developing procedures and technical language which isolate themselves and the everyday experiences and communication of society-at-large. These systems may become indifferent to the identities, language, social norms and cultural traditions of people, rendering societal members to be objectified and uninvolved observers who have been disenfranchised of their means of articulating critical comments. Thus the technical interest inherent in the rationalization of systems becomes manifest as social systems become devoid of a practical interest in understanding the life-worlds of people or in being accountable to them. When applied to an area such as education, such control by specialists who do not entertain philosophical or contextual considerations but who are rather preoccupied with efficiency and instrumental rationality leads to a situation

> wherein general welfare may become indistinguishable from the most efficient administration of society's affairs or the practice of social control by agencies especially designated to engage in controlling and influencing.[25]

Clearly, critical theory critiques instrumental rationality. Yet, it does more than provide criticism. It also proposes a reflective, thoughtful (in the Heideggerian sense of "thinking as dwelling"[26]) orientation in a communicative rationality. Habermas suggest that a "fundamental conflict constitutive of late capitalism" is the "conflict between systems-rationality and communicative rationality."[27] This *communicative rationality* is oriented toward reaching an understanding (and ultimately a consensus) and can lead to social emancipation as

> a process of freeing communication both from its unreflective reliance on tradition (traditional worldviews, customs) and its being overpowered by the untrammeled and therefore irrational growth of instrumental rationalization.[28]

Such communication affirms the rational basis for understanding, engaging people in discussion free from domination and in "arguments" in which "there must be the freedom to move from a given level of discourse to increasingly reflective levels."[29] This process appears similar to Freire's critical pedagogy which also involves critical reflection and practical discourse about norms and values as well as about means and ends. In these ways, shared meanings may be generated through social interaction, contributing to an increased communicative rationality and ultimately, to self-emancipation. Critical social theory provides a number of concepts that can be useful when critiquing the process of professionalization in adult education. In particular, critical theory raises some specific issues and questions to be addressed.

Questions Raised by Critical Social Theory Concerning the Professionalization of Adult Education

The most fundamental question that critical social theory raises is: "Is professionalization a desirable goal for adult education?" If so, then under which circumstances is professionalization desirable? For both questions, it is necessary to ask also who will decide about desirability. In attempting to answer the initial fundamental question, other questions also elicited by a critical perspective need to be addressed. Basic foundational questions such as "What should be the goals of adult education?" need to be asked and the answers contested. Because one of the strengths of critical theory is the historical critique it provides, adult education needs to be examined to discern why it is becoming so professionalized now. Having a deep understanding of both the social aims once pursued by adult education and the nature of adult education activity prior to professionalization enables consideration of the present state of adult education. How have the social goals and practices of adult education been affected by professionalization? Have they been "engineered" to satisfy the interests of professionalization, and have there been conflicts?

Reflection upon these issues, of course, encompasses the context of the total society and particularly the milieu in which adult education occurs. If adult education, for example, had once been more commonly available, more a part of the community, and had a stronger relationship to social change, then a critique should address the transformation. Considering the present context, one problem with the technological mode within society is that people become organized in ways that give the appearance that all is mastered, precluding the need for people to think about such arrangements. Adult education organizations and institutions often reflect this structural state, harbouring inherent barriers to considering broader social goals. The widely-divergent mandates of organizations providing adult education and the competition among such organizations for economic survival supersedes collaborative efforts toward even articulating a vision for society. Adult educators can experience colonization of their life-worlds by their own organizations and become dominated by them. Critical theory, however, demands that critical thought be separate from and applied to these organizations.

To the extent that professionalization would merely increase the technical competence of adult educators or, at its worst, would become concerned with "appearing to be doing something rather than with doing something"[30] without dealing with normative issues, that is with philosophical and ethical considerations, such efforts would be identified as symptomatic of instrumental rationality. The capacity for professionalization to increase practitioners' use of technological conceptions and methods to organize the world of adult education, thereby systematically ordering and controlling adults' learning experiences, will also determine whether professionalization might increasingly suppress criticalness.

Will a concern for professionalization lead to precise standardization, defining professional knowledge as only technical knowledge? Will the professional adult educator be socialized to lose his or her own "cultural grounds"[31] for the activity of helping adults learn, thus undermining cultural traditions and norms? Will professionalization lead to the exclusiveness of a specialized group of adult educators who will organize learning opportunities in an administrative system which removes and transforms adult education into a form which bears little resemblance to adult learning which is commonplace in the community?

If the professionalization of adult education would lead to a practice characterized by an increasingly technological instrumental rationality, then critical theory also raises the difficult challenges associated with establishing a more critical practice of adult education. This practice would encourage adult educators to create learning situations where critical reflection could occur among learners and facilitators free from the dominating effects of technological methodologies and unreflected, administratively-conceived goals. Critical reflection could be critical hermeneutical reflection in which the adults can situate themselves between their concern for the preservation of cultural traditions and for their emancipation from them[32] as they reflect upon how society could be other than it is, in a normative sense.

Yet, adult educators may argue that such a practice, while admirable in theory, is idealistic and not applicable to the general field of adult education. Education for social change does not tend to be funded within the mainstream organizations and institutions of adult education practice. Thus, such adult education occurs largely by voluntary groups, outside the boundaries of the formal adult education field. Easily mobilized to action, such groups often constitute the backbone of social movements.

Nevertheless, notwithstanding the organizational constraints of many adult education institutions, adult educators can seek ways to explore what it means to live in a society and also to critique it. While this implies risk, one step towards a more critical practice would be to make problematic the institutional and power arrangements that suppress the freedom of adult learners and educators (e.g. where efficiency and rationality have been the means of control). Habermas does not propose a specific program of change for institutions, but he does, as cited earlier, state that blockages have to be contested. This involves deliberations about the reasons blockages are regarded as such. Do people experience a lesser sense of self-determination, and do they feel treated more as objects as a result of present arrangements?

Another step to be taken is to integrate adult education into overall conceptions of social development and social change. In concrete terms, one way to begin (in a small-scale manner) would be to introduce relevant changes to courses offered through adult education institutions. For example, faculties of university extension offer various computer courses, emphasizing the technical skills necessary for proper operation of the machines. There could be, however, changes made so that learners and adult educators could reflect upon the effect that computers have upon society and social relations. In this small way, the beginning would be laid for considering that the technical way of knowing is only one way of knowing (which can gloss over aesthetic ways of knowing) and is not the ultimate way of knowing. Encouraging critical reflection upon the impact of technology shifts the emphasis from merely technical concerns to broader community concerns and social issues. Such an approach would reflect a broader conception of the goals of adult education than would an approach characterized by technological rationality.

To suggest that adult educators should proceed more carefully and thoughtfully in the process of professionalization may well be necessary advice. That the process of professionalization generally proceeds according to the trend of increasing instrumental rationality is demonstrated in another related helping profession—that of social work. What began as a movement for social reform in England became professionalized in accordance with the medical casework model. When the casework model, based upon the application of a technical social science to managing human problems, gained supremacy within the profession, any orientation with a questioning, critical stance (such as community organizing) became a marginal and less legitimized mode of intervention. If those in the field of adult education wish to affirm unequivocably that adult education ought to be emancipatory social practice, then it is essential that the potential challenges to such a mode be recognized and overcome. Examining the case history of transformation of the field of social work from a movement to a profession may reveal the sources of controversy and struggle which were salient in contributing to the nature of practice which has emerged. That those in the field of adult education should examine the transformation which is occurring within the field is even more imperative, especially if they wish to participate actively in shaping its future.

The Professionalization of Adult Education: A Reflection

Adult education in North America, which includes "all purposeful efforts by adults, or on behalf of adults, to promote learning—in all areas of human concern"[33] has taken place historically and continues to take place in both informal and formal settings. Learning has been and is currently facilitated by people having a wide range of backgrounds. During the social movement and advocacy thrusts of adult education in Canada, "social animators and adult educators"[34] have been the facilitators. It is noteworthy that the increasing concern with professional preparation and skills emerged when adult education programs sponsored by educational institutions (e.g. continuing education associated with community colleges and school boards) grew in number, requiring adult education personnel as "organisers and programme planners."[35] One may conclude that organizers and programme planners supplant social animators during times of increased activity towards professionalization. Accordingly, predictable steps have been taken (associations formed, journals published, research pursued, and university courses and degree programs instituted) toward attaining the status of a profession.

If the professionalization of adult education proceeds in accordance with the application of only scientific standards to its methods, materials and organization, then the field risks the danger of becoming rationalized. While the technical competence of practitioners may be increased, will this emphasis upon such training not also influence the thinking about the aims and activities of the field? Specifically, if the social movement thrust of adult education employs "means of adult education and its wider application in the community"[36] to improve the nature of society, then it would seem inevitable that the emphasis upon professional-technical competence would filter into the community. This would be the case, however, only when the emphasis upon this kind of competence prevails and the movement cannot create competing or better notions of competence. Perhaps the vision of what constitutes an improvement in the nature of society would acquire an overtone of technical improvement as a consequence of increasingly technically competent adult educators working in the community. Can it be otherwise that the professionalization of adult education, with an emphasis upon improving technical competence, would have a definitive interactive effect upon the social movement trend? Indeed, it would appear that such professionalization of adult education cannot be considered to be a neutral trend which merely and temporarily shifts the focus of attention away from social movement concerns.

Looking to the future, the questions remain: should adult education continue to professionalize, and if so, what is the best way to proceed? Drawing from the insights provided by critical social theory, a careful approach is in order. We need to develop a critique of professionalization as it has occurred so far and examine the "trade-offs." We need to understand fully the nature of professionalized adult education and reflect upon how closely it represents a type of instrumental rationality. Do we find, as did the American adult educator Webster Cotton in the mid-60s, a "professional tradition" which focuses upon meeting individual needs? Does this professionalism have an accompanying "narrowing of vision in the field" in direct contrast to the "social reformist tradition"?[37]

If, however, we find, or can develop, a professionalism that upholds broader aims for adult education in society (including a social purpose), then perhaps social movement thrusts would not be so undermined. Such a professionalism needs to be rooted also in philosophical foundations, historical and cultural perspectives, and needs to promote reflection and action to empower adult learners. Indeed, in a subsequent article *The Adult Educator: Change Agent or Program Technician?* Selman raises the issues of having a vision of society as it should be, and taking action to attain that vision of a learning society. He asks adult educators to consider; "Is that part of our professional responsibilities?"[38] In answering this and other questions, we should struggle with what the goals of adult education ought to be, as well as with what it means to become professionalized.

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879

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CAN CRITICAL THEORY SAVE ADULT EDUCATION FROM POST-MODERNISM?[1]

Matthias Finger
Syracuse University

Abstract

This article is written for adult educators who have become intrigued by the increasing amount of discourse and publications in our field, promoting 'critical theory', 'critical pedagogy', 'critical adult education', 'critical thinking' and the like. The aim of the article is to offer an interpretive framework which makes sense out of this trend towards the 'critical'. The recent controversy between critical theorists in philosophy, education generally and particularly adult education, and post-modernism will be used here as the background against which this trend towards the critical can not only be understood, but moreover should be evaluated.

Résumé

Cet article s'adresse aux éducatrices et aux éducateurs d'adultes dont la curiosité a été piquée par le nombre croissant de discours et de publications qui ont fait leur les concepts de «théorie critique», de «pédagogie critique», d'«éducation des adultes à la critique», de «pensée critique», etc. Le but de l'article est de fournir un cadre interprétatif susceptible de mieux faire comprendre ce courant axé sur la notion de «critique». La récente controverse—que ce soit en philosophie, en éducation ou plus spécifiquement en éducation des adultes—entre, d'une part la théorie critique et, d'autre part, le post-modernisme, est utilisée ici comme toile de fond à partir de laquelle ce courant axé sur la notion de «critique» peut non seulement être compris mais devrait également être évalué.

The penetration of critical social theory into education and more specifically into adult education has reactivated a debate about the relation of adult education to society. The last time such a debate took place was in the late 1960s and the early 1970s in the context shaped by the counter-culture and the New Left movements. Adult education's major, and probably only institutionalized program, the program of 'lifelong or permanent education', stems from this time. After the decline of the counter-cultural movement of the 1960s and the institutionalization of lifelong or permanent education, debates about socio-political issues and goals of adult education diminished as well. However, adult education did not become a less social or less political activity.

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[1] The assistance of Margaret Riodan and Brent Snow is gratefully acknowledged.

Since the beginning of the 1980s a somewhat similar situation arises in a different socio-cultural context. It is a context shaped, among others, by growing individualism which some qualify as post-modern. As a consequence, critical theory in philosophy and education today plays a very different role from the role it played in the 1960s: instead of intellectually accompanying the social movements of the time, critical theory now fights for the ideals of the 1960s against some intellectuals who try to express the general climate of the 1980s.

The goal in this article is to identify what critical theory still can offer to adult education in the context of today's post-industrial or post-modern societies. In order to do that, I will first characterize post-modernism, as well as why it is being attacked by critical theorists. This will allow me to highlight what answers critical theory actually proposes to adult education. Finally, I will discuss what the most likely outcome of critical adult education in a post-modern context will be.

Critical theory, critical pedagogy and critical (adult) education probably are adequate responses to the new challenges our societies increasingly will have to face. Nevertheless, my attitude towards critical theory remains ambiguous. Critical theorists are some of the only persons who today still ask political as well as technical questions. Critical adult educators are the small minority who conceive of adult education practice in a broader perspective than one of technical training or humanistic personal growth. However, the esoteric language and the level of abstraction of this very debate often repels the few colleagues who are interested in reexamining our profession's relation to contemporary society. Nevertheless, in the absence of a social movement that would make critical theory and therefore this debate socially meaningful, this may be the best we can expect in the 1980s and 1990s.

What is post-modernism and why is it being attacked by Critical Theorists?

Post-modernism is a movement which has its origins in art and literary critique, as well as in architecture (e.g. Jencks, 1977; Welsch, 1987). In architecture, post-modernism means a mix of all possible and imaginable styles; in literature, it is an exact as possible description of reality that is in itself destructured and incoherent. Art and literature originally were part of the project of modernity and contributed to the enlightenment of the citizen through culture and elevation of his/her spirit; however, their post-modern versions seem to have given up this project. Post-modern art, literature and architecture simply contemplate, express or, at best, provoke. In short, post-modernism in these fields has become synonymous with the absence of structure, with incoherence and with the loss of criteria.

Philosophy is probably the academic discipline which comes closest to literature. Observing post-modernism in literature, philosophers, by the end of the 1970s, seem to have gone through a general awareness process and detected post-modern tendencies even within philosophy (e.g. Berman, 1982; Kolb, 1986). In philosophy, post modernism is said to have its origins in subjectivism, i.e. mainly in phenomenology and hermeneutics (e.g. Cahoone, 1988). It is obvious, however, that post-modern tendencies in philosophy relate to a more general evolution of the way philosophy has come to view the relation between the subject or the mind on the hand, and reality on the other hand. Even without explicitly referring to phenomenology and hermeneutics, the academic discipline of philosophy has undergone since the Second World War a significant transformation, which some have come to call the 'linguistic turn'. As a consequence, today's mainstream philosophy has become almost identical to the analytic philosophy of language. Now, this linguistic perspective is in itself highly relativistic and subjective: 'language games' replace meta-narratives or philosophical systems. Contemporary philosopher of science Paul Feyerabend has probably best summarized this tendency by stating: 'Anything goes!' (Feyerabend, 1975 & 1987).

Several mainly French philosophers have become famous for defending post-modern positions. Several more socially oriented ones among them have conceptions relevant to adult education. Jean-François Lyotard, in his book on *The Post-modern Condition* (1984), is probably the first one of these philosophers to have become an engaged defender of post-modern trends in philosophy. For him, philosophical post-modernism means the dissolution of what he calls 'metanarratives'. *Metanarratives* are unifying philosophical systems or projects, such as liberalism and Marxism. According to Lyotard, they are the result of evolving information technologies (mainly computers and media). Consequently, post-modern society and individuals have to face the explosion of knowledge, multiple language games, as well as scattered or 'little narratives' (Kellner, 1988a). Any re-combination of knowledge now becomes possible and even justifiable. As a consequence, any form of *unifying* criteria, discourse or philosophical framework becomes obsolete, which in turn promotes fragmentation and individualization. Each individual can now build a narrative of his/her own, one that fits itself best.

Jean Baudrillard (1983a, 1983b, 1983c) comes to similar conclusions by focusing on different aspects. According to him, the main cause of post-modernism is not so much information technology as the underlying process of technological acceleration. Indeed, technological growth accelerates socio-cultural life and ultimately leads to what Baudrillard calls the 'implosion of meaning'. Not only does this acceleration not have any meaning in itself, but, moreover this very process erodes the still existing meanings. Baudrillard's conclusion of the 'end of meaning' is therefore more pessimistic than Lyotard's fragmentation.

For both Lyotard and Baudrillard, post-modernism is possible only because there is an underlying evolution towards a post-industrial society. According to Daniel Bell (1973 & 1976), the famous American sociologist and theorist of post-industrialism, the passage from the an industrial to a post-industrial society is the shift from a society which produces material goods to a society whose main focus is on the production of knowledge. This evolution is accompanied by the growing autonomization of the cultural sub-system, i.e. the system in which post-war individuals increasingly find their self-fulfillment. Once separated from the techno-economic and the politico-administrative sub-systems, the cultural sub-system has no limits, and is purely expressive. Anything goes. Personal self-fulfillment in a post-industrial society is therefore simply a matter of individuals expressing themselves. The characterization of the post-industrial or the post-modern individual needs to be pursued, since it is this individual who is the focus of today's adult education practice (Kade, 1989).

In the 1980s, several authors followed up on Bell's conceptual framework, focusing in particular on what the individual of the end of the 20th century might look like. French philosopher Gilles Lipovestsky (1983 & 1987), for example, identified a unique process of growing individualization and personalization. This process is mainly composed of two tendencies, both of which shape the nature of the post-modern individual. First, there is the tendency towards aesthetics and eroticism: the logic of argumentation is increasingly being replaced by the logic of images, a logic that, Lipovetsky says, favors seduction, show and look. Secondly, there is the passage from public to the private, where everything becomes referred to the individual alone. The outside world becomes psychologized. Increased narcissism is the overall result.

According to the American historian Christopher Lasch (1979 & 1984), Narcissus appears to be the figure that best characterizes the post-modern individual. For Lasch, the emergence of Narcissus announces a new stage in the evolution of individualism, since this post-modern individual has a new relationship to itself and to its body, as well as to other individuals. One of the key characteristics of Narcissus is a the loss of a sense of history. The desire to live 'here and now' becomes dominant and gradually eradicates considerations about the past and the future. Baudrillard has best characterized this post-modern individual (1989: 20):

> The individual continues but its idea has disappeared..... It is the end of something, not in an apocalyptic or a pessimistic sense. It is the end because something has come true. This is a much more final end than something that dies tragically.... This individual is not about to disappear, because it forms one single unity with the functioning of the masses, with the functioning of the network.... For sure this individual will not disappear . But it does not have much interest anymore; it does not have any strategic value; *I don't see what one could do with it, how a political order could be planned on it, or a disorder, or a subversive perspective, a revolution*. Remains an individual without alternative, without others. (emphasis added)

It is obvious that, with such an individual, the big projects of modernity - be it liberalism or Marxism - could not be achieved. Understandably, this post-modern discourse is not acceptable to almost any socially committed person. However, only critical theorists, a form of radical philosophers, have since the beginning of the 1980s raised their voices. They have become the only ones to publicly defend their philosophical 'metanarrative' of modernity against the post-modern discourse. By doing so, critical theorists have transformed the defense of modernity into a philosophical, abstract, and ideological debate. Unfortunately, they have made the 'discourse on post-modernism' become the object of the debate, as opposed to what this discourse actually reflects. But, in their critique of post-modernists and their ideas, the critical theorists do not appear to be very original. In fact, they attack post-modernism for mainly two reasons.

First, they say, post-modernists have abandoned any perspective for social change. Indeed, post-modern philosophers have a very cynical perspective, which hardly leaves any hope for social change, at least not for a change that fits into the main philosophical metanarratives. Secondly, by having abandoned any perspective for social change, post-modern philosophers and philosophies are said to be conservative or neo-conservative (Habermas, 1981). For critical theorists, post-modernism is nothing really new, simply a brand of a particularly alienating discourse or ideology. This critique, of course, neglects the underlying socio-cultural phenomenon which post-modernism expresses and highlights.

What do critical theorists then propose to adult education?

Though critical theorists vigorously react against post-modern discourse in philosophy, they do not address the challenge. Instead, they propose an updated version of Marxism, i.e. precisely critical theory, as the only answer. In the absence of anyone else speaking up against post-modernism, critical theorists have become today the only ones to defend the ideals of Enlightenment and modernity: freedom, justice, democracy and emancipation. This is at least the case in philosophy, in education generally, and in adult education in particular. However, it is questionable whether these ideals of modernity are an adequate answer to the type of problems which, as post-modern philosophers point out, are precisely the product of modernization. In order to assess the potential of critical theory for adult education today, it is necessary to briefly present its origins and evolution.

The very beginning of critical theory was an intellectual reaction against rising fascism in Germany. A group of Marxist intellectuals of Jewish origin gathered in the 1920s around the newly created Institute of Social Research at the University of Frankfurt (Jay, 1973). They interpreted rising fascism, not as an accident in history, as most of the social scientists and social philosophers did at that time, but as an intellectual challenge to the foundations of mainstream philosophy (liberal and Marxist), which, in essence, predicted the inevitable ascent of human spirit and Reason (i.e. the process of Enlightenment). Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer,the most typical representatives of this first generation of critical theorists, came out of this experience highly sceptical (Adorno and Horkheimer, 1974): their critical theory of society expressed serious doubts about whether the individual, as shaped by modernization, would actually be capable of making the ideals of modernity come true. However, they saw no alternative to Enlightenment.

But, if philosophers and educators refer today to critical theory, they do not have in mind Adorno, Horkheimer or other critical theorists of the first generation. Their key reference is the second generation critical theorist, Jürgen Habermas (1972, 1974, 1984, 1987a, 1987b). Habermas's context of reference is very different from that of the first generation. It is the context of the Germany of the 1960s, the Germany of the students' movements, of the New Left and of the extra-parliamentary opposition. These movements were understood by Habermas at that time, as well as by many other intellectuals, as an expression of society moving towards more freedom, more democracy

886

and emancipation. The movements' optimism, intellectualism, rationalism and, at times, elitism and individualism, translated into Habermas's critical theory. His whole work is an attempt to outline a rational theory of emancipation, conceived as a cognitive consciousness-raising process among socially interacting individuals. Unlike the first generation of critical theorists, Habermas does not see any other obstacles to emancipation other than ideologies, false belief systems and distorted communication patterns, all of which can be overcome by consciousness raising.

Habermas's critical theory is what critically-minded intellectuals in philosophy and education mainly refer to today. If they react against post-modernism, this is also in reference to his critical theory. For post-modernism puts into question the two most basic assumptions of critical theory. Indeed, Habermas's critical theory must assume an underlying coherent ideology or belief system against which or from which emancipation, in the form of consciousness-raising, actually can take place. In the Marxist tradition, this underlying coherent ideology takes the form of oppression, of domination, and of alienation. Secondly, Habermas's critical theory automatically assumes the existence of a project which guides consciousness-raising. Again in the Marxist tradition, it is assumed that this is a project of emancipation. More generally, in the tradition of Enlightenment, this is the project of modernity, i.e. the project of freedom, justice and democracy. From this perspective, it is understandable why Habermas conceives post-modernism as a particularly alienating form of discourse, belief-system or ideology. But, this supposes first, that post-modernism is a coherent discourse, against which or from which one can liberate him/herself. It secondly poses that post-modernism is only a discourse and nothing more than that. This, however, seems to be a distortion of contemporary empirical reality. Such a distortion may be of minor concern for philosophers, but it should be of major concern for educators who, by definition, deal with persons living in and therefore shaped by empirical reality, be it post-modern or not.

In the field of education, critical theory has been translated into **critical pedagogy**. This can mainly be observed in Germany since the 1970s (e.g. Bühner & Birnmeyer, 1982; Friesenhahn, 1985; Hoffman, 1978; Oelkers, 1983; Paffrath, 1987; Peukert, 1983; Rohrmoser, 1983; Stein, 1979; Witschel, 1983) and in the English speaking language area (England, Australia, United States) since the 1980s (e.g. Carr & Kemmis, 1986; Gibson, 1986; Giroux, 1983a & 1983b). If the German critical pedagogy also refers to the first generation of critical theorists and in particular to Adorno (1969), its English speaking counterpart almost exclusively refers to Habermas and his English speaking disciples (e.g. Bernstein, 1985; Fay, 1987). This is also true of **critical adult education**, whose emergence is

887

even more recent (e.g. Evans, 1987; Griffin, 1988). As part of the Habermasian tradition, critical adult education to date is primarily a socio-philosophical discourse about adult education. Its conception of adult education is modeled after Habermas's ideal of the cognitive consciousness-raising process among socially interacting individuals. Central to the success of this consciousness-raising process, many critical adult educators like Habermas have focused on the political, institutional and other social conditions that allow or prevent this process from taking place. As a result, few of the existing practical examples of critical adult learning today can be related to this new school of critical adult education.

The first practice, Paulo Freire's (1972, 1973 & 1974) **conscientization**, has not been developed by translating critical theory into adult educative practice. Even if it probably comes closest to what critical adult educators have in mind, it is a practice that has been theorized *a posteriori*. Conscientization does have certain limits, the most important one stemming from the fact that it has been elaborated in developing countries, that is, in non-post-industrial societies. Even there it is applicable only with (culturally) oppressed adults. If methods of conscientization are applied in post-industrial societies, they remain limited to the oppressed and underprivileged. In fact, serious questions have been raised as to whether conscientization, as a method of critical adult education, can really be applied in the first or developed world (Bendit & Heimbucher, 1977).

Stephen Brookfield's (1987) *Developing Critical Thinkers* is another attempt to translate principles of critical theory into adult education practice, especially in post-industrial societies. Brookfield has been heavily criticized by critical adult educators for having perverted the spirit of critical theory (e.g. Griffin, 1988). Intellectually, one can agree with this critique, since Brookfield has reduced 'critical thinking' to a tool or technique for individual personal growth in a humanistic perspective. However, what Brookfield has come up with may be the best one can do when translating principles of critical theory into educative practice with highly individualized adults in post-industrial societies.

Can critical adult education make a difference in a post-modern society?

Critical theory, in the context of today's fragmented societies composed of individualized, hedonistic and narcissist individuals, is not translatable into an educational practice that would do justice to the critical theory. If one nevertheless persists, not only is perversion of the theory the most likely outcome, but critical adult education may reinforce and accelerate today's trend towards post-modernism: in the absence of any coherent discourse, worldview or ideology from which to become emancipated, critical adult education may exacerbate individualism, fragmentation and the loss of criteria. This is because critical adult education is modeled after Habermas's conception of social learning as an individual and collective cognitive learning process, leading to an ever bigger awareness of those ideological constraints that prevent emancipation. Being theoretically disconnected from practice and life, this process either ends in an empty loop, or becomes inbuilt, as a simple tool or technique, into various processes of individualization. If critical theory wants to make a difference to adult education, it can only do this as a philosophical and theoretical discourse which would have to address the challenge of post-modernism.

One of the main reasons why critical theorists cannot support this assessment, stems from the fact that they do not take post-modernism seriously. Indeed, they have treated post-modernism to date essentially as another discourse or fashion and attacked it on a purely ideological and philosophical level. However, post-modernism should be taken as an expression of an empirical reality, that is, as an expression of today's crisis. Being an expression of today's crisis, post-modernism should be looked upon as a part or even as an outcome of the process of modernization itself. As such, post-modernism simply continues and exacerbates the key characteristics of modernization. Critical theory, however, wants to come back to the original project of modernity. But, to stick to the ideal of a free and emancipated subject in the context of fragmented post-modern reality will worsen the case: it will accelerate individualism, fragmentation and loss of criteria even further.

This difficulty would not matter very much if critical adult education were only a discourse of some rare intellectuals. However, the essence of adult education's foundational program and discourse since the 1970s- i.e. lifelong and permanent education as promoted by UNESCO and the Council of Europe (e.g. Faure, 1972; Lengrand, 1975) - is rooted in the very same radical philosophy as critical theory. Its ultimate goal is liberation, freedom, autonomization, emancipation and the full development of all the potentialities of the individual. Even Ivan Illich (1971), the most radical critic of institutionalized education, shares the same goal and therefore presents no alternative. In other words, adult education does not have any other project from which to refer its position than the one of modernity, which is the one critical adult educators are today the only ones to defend.

Adult education, like education, generally, as well as philosophy, is therefore in deep trouble. It is impossible to go back to the initial project of modernity, since, in the context of post-modernism, this

889

would only precipitate the crisis. Shall we, in adult education, then simply float on the post-modern river of uncoordinated symbols, and go wherever the flow takes us? Or does a third way exist? There is definitely a need in our field for a debate about these issues. This would be a debate that clarifies adult education's relation to today's society. The only debate we have today is conducted on a purely philosophical level. But even if it was conducted in a more down-to-earth language, it would still be outdated, especially if one looks at the new environmental issues, which are just appearing and increasingly ask to be addressed by adult educators. From this perspective, the question is no longer: How can we promote the ideals of modernity against the post-modernists? Rather it is: How can we save some ideals of modernity (like freedom, justice and democracy) beyond the threatening global environmental crisis and without closing our eyes to the post-modern trends in our societies?

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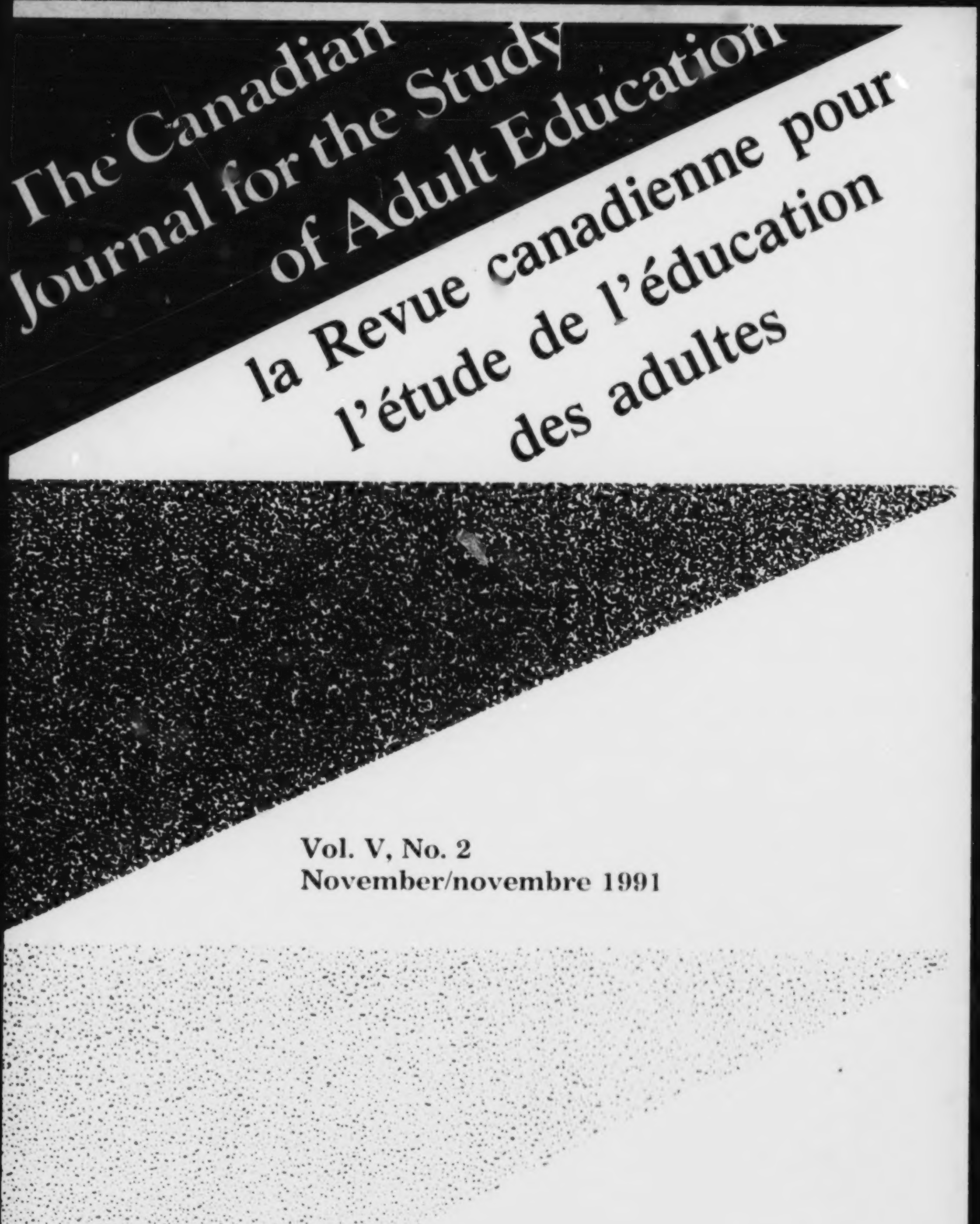

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November/novembre 1991, Vol. V., No. 2

Table of Contents/Table des Matières

Articles

Preparation for Partnership: Reform of Professional Education
Miriam J. Stewart 1

Education des adultes et personnalités vocationelles
Danielle Riverin-Simard and Merardo Arriola-Socol 17

Perspectives

Nuclear Advocacy and Adult Education: A Case for Counter-Hegemonic Struggle
Robert Regnier 47

Book Reviews/Recensions

Adult Education in a Multicultural Society
Beverly B. Cassara (Ed.)
Deo H. Poonwassie 63

Action and Knowledge—Breaking the Monopoly with Participatory Action-Research
Orlando Fals-Borda and Mohammad Anisur Rahman (Eds.)
Timothy Pyrch 66

An International Dictionary of Adult and Continuing Education
Peter Jarvis
Bruce Spencer 71

Unemployment, Education and Training: Case Studies from North America and Europe
Keith Forrester and Kevin Ward (Eds.)
Bruce Spencer 73

Graduate Degrees in Canada—Adult Education and Cognate Subjects/Diplôme d'études supérieures au Canada—éducation des adultes et sujets connexes 77

Guidelines for Contributors 99

A TRIBUTE TO CATHARINE WARREN

Catharine served as the second English language editor of the *Journal*. It was during her tenure that it became apparent a Francophone editor was needed to handle manuscripts submitted in the French language. Madeleine Blais was duly elected and working cooperatively with Catharine in the production of several editions of the *Journal*.

As well as bringing a keen and scholastic mind to her editorial duties, Catharine had a strong bent for the organizational and administrative skills associated with journal editing. A constitution to govern the affairs of the editorial board was developed during her tenure and accepted by the General Annual Meeting of the Association in 1990.

The Association is grateful for the leadership given by Catharine in maintaining high standards of academic excellence for the *Journal*. The Association is richer because of her efforts.

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November/novembre, 1991, Vol. V, No. 2

ARTICLES

PREPARATION FOR PARTNERSHIP: REFORM OF PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION[1]

Miriam J. Stewart
Dalhousie University School of Nursing

Abstract

This review paper examines factors in the evolution of self-help groups and lay support which challenge human service professionals to change traditional roles and ideologies. The inherent strengths and weaknesses of educational approaches for meeting this challenge are analyzed. Reported obstacles to collaboration with lay persons include deficiency in the professional knowledge and skill base and attitudinal misconceptions. Educational change efforts must be directed at attitudinal, skill and knowledge development. Given the historical and social construction of a discipline, health professionals and adult educators would be well-advised to reflect on the implications of professional socialization, paradigmatic shifting and social movements. Clearly, societal and institutional influences must be acknowledged and congruent changes in these spheres should accompany educational reform.

Résumé

Dans ce compte rendu on étudie les facteurs intervenant dans l'évolution des groupes d'entraide et dans l'assistance assurée par les non-spécialistes, qui incitent les professionnels des services sociaux à reconsidérer les rôles et les idéologies traditionnels. On y analyse les forces et les faiblesses inhérentes aux moyens utilisés par le système de formation pour relever ce défi. Parmi les raisons qui font obstacle

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[1] Submitted for publication September 8, 1988; Revised version submitted February 21, 1990 and accepted for publication June 11, 1991.

à la collaboration avec les non-spécialistes, on compte une manque de connaissances, et d'habiletés professionnelles et des attitudes fondées sur de fausses conceptions. Les efforts visant à modifier le système de formation doivent porter sur le développement des attitudes, des habiletés et des connaissances. Etant donné qu'une discipline est le résultat d'une évolution historique et sociale, les professionnels des services de santé et les éducateurs d'adultes devraient prêter attention aux implications qu'entraînent le processus de socialisation professionnelle, un changement de paradigme et les mouvements sociaux. Il est clair qu'il faut tenir compte des influences sociétale et institutionnelle et que des changements appropriés dans ces domaines devraient aller de pair avec une réforme du système de formation.

The evolving needs and accompanying economic restraints in contemporary society cannot be met by professional resources alone. Lay networks can convert needs into resources and may enhance, complement or serve as alternatives to professional services. This points to the professional responsibility for acknowledging and accommodating consumer interests and redefining professional roles in the public interest. Using health professionals as an example, this article initially examines factors in the evolution of consumer and self-help movements which challenge professionals to transform traditional roles and ideologies from expert provider of services to partner. The inherent strengths and weaknesses of educational approaches for meeting this challenge to prepare for partnership will be analyzed.

Professionalization and Colonization of Disciplines

Traditional professional education programs are based on an ideology of professionalism and socialization into professional values of expertise vis à vis lay persons. The sociological theories of professionalism could be considered applicable to analysis of the relationship between professional and lay systems. Yet, there has been little theoretical work done in the sociology of professions on the "fit" of lay helpers and self-help with the formal system. (Dingwall & Lewis, 1983)

Professionalism is a culture, or set of learned values, which reinforces the public's consciousness of dependence and vulnerability. (Bledstein, 1976) The monopoly of professionals over "necessary" skills and knowledge derives from special training. (Reuschemeyer, 1983) The social significance of professional knowledge in reproducing a particular order and maintaining a protective mystique has been reaffirmed. Schon (1987, p. 340) ironically depicts the traditional view of professional knowledge as "I am presumed to know and must claim to do so, regardless of my own uncertainty." A consequence of the professionalization of knowledge is to make laypersons more dependent upon experts in society. (Popkewitz, 1984)

Professional socialization is considered to be an interactive process whereby the professional culture and ideology is transmitted initially through an educational process, leading to the acquisition of requisite knowledge, skills, values and roles (Jarvis, 1983; Stark, Lowther, Hagerty & Orczyk, 1986) and to "internalization of standards defined by the profession's elite". (Larson, 1977, p. 200) Adult educators recognize that socialization can also be viewed as a life long process. (Griffin, 1977) Yet, the adult education literature reveals that few studies of professional socialization have considered the societal structure into which professionals are socialized, (Feinberg, 1983) or the social formation of professional practice and knowledge. There is however, an evolving critique among adult educators (Rockhill, 1985; Selman, 1988) of the professionalization of adult education discourse and practise, which emphasizes social and reflective concepts of learning.

Certainly, the activities of recipients of services are also constrained by hierarchical regulatory norms in bureaucratic organizations. (Schon, 1987) The bureaucratized health-care system presses for a compliant and passive clientele (Bledstein, 1976) and for psychological distance between helper and helpee (Lieberman & Bliwise, 1985), as does the educational bureaucracy. (Freire, 1970; Selman, 1988) Nevertheless, commitment to a scientifically oriented and bureaucratic paradigm is nearly universal among professional disciplines.

Challenges within Professions to Dominant Professional Models

A profession's capacity for excluding competing paradigms in education and research and for assuming control is augmented by its connection with science. (Larson, 1977; Popkewitz, 1984) Kuhn (1970) raises the question of professional socialization in the context of paradigms which are comprised of disciplinary matrices and exemplars. The paradigm, an encapsulating framework of consensual beliefs accepted by most members of a self-contained community within a discipline, organizes perceptions and defines research interests and methodologies. Disciplinary matrices are acquired implicitly through modelling and shared exemplars in the educational process. (Eckberg, 1979) Students are taught to learn and accept the paradigm revealed in its textbooks, lectures and laboratory sessions. Kuhn (1970, p. 19) links curricula to paradigms: "The claim for a special place in the curriculum has usually been associated with a group's first reception of a single paradigm."

Three main paradigms in the philosophy of science—the empirical-analytical, phenomenological or symbolic sciences and critical social theory—have intersected the educational sciences and health professional education research. (Bernstein, 1976; Dallmayr & McCarthy, 1976; Popkewitz, 1984) Many health professionals have continued to depend on the medical model, which is firmly rooted in positivistic scientific methods and philosophies. (Clarke, 1986) The traditional medical model has been criticized because of the asymmetrical profession-patient relationship in which recipient dependence is fostered and professionals establish the rules governing behaviour. Most professional-treatment models depend on complex technologies (Lieberman & Bliwise, 1985) and a bioreductionist model which restricts comprehension of health problems to the function of the human organs. (Laura, 1985)

The empirical positivistic tradition ignores political and social reality, thereby reinforcing dominant societal values and misrepresenting human action. (Bernstein, 1976; Feinberg, 1983) For this reason, there appears to be a shifting paradigm in educational research and practice from dominance of scientific ideals to a personal, social and holistic focus. (Allender, 1986) Likewise, social constructionist and holistic views are beginning to receive attention as potential paradigms for medical practitioners (Laura, 1985; Wright & Treacher, 1982) and nurses (Meleis, 1986) and as alternatives to the dominance of the medical model.

Dissatisfactions with and decisions to reject one paradigm because of emerging anomalies, accompanied by the decision to accept a new paradigm, can lead to advances in professions. Paradigm shifts or "revolutions" only affect members of a professional subspeciality through an increasing shift in the distribution of professional allegiance. (Kuhn, 1970)

Thus, Kuhn's doctrine of scientific change may be one framework for explaining pressures for professional change. Another is the sociology of professions (discussed earlier), which is beginning to refer to clients' growing unwillingness to accept without question the authority, expertise and ethics of professionals (Friedson, 1983) and to the necessity for "reprofessionalization". (Larson, 1977) Control of expert services by consumers is considered one alternative to professional and bureaucratic control. (Derber, 1982; Reuschemeyer, 1983) The theoretical critique of professionalization in adult education has led to a paradigm shift which permits a broadening of the traditional paradigm to one which is responsive to consumer social movements. (Freire, 1970; Selman, 1988)

Consumer Social Movements Challenge Professionalism

From the professional viewpoint, the growing phenomenon of self-help groups can also be conceptualized as a social movement which challenges professional beliefs, methods and prerogatives. (Touraine, 1985) The issues such movements raise are those connected with shifting boundaries between professional providers in the formal sector and lay helpers and consumers in the informal sector.

Thus, the social-movement literature provides a third framework for considering pressures toward professional change. Social movements are defined as collective action directed toward social change and as conflict expression between groups fighting for control of resources. (Cohen, 1985; Melucci, 1985; Touraine, 1985) Major movements are purportedly not formed because the system is in crisis (unlike paradigm shifts) but are the result of new kinds of social conflict. (Gundelach, 1984) The values of new social movements are autonomy, identity and opposition to manipulatory control and bureaucratization. (Offe, 1985) Thus these movements tend to involve consumer/citizen "battles" against the establishment. Knowledge plays a fundamental role, not only in the sociology of professions and paradigm formation, but in the development of social movements because the need for new forms of knowledge is at the center of new conflicts. Social movements include social learning and identity formation. (Cohen, 1985; Touraine, 1985)

Several ideas in the social-movement literature have relevance for consumer self-help groups. Self-help groups aim to demystify professional expertise by shifting power to consumers and by altering traditional roles of lay people and professionals. Offe (1984, p. 237) concludes that self-help initiatives "could come to play an important role as long as they were recognized as socially normal and vital". This reference indirectly reflects the dilemma posed by the professional self-help group interface, a common theme in the self-help literature. Clearly, the self-help movement satisfies the following social-movement criteria: decentralized units connected personally and structurally, an ideology, real or perceived opposition from society or the established order, and a sense of common purpose. (Katz, 1981; Smith & Pillemer, 1983) Self-help groups are characterized by the need for individual and social change. Hence, the self-help movement could be expected to affect the provider-consumer relationship (Schiller & Levin, 1983) and the preparation and education of health care professionals. This is a growing conviction among adult educators that a new focus is needed which is less elitist and permits more dialogue with consumers, reflected in "popular education methods" used in community settings. (Freire, 1970; Selman, 1988)

In sum, the impetus and need for professional transformation and the influence of professional knowledge, learning and education, although viewed from differing perspectives, are recurrent themes in these three distinct literatures.

Barriers to Transformation and Potentiating Influences

Factors which may have an impact on the effectiveness of educational approaches to transformation are suggested in discussions of social change, attitudinal change, theory/education-practice dissonance, organization structure, societal forces and paradigm shifts.

The effectiveness of education in creating social change is the subject of considerable controversy. Cross (1983) contends that it is difficult to think of any social change which does not require attention to lifelong adult learning. Conversely, the influence of societal change extends to the domain of education. (Allender, 1986) The perennial debate about whether schools can change the values and structure of society or vice versa continues. (Feinberg, 1983) Any educational model of change must contain an understanding of the reproductive dimensions in a society (Popkewitz, 1984) that make orientations resistant to change. That educational progressiveness is not necessarily connected with social structural change has been argued with some success over the past few years by adult educators, (Brookfield, 1983; Griffin, 1977) The "lived experience" of learners acts as a mediating force in what is actually taught, learned and rejected.

Regrettably, students who enter professional programs in the health fields typically come from a middle-class culture, which socializes them to believe that expert solutions take precedence over experiential solutions. (Gottlieb & Farquharson, 1985) Such early ingrained attitudes (which have cognitive and affective dimensions) frequently resist challenge and change. Further, attitudes which relate to the professional ideology and which have become internalized as part of the ego identity of the practitioner (Jarvis, 1983) are relatively slow to alter. Moving to a conception of consumers and lay helpers as partners runs counter to the health professional's traditional understanding of the helping process and of professional roles. This fundamental shift in attitudes is complex and will require much more than theoretical, didactic curricular change. Educational approaches to attitudinal change must elicit the attention and comprehension of the individual. Faculty commitment to the revised ideology of professional practice and experiential opportunities to practice skills are also required.

Gaps between education and practice, linked in some instances to theory-practice gaps, have been reported in diverse professional literatures. Theory-practice dissonance is prevalent in adult education and other applied fields. (Gottlieb, 1985) Griffin (1977, p. 45-46) in his discussions of adult education, perceptively purports that "philosophical analysis has failed to uncover adequately the dynamic relations between 'forms' and 'fields' or between theories 'about' and theories 'of' or between theory and practice itself." Separation of theory from practice is also continually problematic for nursing (Clarke, 1986) and medicine. (Wright & Treacher, 1982)

Perhaps professionals contemplating change should keep both the broad view of "what is" and the formulation of "what ought to be" in mind, thereby combining realism with idealism. Nevertheless, idealism is necessary if professionals are to prepare for the challenge of consumer-participation movements and relevant practice roles.

Preparation programs continue to influence the professional community through their graduates and are in turn influenced by their own graduates. (Stark et al., 1986) However, there is also a feedback loop back from the traditional practice setting to education, which may explain the tenacious adherence to outmoded medical-model views by some health professional educators. Unlike the empirical-analytical paradigm, which imposes a distinction between theory and practice, (Popkewitz, 1984) critical theory might fill the intellectual and practical vacuum as it "seeks a genuine unity of theory and revolutionary praxis." (Bernstein, 1976, p. 182)

As noted, values and norms of professional roles may be aligned with work-setting demands. Organizational structures may determine professional choice of helping model which may not be congruent with consumer preference. In fact, the bureaucratic context is considered pathogenic because it suggests dependence on experts. (Bernstein, 1983) Further, assumptions of traditional sociological theory indicate that bureaucracy will supplant the primary group and vitiate initiative and involvement at the local level. Certainly educational attempts to reduce lay reliance on professionals and bureaucratic organizations, which ignore social conditions and beliefs that legitimize these features of human services, will be undermined.

Jarvis (1983) is undoubtedly mistaken in his belief that there should be no intrinsic connection between the needs of society and the aims of professional education. Professional preparation programs are influenced by internal, intra-organizational and external societal forces, which interact to create a professional preparation environment that in turn influences the design of educational processes intended to achieve professional preparation outcomes. (Stark et al., 1986) Professional practice is based not just on education but on a number of sociocultural assumptions and expectations. Recent "revolutionary" thinkers in the human service fields, both health (Wright & Treacher, 1982) and adult education, (Popkewitz, 1984) emphasize "social practice" and linkage with society rather than the traditional view of distinctive spheres. This implies that professionals need to acknowledge and interact with lay social networks.

Health professional efforts to construct a discipline and to legitimize practice through enhanced education and theory construction could conceivably oppose new social movements and increase consumer-practitioner gaps. It could be contended, however, that these risks increase when health professionals are educated in the traditional mode. An educational process is one approach to early socialization of professionals away from the traditional mode. Rather than making them more "expert", as early versions of the sociology of professions would suggest, this reprofessionalization could facilitate attitudinal, knowledge and skill changes which are more amenable to partnership with lay participants. However, educators must remember that socialization activities directed toward the development of a professional identity are not always consciously undertaken by educators. Further, faculty may reflect different, if not conflicting, paradigms, particularly if the theoretical/conceptual framework for curricular reform has not been accepted.

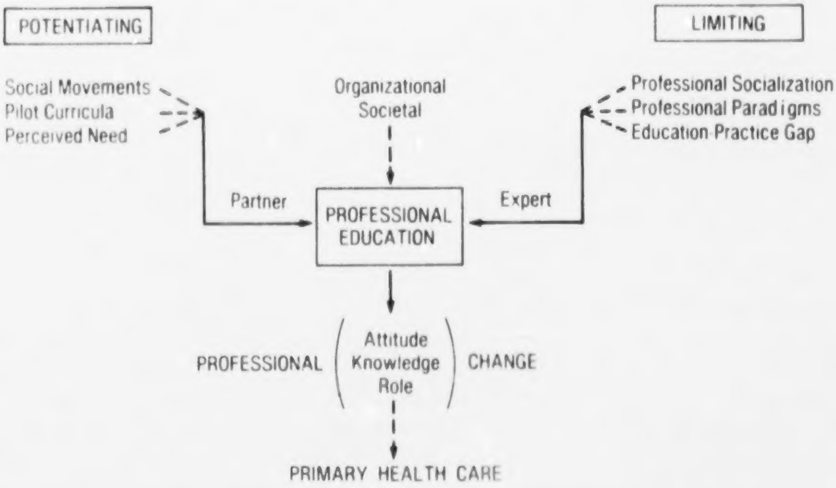
The transfer of allegiance from paradigm to paradigm cannot be forced and resistance to paradigm shifts will be encountered as long as some believe that the older paradigm will solve all the professional community's problems. It is difficult for health professionals to give up a dominant role reached through years of education, credentialism, and monopoly on practice areas. There is a threat to professional identity in addressing weaknesses in the professional sphere and in citizens becoming agents rather than targets of change. Individuals "who embrace a new paradigm at an early stage must often do so in defiance of the evidence...and have faith that the new paradigm will succeed with the many large problems that confront it knowing only that the older paradigm failed with a few." (Kuhn, 1970, p. 158) However, most health professions are undoubtedly in the preparadigm stage, characterized by conflicting schools of thought, and lack of agreement on theories, methodologies and beliefs. Therefore, educational efforts at paradigmatic "change" or "creation" may encounter fewer obstacles than in other, more established disciplines. Further, there is an emerging belief in many disciplines that we are not confronted with exclusive choices in the selection of paradigms and that we should not accept inappropriate restrictions in the range of paradigms that may legitimately be used. (Bernstein, 1983; Susskind & Klein, 1985)

In summary, although there are numerous potentiating and limiting forces (See Figure 1) within the health disciplines and society, which would influence the impact of educational strategies for professional change, the promising power of concomitant attitudinal, knowledge and role changes can be considered congruent with the premises of a primary health care model. (World Health Organization [WHO], 1985)

In contrast to the medical model, this assumes reliance on lay health workers and partnership with consumers. These forces may be similar to those operating within adult education, which appears to be moving from a traditional, technical model toward a more dialogical model of teaching and learning. Thus the dissemination of ideas would shift from "elitist" to "popular" methods.

Figure 1

Factors Influencing Effectiveness of Professional Education to Prepare for Work with Lay Groups


POTENTIATING
LIMITING
Social Movements
Pilot Curricula
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Organizational
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Professional Socialization
Professional Paradigms
Education Practice Gap
Partner
Expert
PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION
PROFESSIONAL
Attitude
Knowledge
Role
CHANGE
PRIMARY HEALTH CARE

Educational Preparation of Professionals for Transition

Professional responses to lay-help groups and consumers are influenced by education. Lenrow and Burch (1981) hope that interdependence of professionals with clients and sensitivity to the views of clients will become a principle modelled in professional training and exemplified in professional practice. However, Katz (1985, p. 135) recommends that "as long as it [interdependence] remains an unrealized vision...emphasis in professional curricula...on self-help forms" should occur.

The preceding discussion points to the need for professional education in appropriate roles, skills and attitudes. Some consider the greatest obstacle to collaboration with lay persons/groups to be a deficiency in the professional knowledge and skill base. Tensions between different types of knowledge and values, including ideological assumptions about the helping process (Kurtz, 1984) and respective roles, make partnership difficult. A review of the self-help literature reveals that knowledge deficits regarding the alternative modality and attitudinal misconceptions surrounding power and control issues predominate as barriers to positive interaction. It would seem that unique differences must be respected, tensions must be acknowledged, and perceived obstacles to "partnership" from the perspective of each party must be identified before interdependence can occur.

Interviews and surveys of professionals working with mutual-aid self-help groups and of self-help group members reveal a prevalent perception of a professional knowledge gap. Professional knowledge was found to be strongly associated with referrals to and linkages with self-help groups (Miller, 1983) and with supportive attitudes toward group development. (Black & Drachman, 1985) However, the vast majority of professionals reported little or no coverage in their educational programs, rated their current knowledge as either fair or poor, and desired further information about such groups. (Black & Drachman, 1985; Levy, 1983; Todres, 1982; Toseland & Hacker, 1985) Both lay persons and professionals also identify role ambiguity as a problem. Virtually all reviews of linkages between formal and informal helping point to fundamental shifts and redefinitions in professional roles. These differ in significant ways from the direct service roles played in traditional professional-client relationships.

As self-help groups acquire autonomy and as the professional role changes from expert provider to invited catalyst, consultant or partner, learning must occur. Rather than manipulation, hostility or indifference, professionals need to learn a partnership orientation to consumers which, in Larson's (1977, p. 189) words, "challenges the division between professionals and laity." New competencies (which imply changed knowledge, skills and attitudes) should be developed in educational programs. Two competencies described by Stark et al. (1986) as outcomes of professional education could be considered particularly relevant to professional preparation for working with consumer and lay helpers. "Contextual" competence is an understanding of the broad social, economic and cultural setting in which the profession is practiced, and "adaptive" competence is the ability to adjust to new conditions in a rapidly changing society.

Attitudes, knowledge and skills can be modified through education. The World Health Organization recommends changes in professional training internationally and nationally to enable professionals to develop knowledge and understanding of self-help groups. (Hatch & Kickbusch, 1983) A few successful examples of curricula which achieve this goal to a greater or lesser extent are emerging. At the University of Toronto, medical students meet in seminars with members of self-help groups in a program which stresses experiential strategies. Medical students who participate in self-help groups themselves report benefits such as support from peers and insight into problem solving. (Goetzel, Shelov & Croen, 1983) One curriculum for social workers seeks to force a re-examination of a professional enterprise that casts non-professionals into the subservient role of client, (Gottlieb, 1985, p. 32) experientially and didactically. One could speculate that the emphasis on experiential teaching strategies is derived not only from a grounding in educational theory but in efforts to be congruent with the experiential knowledge core (Borkman, 1976) of self-help groups. However, this is never explicitly stated.

Experiential approaches to adult education in Canada have been articulated by Griffin (1988) who suggests that professionals and clients should be "working together in cooperative inquiry" rather than casting the professional in the role of "expert". Thus adult educators, like health professionals, need to move from expert provider to egalitarian partner.

In sum, the potential power of professional-educational reform to meet the challenges posed by informal support networks is reinforced by these successful pilot projects and perceived need among both professionals and self-help group members. (Figure 1)

Conclusions

Given the historical and social construction of disciplines, health professionals as well as adult educators would be well-advised to reflect on the implications of professional socialization, paradigmatic shifting, and social movements. Clearly, societal and institutional influences must be acknowledged and congruent changes in these spheres should accompany educational reform. Educational change efforts must be directed at attitudinal, skill and knowledge development.

Nevertheless, a professional educational strategy would necessarily be an incomplete effort directed at only one member of the partnership. Some consumers may have been socialized to prefer dependence on the expert specialist. It is hoped, however, that professional preparation for appropriate roles may, in the long term, mobilize and enhance lay support networks and facilitate consumer education. Further, it is anticipated that theory-practice dissonance may be reduced if these sectors are interrelated under a theoretical framework which is socially congruent because it is responding to consumer demands reflected in a social movement. Relevant progressive curricula are needed to prepare professionals to meet changing societal needs.

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EDUCATION DES ADULTES ET PERSONNALITÉS VOCATIONNELLES

Danielle Riverin-Simard, Ph.D.
Merardo Arriola-Socol, Ph.D.

Université Laval

Résumé

A l'aide d'entrevues semi-structurées menées auprès de 73 travailleurs, situés dans la trentaine, la présente recherche veut présenter un découpage de la clientèle adulte associé à des caractéristiques structurales et pouvant avoir des incidences sur les besoins en matière de formation. Une analyse qualitative des données fait état de six catégories correspondant à autant de types de personnalité vocationnelle, soit les types réaliste, investigatif, artistique, social, entreprenant et conventionnel. Les applications pratiques suggérées proposent des contenus et activités en fonction de chacune de ces six catégories.

Abstract

On the basis of semi-structured interviews with 73 workers in their thirties, this research aims to present an outline of adult clientele associated with structural characteristics and having varied training needs. A qualitative analysis of the data reveals six categories corresponding to six types of vocational personalities: realistic, investigative, artistic, social, enterprising or conventional. The suggested practical applications propose content and activities according to each of these six categories.

Introduction

L'approche humaniste contemporaine en éducation des adultes pose comme principe la nécessité d'être centré sur l'apprenant, c'est-à-dire d'établir les interventions à partir des besoins ou intérêts des adultes eux-mêmes. Selon Elias et Merriam (1980), parmi les six philosophies de l'éducation des adultes, ce concept andragogique proposé par Knowles (1970) est l'un des plus répandus en Amérique du Nord et dans certains pays d'Europe. Même dans les états socialistes où l'éducation est étroitement associée aux orientations soit sociétales, soit nationales, il est reconnu que les activités de formation des adultes doivent être congruentes avec les besoins et motivations des gens (Boshier et Collins, 1985).

Cependant les formateurs d'adultes, adhérant à cette approche de l'humanisme contemporain, sont confrontés quotidiennement à la difficulté de gérer ce principe de l'unicité de la clientèle adulte alors que cette dernière est, comparativement à celle de l'enfant et de l'adolescent, caractérisée surtout par une formidable hétérogénéité de connaissances et d'expériences. Par exemple, selon Arriola-Socol (1989), il existe chez les adultes différents niveaux de conscience (passive, naïve et critique) qui favorisent à l'intérieur d'un groupe d'adultes la co-existence de façons différentes de percevoir et d'analyser leurs expériences. Ainsi afin de mieux saisir les besoins en matière de perfectionnement ou de formation de cette clientèle, plusieurs stratifications ou découpages ont été faits. Les chercheurs ont, tour à tour, tenté d'identifier les différentes motivations de ces adultes à s'inscrire dans les activités d'apprentissage (typologie tripologique de Houle, 1961; les sept facteurs de Burgess, 1971; les scores du "Education Participation scale" de Boshier et Collins, 1982); ils ont également essayé de cerner les valeurs, besoins ou attentes selon les étapes de vie au travail (Riverin-Simard, 1984; 1988), le sexe (Miles, 1989), le statut socio-économique (Riverin-Simard, 1990) ainsi que selon diverses autres variables telles le niveau de scolarité, le statut marital, etc. (Doray, Paquet et Bouchard, 1982).

Toutefois, ce courant de recherche concernant les caractéristiques structurales de la clientèle adulte a, selon Boshier et Collins (1985), attiré très peu de chercheurs comparativement aux études apparentées aux applications fonctionnelles des particularités de cette clientèle. De plus, dans cette lignée d'investigations trop peu nombreuses, un relevé auprès de différentes banques de données confirme l'absence de recherches centrées sur l'identificaiton des valeurs, besoins ou attentes de cette clientèle adulte selon le type de personnalité occupationnelle. Pourtant une typologie des diverses personnalités vocationnelles validée à travers dix pays, soit celle de Holland (1985), pourrait offrir un éclairage fort intéressant sur les caractéristiques structurales de la clientèle adulte, actuelle et éventuelle. De plus, il faut surtout souligner que cette variable qu'est la personnalité et ce, peu importe s'il s'agit ou non d'une personnalité vocationnelle, est généralement considérée au sein du courant humaniste contemporain comme étant essentielle à la compréhension du développement de la personne. En effet, il est reconnu qu'une des visées majeures de cette approche est précisément de mettre en valeur ce qu'il y a de supérieur dans la personnalité (Clapier-Valladon, 1986, p.99).

La présente recherche vise donc à identifier un nouveau découpage de la clientèle adulte, actuelle et éventuelle, selon cette variable si pertinente et centrale aux activités éducatives qu'est le type de personnalité vocationnelle. A cet effet, nous savons qu'il y a un lien étroit entre le fait de s'inscrire à des activités de l'éducation des adultes et les aspirations à progresser dans une carrière ou à la modifier (Dumazodier, 1977; Tough, 1981; Cross, 1982).

Par ailleurs, parmi les adultes de différents âges, les particularités des gens de la trentaine ont fait l'objet de nombreuses études. Et pour cause, ces travailleurs sont souvent considérés, à tort ou à raison, comme se situant au sommet de leur efficacité au travail. Par exemple, on relate que les gens les plus créatifs ont effectué leurs travaux originaux au milieu de la trentaine (Stein, 1968). Les organisations tiennent à repérer leurs "princes héritiers" (c'est-à-dire leurs futurs piliers ou dirigeants) lorsque ces derniers ont environ 35 ans (Schein, 1978; Jago, 1982). Mais au-delà de cette perception peut-être trop facilement positive, les écrits pertinents font peu mention de la réalité vocationnelle vécue par les adultes du milieu de la trentaine (Cherniss, 1980; Davis et Barrett, 1981). De plus, au regard de l'éducation continue, la trentaine semble souvent marquer un tournant décisif concernant l'arrêt ou la poursuite de ces activités de formation ou de perfectionnement. Ce serait à ce moment, semble-t-il, que les habitudes de gestion de carrière se prennent, incluant ou non, la planification d'activités de formation continue.

Ainsi, la présente étude poursuit un double objectif: approfondir d'une part les besoins, valeurs et attentes des adultes selon un découpage structural lié à une variable peu étudiée, à savoir la personnalité vocationnelle, et d'autre part, mieux cerner la strate d'âge charnière favorisant l'inscription à des activités éducatives, que semble être le milieu de la trentaine; à cette fin, la question centrale suivante a été posée: comment se vit la trentaine au travail selon la personnalité vocationnelle?

Eléments Théoriques

Parmi les sept conceptions de la personnalité identifiées par Clapier-Valladon (1986), notre recherche s'appuie sur l'approche humaniste-existentielle postulant l'actualisation continue de la personnalité. De plus, cette dernière emprunte un postulat central aux théories typologiques qui préconisent la présence de types permettant de regrouper les individus tout en respectant leur complexité et leur unicité; parmi celles-ci, nous avons privilégié la conception de la typologie des personnalités vocationnelles de Holland. Selon cet auteur, dans la culture nord-américaine et même dans dix pays faisant partie de la culture européenne et même occidentale, la plupart des gens peuvent être classifiés en fonction de leur degré de ressemblance avec les types de personnalité suivants: réaliste, investigatif, artistique, social, entreprenant et conventionnel (la description de chacun de ces types fera l'objet des pages suivantes).

Par ailleurs, en ce qui concerne le développement vocationnel de l'adulte dans la trentaine, les auteurs s'entendent généralement pour affirmer que cette étape de vie au travail constitue un point stratégique pour la suite de ce développement. Par exemple, Wanous (1980) croit que les gens de cet âge se situent vers la fin du processus complexe de l'insertion socio-professionnelle; cette dernière étape est la période du réel engagement dans la vie de l'entreprise et c'est également le moment de l'acceptation de l'individu par l'organisation. Gabbaro (1985), pour sa part, situe également cette étape de vie au travail dans la socialisation au marché du travail. Selon cet auteur, vers le milieu de la trentaine, l'adulte est rendu à l'étape de la consolidation où, à l'aise dans son champ de compétences, il développe ses techniques personnelles, élargit son champ de responsabilités et maîtrise son travail d'une façon plus stable. De plus, selon Gabbaro (1985), vers cet âge, intervient également un processus de raffinement où le candidat se sent prêt à prendre de nouvelles responsabilités, à relever de nouveaux défis; par contre, il peut parfois se sentir plafonné et réagir en se cherchant un emploi ailleurs, en retournant aux études ou encore en participant plus activement au développement de l'organisation.

Selon Super (1963: 1980), il importe pour l'adulte d'environ 35 ans de s'établir fermement dans l'occupation où il a déjà possiblement trouvé une position satisfaisante, de consolider la position déjà gagnée et de progresser dans son domaine d'activités jusqu'à ce que le stade de maintenance commence. Lors de cette phase de consolidation, les tâches auxquelles est confronté l'adulte de cet âge sont, entre autres, d'élargir et de solidifier ses frontières de manière telle que la fonction puisse être occupée d'une manière sécurisante et avec satisfaction pour le reste de sa vie au travail. Il s'agit donc, selon Super, de consolider ses acquis, de devenir bien établi dans son occupation et d'aller de l'avant dans son domaine afin de bien s'y assurer une place.

Méthodologie

Les données de la recherche ont été recueillies auprès de 73 travailleurs de la région du Québec métropolitain, travaillant dans des entreprises privées, des organismes publics et parapublics. Ces adultes exercent des professions ou métiers très diversifiés. L'échantillon a été constitué selon une technique aléatoire après une stratification selon l'âge, le statut socio-économique, le sexe et le secteur de travail. Nous avons déterminé leur statut socio-économique à partir de la catégorie d'emploi indiquée par l'informateur, couplée au salaire déclaré par l'employeur; sur la base de cette double information, nous avons utilisé la classification de Blishen (1976) pour les répartir en trois classes: aisée, moyenne et défavorisée. Nous avons utilisé la typologie de Holland (1985) pour l'identification des personnalités vocationnelles. Le type de personnalité a été établi en combinant deux méthodes qualitatives validées et suggérées par Holland, à savoir d'une part, l'identification de la profession exercée et, d'autre part, l'histoire de la vie occupationnelle, c'est-à-dire les emplois occupés antérieurement. L'équivalence de ces catégories avec les six types de personnalité de Holland est basée sur la Classification canadienne descriptive des professions (CCDP).

Les 73 sujets, âgés entre 33 et 37 ans, se répartissent comme suit: il y a 45 hommes et 28 femmes; 20 appartiennent à la classe socio-économique défavorisée, 24 à la classe moyenne et 29 à la classe aisée; 23 appartiennent au secteur parapublic, 20 au secteur privé et 30 au secteur public. Les 73 sujets se répartissent ainsi selon leur type de personnalité: réaliste (n=15), investigatif (n=10), artiste (n=9), social (n=14), entreprenant (n=12) et conventionnel (n=13).

Presque toutes les personnes retenues dans l'échantillon (97%) ont accepté de se prêter à l'entrevue qui s'est déroulée, dans 92% des cas, sur les lieux et les heures de travail. Ces entrevues, de type semi-structuré, portaient sur la formation ou l'expérience professionnelle et les perspectives de carrière à moyen terme; elles englobaient une rétrospective et une perspective de 5 ans chacune.

Les entrevues ont été analysées à l'aide d'une grille construite a posteriori selon le procédé d'analyse comparative de Horth (1986) dans laquelle chaque information est comparée à l'information déjà relevée dans le discours des sujets précédents. Lorsque l'information est répétitive, nous l'associons alors aux réponses précédentes; si elle apporte un élément de nouveauté, nous créons une autre catégorie. Notons enfin que notre analyse met l'accent sur l'univers individuel et non sur l'incidence que peuvent avoir les structures sociales par rapport à la courbe d'existence des individus. Selon la terminologie de Clapier-Valladon (1983), il s'agit d'une analyse de type surtout psychobiographique (centrée sur le vécu de l'individu) plutôt qu'ethnobiographique (centrée sur l'expression des modèles culturels).

Lors de l'analyse du discours des sujets, nous avons recensé six thèmes. Le premier correspond au processus global poursuivi par les adultes de cet âge; ces derniers sont engagés dans une course occupationnelle. Les deuxième et troisième thèmes révèlent deux classes d'objectifs visés par cette course, soit la reconnaissance de son savoir-être, soit celle de son savoir-faire. Les quatrième, cinquième et sixième thèmes correspondent à des stratégies d'interaction individu-milieu utilisées pour effectuer cette course occupationnelle; ces stratégies sont la réaction, l'interaction et la transaction. Ces six thèmes se définissent comme suit.

1. La course occupationnelle correspond à une étape de vie au travail dans lesquelles les règles du jeu paraissent s'établir selon deux critères: l'obligation d'avancer à un rythme accéléré; surmonter rapidement les obstacles.

2. Le savoir-être se décrit comme l'ensemble unique des attitudes (sentiments, croyances, valeurs, façons de s'exprimer) et habiletés cognitives qui font l'originalité d'une personne et qu'elle peut mettre à la disposition d'autrui, à titre onéreux ou gratuit.

3. Le savoir-faire est l'ensemble des connaissances, expériences et techniques accumulées ou intégrées par

une personne et qu'elle peut également mettre à la disposition d'autrui, à titre onéreux ou gratuit.

4. La réaction. Dans cette stratégie, les buts visés par la course occupationnelle s'astreignent surtout à accentuer l'intégration alternative des réactions tantôt de la personne, tantôt de celles du milieu. Cette stratégie repose sur les postulats voulant que chaque pôle (moi-milieu) soit régi par ses propres lois et que les comportements psychologiques soient délimités par les forces inhérentes à la personne ou au milieu. Ainsi selon cette stratégie, la course occupationnelle a des chances de réussir si l'individu intensifie ses efforts visant à une identification plus raffinée des attentes du milieu d'une part, et d'autre part, une identification de ses aspirations personnelles; ce faisant, il conçoit ces mêmes attentes et aspirations comme étant deux entités surtout distinctes et très peu interdépendantes.

5. L'interaction. Selon cette stratégie, le moyen de réussir la course est surtout l'intensification de la qualité des influences réciproques moi-milieu. Dans cette stratégie, chaque partie (moi et milieu) est conçue comme ayant des propriétés intrinsèques mais chacune d'elles est potentiellement susceptible d'être grandement affectée par son interaction avec l'autre. Ainsi cette stratégie de course se traduit surtout, par l'accentuation de la préoccupation de l'adulte à identifier et à améliorer l'interinfluence moi-milieu car selon cette stratégie, la réussite de cette course dépend de l'accroissement rapide de cette qualité de l'interdépendance des éléments en présence.

6. La transaction. Selon cette stratégie, le travailleur croit que, pour réussir la course occupationnelle, il doive surtout faire preuve de tolérance devant l'ambiguïté, la nouveauté, l'incertitude ou la variabilité d'une réalité globale toujours mouvante et nouvelle. Les aspirations personnelles, les attentes du milieu de même que les interrelations moi-milieu n'existent pas en soi; n'existe que la configuration momentanée d'une réalité globale qui est toujours à se refaire. Cette stratégie de

transaction conçoit alors la course occupationnelle comme étant surtout liée à une juste lecture de la globalité d'une confluence de facteurs situationnels toujours changeants et interconnectés d'une manière inséparable. Cette stratégie privilégie dans un premier temps, un processus d'évaluation continu sur la pertinence de sa situation actuelle en fonction des buts de la course occupationnelle et, dans un deuxième temps, une disponibilité marquée pour la mobilité occupationnelle.

Résultats

Les résultats sont résumés aux tableaux I et II.

TABLEAU I
BUTS DE LA COURSE OCCUPATIONNELLE ET PERSONNALITÉS VOCATIONNELLES

TYPES DE PERSONNALITÉ	VERS LA RECONNAISSANCE DE:	
	son savoir-être	son savoir-faire
Artistique	son originalité créative	
Social	ses qualités interpersonnelles	
Entreprenant	son leadership ou ascendance	
Conventionnel		ses capacités de soutien à l'organisation
Réaliste		ses compétences techniques
Investigatif		ses habiletés de recherche

TABLEAU II
STRATEGIES DE COURSE OCCUPATIONNELLE SELON LES PERSONNALITÉS VOCATIONELLES

BUTS DE LA COURSE	STRATEGIES DE COURSE		
associés à reconnaissance de son/sa:	réaction	interaction	transaction
savoir-être	Artiste	Social	Entreprenant
savoir-faire	Réaliste	Conventionnel	Investigatif

Le type artistique. Selon Holland (1985), chez la personne de ce type domine un attrait pour les activités à caractère libre, non systématique impliquant la création par la manipulation de matériaux divers. Par contraste, les activités ordonnées et structurées la rebutent. Elle possède des aptitudes artistiques que ce soit sur le plan du langage, de la musique ou de l'écriture. Les qualités artistiques sont mises en valeur chez cette personne qui se perçoit notamment comme expressive, originale, intuitive et non-conformiste. Elle peut se révéler complexe, désordonnée, impulsive et dénuée de sens pratique.

Les résultats indiquent que la personne de type artistique semble vivre une étape de vie au travail associée à une course occupationnelle. Elle ressent une certaine obligation d'avancer à un rythme accéléré dans sa carrière et elle se sent tenue de surmonter rapidement les obstacles.

> Quand on est plus jeune, on pense au plan de carrière qu'on peut avoir, on envisage le futur, on ne sait pas trop où on va aller, on a un point d'interrogation. Aujourd'hui, on se pose la question d'une manière beaucoup plus pressée, on se demande: est-ce que je vais stagner là pendant mes 20-25 ans de carrière ou est-ce qu'à un moment donné, il y aura progression?

Durant la course occupationnelle, cette personne de type artistique vise la reconnaissance de son savoir-être artistique (tableau I) en choisissant le moyen de se lancer dans plusieurs types d'activités de front; au cas où le milieu finirait par reconnaître officiellement son originalité ou son unicité dans l'une ou l'autre de ces activités.

> Moi j'ai pris 2 domaines en même temps; je ne suis pas spécialiste dans les deux, mais ce qui me manque, je vais aller le chercher, j'aurai les moyens; avec deux occupations, je perds d'une façon, mais je gagne plus d'une autre, car comme cela, je vais chercher pas mal le maximum.

Cette reconnaissance de son savoir-être artistique est d'autant plus convoité dans cette course qu'elle semble une condition sine qua non de son succès professionnel.

> A partir du moment où tu te sens important, tu as peut-être des choses valables à offrir aux autres.

Parfois durant la course occupationnelle, pressée de se placer dans des conditions visant à faire reconnaître son unicité, la personne de type artistique songe à un changement de carrière à plus ou moins brève échéance.

> Je ne prévois pas rester dans mon poste toute ma vie [gestion des oeuvres d'art], je suis tannée [lasse]; *je suis dans les affaires et je veux être dans les arts.*

La personne de type artistique, durant la course occupationnelle, utilise une stratégie de course associée à la réaction (tableau II), c'est-à-dire, qu'elle saisit les pôles moi et milieu comme étant très distincts. Elle intensifie ses efforts visant à une identification plus raffinée des attentes du milieu, d'une part, et à une identification de ses aspirations personnelles, d'autre part.

> Il y a eu une période de flottement durant 4 ans; durant les 4 dernières années, je me demandais comment est-ce que je m'intègrerais à mon travail; quel serait mon rôle ici; qu'est-ce qu'on attend de moi?.

Cette stratégie de course liée à celle de la réaction amène parfois la personne de type artistique à juger que les attentes du milieu ainsi que ses aspirations personnelles sont incompatibles à ce point qu'elle préfère créer son propre emploi afin d'obtenir les conditions d'autonomie et de liberté d'expression créatrice, et augmenter ainsi ses chances de faire reconnaître son unicité.

> J'ai commencé à être heureux seulement depuis que je suis mon propre patron. Maintenant, le travail que je fais, c'est parce que je l'ai choisi.

Cette stratégie de course place parfois cette personne de type artistique devant un choix univoque entre sa sécurité financière et ses intérêts occupationnels, les pôles moi et milieu ne pouvant concilier ces deux préoccupations adéquatement.

> On est pris pour vivre.
>
> Je suis sans contrat depuis 6 mois; ça fait déjà 2 semaines que je ne fais plus rien. C'est une incertitude au travail.

Ce choix difficile risque, non seulement d'annuler complètement la possibilité d'obtenir une certaine reconnaissance sociale de son savoir-être artistique, mais peut surtout entraîner cette personne dans une direction complètement opposée à ses intérêts professionnels.

> Si tu as un métier que tu aimes et puis que tu dois aller t'en trouver un autre; j'en connais qui ont changé de métier parce que ça ne fonctionnait pas; ils ne sont pas heureux, ils vivent quand même mais ils ne sont pas satisfaits d'eux-mêmes; c'est causé par l'incertitude de notre métier.

Lorsque parfois la personne de type artistique effectue le choix de la sécurité financière, les conséquences sont nombreuses.

> Quand on fait n'importe quoi [n'importe quel métier], *des fois on s'enrage, on est agressif, mais on ne sait pas trop pourquoi; l'agressivité ne reste pas au bureau, elle s'en va au foyer aussi; moi je suis assez agressif quand le climat au travail est moche.*

Devenue consciente qu'elle ne pourra alors obtenir la reconnaissance sociale de son savoir-être, la personne de type artistique va au moins tenter de ne pas perdre ce savoir-être et ce, grâce à une stratégie de résistance aux pressions extérieures.

> Plus je vieillis, plus je vais me mettre dans des situations pour ne pas laisser exercer l'influence d'autrui sur moi.

Le type social. Suivant Holland (1985), la personne de type social est généralement digne de confiance, sociable, préoccupée du sort des autres, elle est également humaniste. Elle s'exprime avec facilité et s'entend bien avec autrui. Elle aime se signaler et cherche toujours à être au centre des activités. Elle préfère régler les problèmes par la discussion ou par l'amélioration des rapports entre individus. L'image qu'elle a d'elle-même est celle d'une personne aimant aider les autres, les comprendre et ayant des aptitudes pour l'enseignement plutôt que pour les domaines de la mécanique et de la science. Elle se révèle coopérative, généreuse, idéaliste, responsable, compréhensive et chaleureuse.

La personne de type social semble vivre une étape de vie au travail associée à une course occupationnelle en ce sens qu'elle ressent, tout comme ses pairs du même âge, une certaine obligation d'avancer à un rythme accéléré dans sa carrière et de surmonter rapidement les obstacles.

> Je mets beaucoup d'efforts sur ma carrière, beaucoup plus que je ne le faisais auparavant; je prévois que ce rythme va durer encore 2 à 3 ans.
>
> J'ai tout coupé mes activités en dehors du travail car j'ai trop d'ouvrage, je n'ai pas le temps.

Ce sentiment d'être engagée dans une course occupationnelle amène parfois la personne de type social à fonctionner par défis comme pour épouser le plus possible le rythme de la course.

> Moi je marche par défis maintenant, je n'étais pas comme ça dans les premières années. Maintenant, il s'agit que tu me dises: "tu n'es pas capable de faire ça" pour que je le fasse; des fois je vais foncer, je vais m'essayer; ça m'aide à avancer (ton joyeux).

Les buts de la course occupationnelle de la personne de type social sont surtout rattachés à la reconnaissance de son savoir-être (tableau I), c'est-à-dire de ses qualités interpersonnelles. Parfois, cette reconnaissance doit passer par un certain accès au pouvoir ou à la hiérarchie.

> Plus on monte dans l'échelle sociale de travail, plus on est utile au travail.

En d'autres occasions, la reconnaissance de son savoir-être semble se traduire par une certaine forme d'appréciation et d'estime à l'égard d'autrui.

> C'est très important le respect d'autrui, c'est pas juste le travail qui compte.
>
> L'épanouissement au travail; moi c'est la plus belle chose que j'ai découverte; à l'écoute des gens, j'ai eu les plus belles joies depuis que je fais ce travail.

La stratégie de la course est surtout apparentée à un processus d'interaction (tableau II). Selon cette stratégie, la réussite de la course occupationnelle est étroitement associée à une intensification rapide de la qualité des influences réciproques moi-milieu. Parfois cette intensification de la qualité des interinfluences réside essentiellement dans les rapports interpersonnels chaleureux.

> Si je suis honnête avec des gens et que je vais travailler toujours en chantant, c'est rare que je dispose d'un client sans avoir dit un mot drôle, une histoire, une chose encourageante; si tu reflètes le bonheur, on n'a pas à se tracasser, j'ai juste à laisser faire et je vais influencer les gens. *Je me sens aimé par mes clients et moi, je les aime; ça se sent.*

Parfois cette intensification de la qualité des interinfluences se situe sur le plan des rapports avec la hiérarchie.

> J'ai l'impression que les cadres et moi-même travaillons pour aider à améliorer, à bâtir; l'utilité sociale est à ce moment-là très importante.

A d'autres moments, cette intensification de la qualité des interinfluences se situent sur un plan plus élargi des projets sociétaux.

> Il y a des défis qui sont tellement stressants; ils se multiplient à mesure qu'on y travaille. Par exemple, ça fait plusieurs années que je veux faire un programme de lutte contre l'alcoolisme. Je voudrais sensibiliser les classes ouvrières à ce problème ainsi que le syndicat. Il y aurait un programme de préretraite aussi à organiser; amener les gens ou le couple à se préparer à la retraite. Au plan monétaire, ils ne sont pas prêts à ça.

Quelquefois cette stratégie d'interaction a des ratés de parcours et les chances de réussir la course semblent diminuer.

> Potentiellement, on devrait être des gens qui devraient être associés aux grandes décisions mais on ne l'est pas à cause de la configuration fonctionnelle de l'entreprise, du pouvoir politique, du très haut pouvoir politique.

> Il y a beaucoup de choses à faire; ils sont là les défis, ils sont omniprésents mais mes interventions par rapport aux défis s'en vont en se dégradant. C'est très difficile de faire avancer ou modifier les choses. C'est peut-être à cause de la structure de la boîte; il y a une forme de dépendance au conseil du trésor, au conseil d'administration, au pouvoir politique. Notre intervention professionnelle est décantée là-dedans; pourtant le défi ne cesse d'être là, ça devient doublement frustrant.

Dans certains cas, cette stratégie d'interaction a déjà des effets bénéfiques et les chances de réussir cette course occupationnelle semblent accrues.

> Pour moi, j'aime beaucoup ce que je fais, je suis heureuse.
>
> C'est sûr que les premières années, ce n'était pas pareil; aujourd'hui, j'ai atteint un maximum d'épanouissement au travail.

Le type entreprenant. Conformément à Holland (1985), la personne de type entreprenant aime mettre à profit sa grande facilité d'expression pour vendre, dominer ou influencer. Sa préférence va aux tâches qui lui permettent de prendre la direction des opérations. Elle éprouve beaucoup de satisfaction à convertir les autres à ses opinions; la précision dans le travail la rebute de même que les longues périodes de travail intellectuel et de concentration. Aussi ses aptitudes scientifiques sont-elles faibles par rapport à ses capacités interpersonnelles pour diriger et persuader. La politique et la réussite sur le plan économique figurent parmi ses valeurs. Elle se voit comme dynamique, populaire, sociable et ayant de la facilité à s'exprimer. C'est une personne ambitieuse, énergique, exhibitionniste, extravertie et optimiste.

La personne de type entreprenant semble vivre une étape de vie au travail associée à une course occupationnelle en ce sens qu'elle ressent une certaine nécessité d'avancer à un rythme accéléré dans sa carrière et qu'elle se sent contrainte de surmonter rapidement les obstacles.

> Au début, on apprend à marcher; et puis, plus on avance, plus on court.

Certains signes d'exténuement apparaissent néanmoins au sein de cette course.

> J'ai envie de changer d'endroit, je suis peut-être dans une période où j'ai besoin de vacances et où je suis très fatigué, c'est peut-être pour ça...
>
> Je vis bien mais c'est tracassant dans le sens qu'il y a tout le temps une recherche et une amélioration à faire là-dedans.

Les buts de la course occupationnelle de la personne de type entreprenant sont surtout rattachés à la reconnaissance de son leadership ou de son ascendance sur les gens (tableau I).

> Pour moi, c'est très important d'avoir une influence sur les autres.
>
> Maintenant je remplace les boss, les chefs d'équipe, j'ai une job que j'aime beaucoup; je suis le premier sur la liste pour remplacer les chefs d'équipe.

Souvent la personne de type entreprenant tient à clamer elle-même tout haut ses aspirations, à être reconnue comme leader.

> Je prends beaucoup de décisions dans mon secteur. Quand à mon autonomie, je n'ai vraiment pas de problème là-dessus; c'est selon ma personnalité et j'assume toutes mes responsabilités.
>
> J'ai été souvent très fort pour relever des défis.

La stratégie de la course occupationnelle de la personne de type entreprenant est apparentée à un processus de transaction (tableau II). Cette stratégie conçoit la course occupationnelle comme étant surtout liée à une juste lecture de la globalité d'une confluence de facteurs situationnels toujours changeants et interconnectés d'une manière inséparable. Cette stratégie exige implicitement une planification constante de son cheminement occupationnel.

> La gestion de la carrière c'est important; d'ailleurs, la planification de la carrière devient de plus en plus

> importante à mesure que tu vieillis. Tu ne peux pas prendre n'importe quoi, il faut que tu te fasses un itinéraire; il faut que tu te fasses une base de quelque chose.

Cette stratégie exige une juste lecture de l'ensemble des facteurs situationnels toujours changeants, incluant alors le changement comme une donnée de base à sa vie occupationnelle et à tout le contexte socio-économique.

> Même si la boîte ici est extrêmement stimulante, j'ai envie de changer car je considère que j'ai fait le tour de la boîte.
>
> Je suis dû pour un changement d'emploi à tous les 5 ans.

Cette juste lecture des facteurs situationnels toujours changeants faciliterait, pour la personne de type entreprenant, la possibilité d'un développement personnel et vocationnel permanent.

> Quelqu'un qui reste toujours à un même poste, il régresse.
>
> Je garde un poste aussi longtemps que j'avance; quand ça devient de la routine, je change d'emploi.

Cette stratégie de transaction, le rendant très sensible aux changements de toutes sortes amène la personne de type entreprenant à demeurer à l'affût de tout bon défi à relever ou de toute occasion pouvant le conduire au pouvoir.

> Il faut entrer dedans la compétition, il faut que tu te mettes à la page sinon la compétition te dépasse à un moment donné, tu te retrouves sur une tablette; c'est ce qui arrive la plupart du temps. Si tu ne progresses pas comme tu devrais l'être, puis si tu es une personne qui ne prend pas sa place puis si en plus, ça te pèse fort sur le moral, puis là tu te poses des questions.

Lorsque la stratégie de transaction ne semble pouvoir s'exercer, la personne de type entreprenant pose un diagnostic pessimiste ou, du moins, mentionne l'urgence d'une mobilité occupationnelle à plus ou moins long terme.

> Je ne vois pas de promotion, ça me dérange. C'est d'ailleurs ce qui motive mon changement d'emploi; les promotions je ne peux pas dire que c'est quelque chose qui m'obsède, c'est quand même quelque chose qui est important pour moi. S'il y a quelqu'un qui est stationnaire, toujours dans le même poste, bien à ce moment-là, il régresse; quand je parle de formation, je parle aussi en terme d'augmentation des responsabilités.

> Je suis dans un secteur où je n'ai pas de pouvoir, où on a strictement qu'un rôle de second, c'est-à-dire de subalterne.

Le type conventionnel. D'après Holland (1985), la personne de type conventionnel préfère les activités bien structurées qui caractérisent le travail de bureau. Elle s'accommode bien des grands organismes et ne recherche pas les postes de commande. Elle accepte l'autorité et est parfaitement à l'aise dans une structure administrative. Elle a horreur des situations ambiguës et veut savoir ce que l'on attend d'elle. Elle se perçoit comme conformiste et ordonnée; elle se révèle consciencieuse, efficace, inflexible, inhibée, persévérante et pratique.

La personne de type conventionnel semble vivre, tout comme ses pairs de la même strate d'âge, une étape de vie au travail associée à une course occupationnelle en ce sens qu'elle se sent obligée d'avancer à un rythme accéléré dans sa carrière et de surmonter rapidement les obstacles.

> Tu ne peux pas rester toujours au même niveau, il faut que tu descendes ou que tu montes.

> Il y a quelque fois où tu vis la chute libre mais finalement au bout d'un an, tu peux te reprendre et remonter tout de suite la côte.

Cette course est d'autant plus importante, selon la personne de type conventionnel, qu'elle aura des répercussions sur tout le reste de sa vie au travail.

> Il y a une question d'âge. Dans 5 ans d'ici, j'aurai 5 ans de plus et si dans 5 ans, je n'ai pas réussi à monter ou à remonter la côte; en tout cas, ça m'inquiète énormément parce que je ne veux pas devenir le bon vieux technicien ou la bonne vieille secrétaire, qui a déjà été bonne, mais que l'on garde par respect et non plus par reconnaissance de son efficacité.

Par ailleurs, les buts de la course occupationnelle de la personne de type conventionnel sont rattachés surtout à la reconnaissance de son savoir-faire (tableau I), c'est-à-dire de ses capacités de soutien à l'organisation. La reconnaissance de ce savoir-faire passe parfois, selon cette personne, par la stabilisation dans une occupation.

> Je suis rentrée à titre d'occasionnelle; aujourd'hui, je suis encore au même endroit et je crois que je suis en train d'acquérir ma permanence.

> Tant que je ne serai pas stabilisée dans une nouvelle carrière, je serai tracassée et si je me stabilise pas, j'en ferai mon deuil mais je garderai un souvenir amer.

En d'autres occasions, la reconnaissance de ses capacités de soutien à l'organisation passe, selon la personne de type conventionnel, par le fait de se voir offrir un autre travail plus intéressant au sein de la même organisation.

> Je veux venir un jour à faire autre chose ici; ce serait ça ce que je vise.

Quant à la stratégie de course empruntée par la personne de type conventionnel, elle est surtout apparentée à un processus d'interaction (tableau II). Nous rappellons que selon cette stratégie, le moyen de réussir la course est l'intensification de la qualité des influences réciproques des pôles moi et milieu. Par exemple, le fait de se faire confier des responsabilités accrues est, pour la personne de type conventionnel, le signe le plus probant d'une bonne interaction moi-milieu.

> Les responsabilités, ça rend le travail plus intéressant; si on nous donne des responsabilités, c'est ce qu'ils nous donnent, une confiance.

Cette stratégie d'interaction, privilégiant l'intensification de la relation moi-milieu, amène également la personne de type conventionnel à consolider ses acquis, à s'appuyer sur ses habitudes de travail et à les conserver. Ce serait là, d'après cette personne, un moyen de mieux en arriver à faire reconnaître ses capacités de soutien à l'organisation, en partant prudemment du connu pour ensuite, et seulement ensuite, accepter de se diriger très graduellement vers l'inconnu.

> Je suis adaptée à une certaine routine un peu plus régulière, je suis bien comme cela; j'aime mieux ne rien changer.
>
> Il y a comme une espèce d'habitude et l'équilibre est plus facile à atteindre, beaucoup plus facile.

A certains moments, cette stratégie de course, associée à l'interaction, est très difficile à effectuer. La solidité ou la stabilité des liens avec le milieu qui semble, selon la personne de type conventionnel, une des clés du succès de la course, ne peut se défaire et se refaire d'une façon instantanée.

> Quand tu recommences un nouvel emploi, il y a toujours quelque chose qui bloque, qui énerve, qui stresse; même si on sait à l'avance qu'on a les compétences pour le faire.

Parfois cette stratégie d'interaction se montre inefficace, les relations avec son milieu ne s'améliorent donc pas du tout. La personne de type conventionnel pose alors un diagnostic très pessimiste sur ses chances de gagner la course et de faire reconnaître ses réelles capacités de soutien à l'organisation.

> Cela fait 14 ans que je suis au même endroit. On veut toujours avoir une amélioration dans sa capacité d'accomplir son travail et puis on ne peut pas; rendu à un certain âge...
>
> Je ne suis pas capable de me qualifier pour obtenir une promotion; il faut quand même essayer de se qualifier, sinon...

Le type réaliste. Selon Holland (1985), la personne de type réaliste aime les activités qui comportent la manipulation d'objets et d'outils.

Elle possède des aptitudes manuelles, mécaniques ou techniques et elle ressent du plaisir à les utiliser dans des métiers ou des situations exigeant ce genre d'aptitudes. Elle éprouve généralement de la difficulté à s'exprimer par des mots ou à communiquer verbalement. Elle préfère travailler sur la matière plutôt que sur des idées ou avec des personnes. L'argent, le pouvoir et le statut sont pour elle des valeurs. Le sens pratique et la persévérance font partie des traits qui la caractérisent.

La personne de type réaliste, tout comme ses pairs du même groupe d'âge, semble vivre une étape de vie au travail associée à une course occupationnelle.

> En plus du travail que j'ai ici, j'ai un commerce; là, il y en a des responsabilités. Parfois, c'est très dur, on travaille jour et nuit, j'en ai plein mon casque.
>
> Je n'ai plus le temps de ne rien faire depuis que je travaille à cet emploi-là; je n'ai plus aucune activité.

Quant aux buts de la course occupationnelle de la personne de type réaliste, ils sont surtout rattachés à la reconnaissance de son savoir-faire (tableau I), qui lui, est lié aux manifestations de ses compétences techniques. Cette reconnaissance de son savoir-faire doit surtout passer, selon la personne de type réaliste, par le renouvellement de ses compétences techniques.

> Même si je suis spécialiste en mécanique, à un moment donné, on devient dans une phase mi-technique, mi-administrative; des fois, on a envie de choisir ou l'un ou l'autre, soit que tu restes dans le milieu technique et que tu ne cesses de te spécialiser ou bien tu t'en vas vers la direction d'un département, d'une compagnie. Mais indépendamment de la voie que tu prends, il faut admettre qu'il faut que tu te spécialises toujours, toujours; j'ai vécu avec des personnes qui ne sont pas vieux jeu, mais qui sont quand même dépassées sur certains points, c'est difficile de recommencer à suivre des cours à 50 ou 60 ans.

Quant à la stratégie de la course utilisée par la personne de type réaliste, elle est surtout apparentée à un processus de réaction (tableau

II). Dans ce cas, la course occupationnelle a des chances de réussir surtout si l'individu intensifie ses efforts visant à une identification plus raffinée des attentes du milieu d'une part, et à une reconnaissance de ses propres aspirations professionnelles, d'autre part. En ce sens, la sensibilisation de la personne de type réaliste aux exigences toujours nouvelles du contexte socio-économique l'amène à en tenir compte de très près.

> C'est bien beau, les grosses machines, mais si on n'est pas assez qualifié pour ça, on va se laisser dépasser par la machine et on ne pourra la mener.
>
> *Il faut évoluer avec les techniques d'aujourd'hui. C'est quand même plus important encore que le perfectionnement de ma culture; face aux nouvelles technologies et nouvelles méthodes, je n'ai pas le choix.*

Cette stratégie de course occupationnelle, voulant que les conditions du milieu soient intraitables lorsque non favorables, se présentent comme un obstacle presque insurmontable à la réussite.

> Quand ça fait au-delà de 10 ans que l'on est dans un même domaine et qu'il y a un creux, il n'y a à peu près plus de chance de changer de carrière. Depuis les dernières années, je sentais que la possibilité d'avancement était de plus en plus nulle mais ce n'est pas toujours facile de changer d'emploi pour essayer de trouver quelque chose de plus stimulant.

Le type investigatif. Selon Holland (1985), la personne de type investigatif se définit par son goût pour la recherche, sous ses diverses formes et dans divers domaines, et par son aversion pour les activités à caractère persuasif, social et répétitif. Elle préfère résoudre des problèmes en utilisant des idées, des mots et des symboles. Elle recherche les défis compliqués et n'aime pas les situations trop structurées, ni les règles trop nombreuses. Elle affiche une tendance à l'originalité et à la créativité. Elle manifeste, entre autres traits, un sens critique, de la curiosité intellectuelle, de l'indépendance, de la méthode, une attitude introspective et de la réserve.

La personne de type investigatif semble vivre, tout comme ses pairs du même groupe d'âge, une étape de vie au travail marquée par une course occupationnelle.

> J'ai pris la décision d'améliorer mes chances, d'apprendre d'autres connaissances; maintenant je mets 150% plus d'efforts sur ma carrière.
>
> Je m'aperçois de ça dans ma vie actuelle, que je fais des bonds énormes autant au niveau travail qu'au niveau familial; ça change vite.

Les buts de la course occupationnelle de la personne de type investigatif sont rattachés surtout à la reconnaissance de son savoir-faire (tableau I), c'est-à-dire de ses habiletés en recherche telles l'analyse de données ou d'informations diverses. Parfois, un des moyens d'atteindre cette reconnaissance est d'exprimer elle-même ses propres compétences de chercheur, son souci de contribuer à l'amélioration des connaissances de toutes sortes ainsi que sa curiosité inlassable.

> J'ai beaucoup plus de capacités que j'avais. Je diagnostique un trouble et je cherche aussitôt la solution; j'aime ça, j'ai tout le temps aimé ça.
>
> Je suis à l'aise avec la possibilité d'inventer quelque chose d'utile.

Pour obtenir la reconnaissance de son savoir-faire apparenté à ses habiletés de chercheur, la personne de type investigatif croit que le moyen le plus important, voire même capital, est une certaine autonomie d'action lui permettant de satisfaire sa curiosité.

> Dans mon travail, j'ai vraiment besoin de ressentir une certaine liberté.

Un autre moyen très important d'obtenir une reconnaissance toujours plus grande de ses habiletés de chercheur est, selon la personne de type investigatif, d'abord et avant tout, la possibilité constante d'étudier ou de parfaire ses connaissances.

> J'étais plus ou moins conscient qu'il fallait réussir pour faire une bonne carrière; mais j'avais des possibilités de me perfectionner, c'est tout ce qui comptait.

Par ailleurs, la stratégie de la course occupationnelle de la personne de type investigatif est surtout apparentée à un processus de transaction (tableau II). Mais rappellons que cette stratégie de transaction conçoit la course occupationnelle comme étant surtout liée à une juste lecture de la globalité d'une confluence de facteurs situationnels toujours changeants et interconnectés d'une manière inséparable. Cette stratégie amène la personne de type investigatif à rechercher prioritairement des tâches où l'occasion d'apprendre et d'évoluer est constante.

> Cela me préoccupe beaucoup le perfectionnement parce que je voudrais avoir toujours beaucoup plus de compétence.

> J'ai continuellement besoin de me développer sur le plan professionnel.

Cette stratégie transactionnelle, incluant le temps et le changement à titre de dimension importante, amène la personne de type investigatif à se concevoir toujours en mouvement, à considérer ses aspirations occupationnelles en constant changement dans un contexte socio-économique lui-même en évolution.

> J'aime cela prendre de nouveaux défis.

> C'est normal que les questions touchant la nouvelle technologie nous préoccupent; c'est normal parce que sinon je pense que l'individu reste stable puis moi, je ne veux pas rester stable.

Cette stratégie transactionnelle exige implicitement, de la part de la personne de type investigatif, un processus d'évaluation continu.

> Je me remets constamment en question parce que mon travail a pour moi beaucoup d'importance.

> L'important c'est de s'en poser des questions. Un gars qui ne s'en pose pas, j'imagine que c'est un gars qui se

> fiche de son travail ou de ses collègues; je vais sûrement continuer à m'en poser.

Dans les cas où la stratégie transactionnelle semble ne pas donner de résultats probants, la personne de type investigatif pose alors un diagnostic relativement pessimiste sur ses chances de réussir cette course, c'est-à-dire d'en arriver à faire reconnaître ses habiletés en recherche ou dans l'analyse des informations diverses. Par exemple, les conditions de travail le limitant dans sa mobilité de tâches ou sa liberté d'action sont autant d'obstacles à la réussite de la reconnaissance de son savoir-faire.

> On vit dans un monde de productivité qui empêche d'aller plus loin.
>
> Avant l'idée qu'on se faisait de notre travail et de notre futur était peut-être excellente, de même les possibilités de perfectionnement; mais ma volonté de me perfectionner s'est en allée en paliers décroissants parce que le perfectionnement qu'on m'offrait était plus ou moins à mon goût.

Quelques pistes d'action

Sur la base des résultats de la présente recherche, nous proposons ici quelques pistes d'action. Cependant, trois avertissements s'imposent. 1. Il est bien évident que ce ne sont là que des suggestions; elles ne s'avèrent nullement prescriptibles étant donné les limites inhérentes à toute recherche. 2. Même si les propositions sont présentées selon divers découpages (personnalités, savoirs, stratégies), il faut bien spécifier que ces catégories ne correspondent jamais parfaitement bien à aucun individu; surtout, lors du choix des interventions éducatives, la richesse de l'hétérogénéité des adultes doit toujours être superposée à ces patrons généraux. 3. Par ailleurs, même si les résultats portent exclusivement sur les adultes de la trentaine, il est à noter que certaines de ces suggestions pourraient peut-être s'appliquer à divers sous-groupes d'âge.

Sur le plan théorique, la présente étude permet donc de proposer des éléments relativement inédits sur le développement personnel de la vie au travail des adultes de la trentaine parce que différenciés selon six types de personnalité vocationnelle. Par exemple, lors de leur course occupationnelle, les adultes de cet âge semblent rechercher, selon les cas, la reconnaissance de diverses habiletés relatives à leur savoir-être, (types artistique, social et entreprenant). Dans d'autres cas, les buts visés par la course occupationnelle apparaissent relatifs à la reconnaissance de son savoir-faire (types conventionnel, réaliste et investigatif).

En regard de l'éducation des adultes, les résultats de recherche peuvent fournir certaines suggestions liées aux contenus des activités de formation. Par-dessus tout, ces résultats pourraient peut-être offrir des découpages intéressants permettant, en certains cas, de mieux gérer le caractère essentiellement hétérogène de la clientèle adulte.

Le premier de ces découpages proposerait une façon de dichotomiser la population adulte de la trentaine selon ses préoccupations relatives au savoir-faire ou au savoir-être. Par exemple, pourrions-nous croire que trois types de personnalité (artistique, social et entreprenant) seraient susceptibles d'être davantage intéressés à des activités éducatives mettant l'accent sur le développement accéléré de leur savoir-être (c'est-à-dire des attitudes et habiletés cognitives qui font l'originalité d'une personne)? Ces résultats ne suggèrent-ils pas également que trois autres types de personnalité (réaliste, conventionnel et investigatif) seraient surtout intéressés par des activités de formation mettant l'accent sur l'amélioration de leur savoir-faire (c'est-à-dire de l'ensemble de leurs connaissances et expériences accumulées au fil des ans)?

Le second découpage de la clientèle adulte se situant dans la trentaine, proposé par les résultats de la présente recherche, est basé sur les trois différentes stratégies prioritairement utilisées lors de la course occupationnelle. Concernant l'une ou l'autre de ces stratégies, il est possible que les besoins en formation revêtent des accents différents. Par exemple, est-il possible que les adultes, appartenant aux types de personnalité utilisant la stratégie de la réaction (soit les types artistique et réaliste), privilégieraient des activités éducatives complétant leurs informations sur les pôles moi et milieu comme si ces derniers étaient complètement distincts? De plus, pourrions-nous croire que ces mêmes adultes seraient possiblement davantage intéressés, dans certains cas, à des programmes de formation facilitant le pairage entre la spécificité de leurs attributs personnels et certaines attentes du marché du travail? Quant aux types de personnalité empruntant surtout des stratégies d'interaction (soit les types social et conventionnel), s'avèrent-ils susceptibles d'être beaucoup plus fascinés par divers programmes d'éducation des adultes mettant l'accent sur les fondements ou les techniques relatives à l'identification de la réciprocité des relations? Enfin, en ce qui concerne les adultes se situant dans les types de personnalité empruntant des stratégies de transaction (soit les types entreprenant et investigatif), y a-t-il lieu de croire qu'ils pourraient possiblement se montrer beaucoup plus attirés par des activités de formation leur permettant de soulever des incertitudes qu'ils transformeraient en autant de défis à relever? Ces défis ne pourraient-ils pas se traduire, par exemple, par le démarrage d'entreprises novatrices leur permettant de s'imposer sur divers marchés locaux ou mondiaux? Ces défis ne pourraient-ils pas également se concrétiser par l'initiative de démarches de recherche d'informations ou d'analyse de données susceptibles d'apporter des éléments de solution aux diverses questions sociétales de l'heure?

Enfin, le troisième découpage de la clientèle adulte que nous inspirent les résultats de cette recherche serait une répartition en six catégories correspondant aux six types de personnalité vocationnelle. Ce découpage aurait comme avantage de constituer, en certains cas (selon le jugement éclairé de l'éducateur), une façon efficace de gérer l'hétérogénéité marquante de la clientèle adulte; ce découpage permettrait possiblement d'offrir ainsi des suggestions intéressantes aux formateurs lors du choix du contenu des activités offertes. Voici quelques-uns de ces exemples.

La personne de type conventionnel, à cause de son souci prioritaire à faire reconnaître ses capacités de soutien à l'organisation, s'avérerait-elle la plus spontanément disposée à s'inscrire dans des activités d'éducation des adultes commandées par son organisme-employeur? Il s'agit évidemment ici des activités qui sont davantage susceptibles de se greffer au projet institutionnel de l'organisation qu'elle dessert ou au sein de laquelle elle tient à être connue comme étant impliquée et engagée.

Par ailleurs, est-il possible que la personne de type investigatif, à cause de ses aspirations à mettre en évidence ses habiletés de recherche et sa soif notable de connaissances nouvelles, se présente comme la personne la plus acquise soit à une formation générale, soit à des activités comportant des liens même très ténus avec ses tâches occupationnelles immédiates? Si oui, pourrions-nous croire que cette personne puisse apparaître un peu comme le candidat idéal tout disposé à s'adonner à un apprentissage de type autodidacte (Oddi, 1987) ou, du moins, correspondant à l'esprit investigatif ("inquiring mind") de Houle (1961)?

Quant à la personne de type réaliste, à cause de ses intérêts à faire reconnaître ses compétences techniques, ne pourrait-elle pas s'avérer beaucoup plus stimulée par une formation strictement associée à l'utilisation d'une technologie de pointe? Dans le même sens, les activités de courte durée, à buts très concrets et pratiques, ne seront-elles pas nettement privilégiés par ce groupe d'adultes?

Pourrions-nous croire, par ailleurs, que la personne de type artistique, à cause de ses préoccupations à faire valoir son originalité créatrice, semblerait celle la plus encline à adhérer à des programmes de formation mettant davantage en valeur son unicité au sein de ses actes professionnels? Par ailleurs, dans le cas où cette personne se retrouve, pour des raisons de survie économique, dans l'obligation de s'adonner à des activités professionnelles non significatives, pourrions-nous anticiper que les activités de formation les plus susceptibles de l'intéresser seraient probablement celles axées sur l'assistance à la découverte de moyens lui permettant de continuer, coûte que coûte, à alimenter cette flamme liée à ses aspirations d'expression artistique?

La personne de type social, à cause de ses préoccupations à faire valoir ses qualités interpersonnelles, pourrait-elle s'avérer davantage attirée par des programmes de perfectionnement liés aux liens professionnels à entretenir avec les personnes et les instances décisionnelles? Par ailleurs, il faut souligner que l'adulte de type social, correspond au type de personnalité de la majorité des formateurs d'adultes; pourrions-nous alors croire que l'apprenant associé à cette personnalité ressente une affinité plus grande avec les objectifs proposés par ces derniers ainsi que par les approches pédagogiques qu'ils suggèrent ou initient?

Enfin, quant à la personne de type entreprenant, se pourrait-il qu'elle soit davantage intéressée à tout programme de formation lié à la connaissance des tendances nouvelles et prospectives du marché socio-économique, de même qu'à toute activité éducative stimulant la possibilité de témoigner toujours plus de leadership ou d'ascendance sur les gens? Toutefois, pourrions-nous anticiper que cette personne serait peut-être tentée de manifester très directement deux exigences précises pour son inscription à des activités de formation pertinentes? Dans ce cas ces dernières correspondraient-elles à celles de: 1. démontrer une efficacité immédiate et tangible; 2. se situer à la fine pointe des prévisions du contexte socio-économique local ou mondial?

Conclusions

Outre des suggestions relatives aux interventions éducatives, ce découpage en six types de personnalité vocationnelle ne devrait-il pas être considéré, par les formateurs d'adultes, lors de la composition des groupes-classes?

Nous basons ici nos interrogations sur le principe de congruence mis en lumière par plusieurs auteurs dans le domaine de l'éducation des adultes (Boshier, 1973; Boshier et Collins, 1983; Tinto, 1975) de même que dans celui du développement vocationnel de l'adulte (Holland, 1985). Nous rappelons que, globalement, Boshier et Tinto affirment que l'adulte a une préoccupation à deux volets qui est celle de maintenir une harmonie interne avec lui-même et avec l'environnement. De plus, selon ces auteurs, les apprenants qui manifestent une intégration ou une congruence académique et sociale supérieure sont ceux qui persistent davantage dans leurs études; par contre, lorsque la divergence est trop grande entre le moi et l'environnement, le phénomène de l'abandon survient.

Par ailleurs Holland (1985), en s'appuyant sur Staats (1981) et Barker (1968) met également en évidence le principe de la congruence comme ét[illegible] un aspect prioritaire de l'interaction individu-milieu. Selon Holland (1985), un degré optimal de congruence sera obtenu lorsqu'un individu, caractérisé par un type de personnalité donné, se trouvera dans un environnement qui lui correspond; à titre d'exemple, une personne de type artistique qui oeuvre dans un milieu dominé par des artistes. De plus, un environnement congruent avec la personne se révèle un milieu où cette dernière est encouragée à utiliser les répertoires de comportements qui lui sont propres. Cet environnement se montre également un milieu qui donne à cette personne l'occasion de s'engager dans des activités qui lui conviennent, d'utiliser ses compétences, de s'exprimer et de se percevoir comme efficace. De plus, c'est un environnement dans lequel la personne se sent acceptée et appréciée.

Si nous rapprochons les propos des Holland, Staats, Barker, Boshier et Tinto, ne pourrions-nous pas croire que la continuité, et non l'abandon, d'activités éducatives pourrait s'expliquer en partie par la congruence entre les milieux d'apprentissage et le type de personnalité vocationnelle de l'adulte? Ainsi, afin de contribuer à éviter le plus possible des arrêts dans la poursuite d'une éducation permanente, ou à l'inverse, de stimuler sa continuité, les résultats de la présente recherche ne suggèrent-ils pas de favoriser, en certaines circonstances jugées favorables par l'éducateur, le regroupement de la clientèle adulte dont les types de personnalité coïncident entre eux? Ceci ne permettrait-il pas de créer des milieux (groupes-classe) convergents avec leur personnalité et de favoriser ainsi la présence d'une condition essentielle au développement continu, à savoir la congruence individu-environnement?

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PERSPECTIVES

NUCLEAR ADVOCACY AND ADULT EDUCATION: A CASE FOR COUNTER-HEGEMONIC STRUGGLE

Robert Regnier
University of Saskatchewan

Abstract

The opposition of citizen groups to the public relations initiatives of the nuclear industry in the province of Saskatchewan, Canada is an example of many anti-nuclear organisations throughout the world. By recognizing the work of anti-nuclear organisations in Saskatchewan as forms of emancipatory adult education, this article raises questions about anti-nuclear advocacy as emancipatory adult education elsewhere. The notions of ideology and hegemony are used as the key concepts in a framework to document the public relations initiatives of the nuclear lobby, and counter-hegemony is used to understand the struggle citizens groups have engaged in to challenge this lobby and advance non-nuclear energy alternatives. With counter-hegemonic citizens group as the model, adult educators are then exhorted to engage in counter-hegemonic education to address nuclear advocacy in their institutions.

Résumé

L'opposition de groupes de citoyens face aux pressions exercées dans le secteur public par l'industrie nucléaire, dans la province de la Saskatchewan, au Canada, fournit un exemple, parmi plusieurs autres exemples à travers le monde, de l'intervention d'organisations antinucléaires. En reconnaissant que le travail réalisé par les organisations antinucléaires en Saskatchewan représente une forme d'éducation des adultes émancipatoire, le présent article soulève des questions par rapport au fait que de telles interventions antinucléaires puissent constituer une forme d'éducation des adultes émancipatoire dans les autres pays également. Les notions d'idéologie et d'hégémonie sont les concepts clés du cadre de référence à partir desquels sont analysées les initiatives de relations publiques des groupes de pression pronucléaires, tandis que la notion de contre-hégémonie est le concept clé à partir duquel est analysée la lutte que les groupes de citoyens ont entreprise pour s'opposer aux initiatives pronucléaires et pour proposer des solutions de rechange axées sur la production d'énergie non-nucléaire. A partir du modèle des groupes de citoyens opposés à l'hégémonie pronucléaire, les éducateurs d'adultes sont invités à prendre position, à l'intérieur de leurs propres institutions, en faveur d'une éducation qui, elle aussi, s'oppose à cette hégémonie pronucléaire.

Introduction

Paul Jackson, a columnist to Saskatoon's daily newspaper *The Star-Phoenix*, says we "can turn off the television, toss the microwave into the garbage dump, close down a few industries and throw out thousands of jobs" or "we can go nuclear."[1] Jackson's advocacy for the construction of a Candu-3 nuclear reactor is part of an aggressive public relations strategy to have residents of the province of Saskatchewan support development of the full nuclear fuel cycle. This populist form of adult education, was only one of more than twelve pro-nuclear articles written by him for *The Star-Phoenix* from 1988 to 1991.[2]

As part of this strategy, Atomic Energy of Canada Limited (AECL) announced on Friday September 21, 1991, a $50-million joint venture energy agreement with SaskPower, the province of Saskatchewan's electrical utility, to complete the design of a Candu-3 nuclear reactor. On the same day, the Conservative government of Grant Devine called an election for Saskatchewan. The election campaign began with the nuclear industry's offensive at center stage. The offensive promoted broader industry plans to:

- open six new uranium mines
- construct Canada's first lazer uranium enrichment plant,
- demonstrate 10 megawatt Slowpoke nuclear reactor applications at the University of Saskatchewan
- develop a high-level nuclear waste management site
- research agriculture and food irradiation

The announcement followed an earlier "framework agreement"[3] and years of intensive lobbying and public relations by AECL and the uranium industry. This promotion reflects current difficulty of the industry in Canada and the rest of the world. With increasing costs, the failure to provide proper high-level waste management, and concerns about accidents and safety, nuclear energy expansion has slowed dramatically. Only a little more than 400 of the 2000 nuclear reactors predicted in the 1970's to be constructed by the end of the millenium are presently constructed. Instead, many countries have cut back or stopped reactor construction. In the United States, for example, no nuclear reactor has been ordered since 1978, and fifty previously ordered reactors have since been cancelled. Citizens groups there have researched, educated and lobbied to stop the construction of what they regard as a hazardous expensive way to produce electricity. At the same time, major developments in energy efficiencies and alternative energy sources were being recognized as cost effective alternatives to nuclear. Manufacturers and suppliers of nuclear components left with production over-capacity and uncertain markets have had to increase public relations initiatives to influence public acceptabilty of the nuclear option. The most obvious indication of the nuclear industry's involvement in Saskatchewan education systems comes through its involvement in the University of Saskatchewan, the Saskatchewan Institute of Applied Sciences and Technology, and the province's school system. In the election day announcement between AECL and SaskPower, the University of Saskatchewan became a beneficiary of the research agreement. Besides providing for an accelerator technology center, a nuclear power plant simulator, a training facility, and a chair of nuclear science, the agreement included "a public relations campaign to promote nuclear power."[4] Community college programs and technical institutes have been the sites of projects, policies, and governance restructuring that serves industry interests. Campaigns to promote nuclear policies, have been targeted beyond educational institutions to focus on church, labour, and government leaders as well as the population as a whole.

Against this hegemony, citizens groups and coalitions in Saskatchewan have engaged in resistance and counter-hegemonic actions to contest industry claims, to oppose the development of nuclear projects and to advance alternatives to nuclear development. This paper offers an account of some public relations initiatives in the province of Saskatchewan against which these groups and coalitions have viewed their activities as warranted. The purpose of such an account is to establish that the counter-hegemonic activities of these groups and coalitions constitute an important form of adult education.

Framework for Nuclear Counter-Hegemony

This paper locates the discussion of counter-hegemonic organisation as adult education within the tradition of critical theory which argues that education for human growth is education for human liberation or emancipation. Within this view, education is essentially a political activity which engages human beings in critical reflection and action. Many critical theorists ground their work in a history of philosophy and sociology that identifies the achievement of the "common good" within approaches that link human moral growth with enlightenment or critical rationality. Socrates, a founder of this tradition, modelled living the morally good life through constant examination and questioning. Since then Aristotle, Fichte, Hegel, Marx, Habermas, and others have developed theories of enlightenment which link theory and action. The work of critical educational theorists like Paulo Freire, Henry Giroux, Antonio Gramsci, Michael Apple, Shirley Grundy, Kathleen Weiller, Edmund Sullivan, and others constitute the broad theoretical discourse within which this paper is written.

Many critical educational theorists have focused their attention upon understanding how patterns of consciousness and social interaction are constructed through education within the modern state. In *Ideology and Curriculum*, Michael Apple argues that the relationship between economic structures and culture or consciousness must be understood dialectically. He opposes overly deterministic views which state that human consciousness and culture are shaped by economic infrastucture. In explicating this relationship, he uses the notion of hegemony which presents determination "as a complex nexus of relationships which in their final moment are economically rooted, that exert pressures and set limits on cultural practice, including schools" (Apple, 1979, 4). Hegemony, which must be continually struggled for, admits of human agents who give their consent to or oppose dominant forces. This analysis offers a means of viewing the public relations program of the nuclear industry in Saskatchewan as a form of hegemony mediated through various agencies, and this analysis allows for human agents who can oppose its dominance.

In his distinction between ideology and hegemony, Apple views ideology as the reproduction of ideals, beliefs and habits through various forms of overt manipulation. Hegemony refers to "the central effective and dominant system of meanings, values, and actions which are lived" (Apple, 1979, 5). While ideology reproduces habits by manipulating ideas, hegemony consists of cultivating entrenched patterns of activity and meaning which become assumed at a taken for granted level. This distinction makes it possible to view the nuclear public relations campaigns in their ideological and hegemonic forms. It becomes possible to see these campaigns not only as propagating ideas about nuclear development but also as establishing public presence and relationship in civil society which are viewed as natural and taken for granted rather than as the product of political strategy. Beyond resistance, in the various forms of opposition to oppressive beliefs and practices, counter-hegemony involves "more critical and politicized work in the form of organised and conscious collective oppositional actions" (Weiller, 1988, 52). When he recommends that we should "act as if we lived in a democracy," Henry Giroux argues that citizens must create new public spheres to counter the totalizing effects of ideological domination. Within this view, the task of educators is to struggle to create public spheres liberated from the hegemonic sway of the nuclear industry where industry claims can be debated and criticized, and where alternatives to the dominant views can be advanced and organised for. The notion of public spheres as counter-hegemony offers a means of understanding the work of citizens groups as adult education. It grounds this education in forms of critical reflection and practice which constitute resistance and counter-hegemonic strategies.

The Campaign

Some of the industry's campaign in Saskatchewan is part of a broader campaign by the Canadian Nuclear Association (CNA) to promote nuclear development in Canada. What follows below in this section is a discussion, part of which has appeared in the article "Atomizing Dissent: The Nuclear Industry's Educational Strategy", which appeared in the February 1989 edition of *Scrutiny*. The Canadian Nuclear Association (CNA), made up of more than 130 companies and agencies, has targeted part of its $20-million dollar public relations campaign on Saskatchewan. *A Public Education and Communication Strategy for the Nuclear Industry in Canada*, a report prepared for the CNA by Goldfarb Consultants (August 1987) recommended three separate campaigns: one directed at the general public, another aimed at opinion leaders and a third focused on regional targets (p. 3). "An extensive lobbying campaign" recommended for key opinion leaders with a focus on educators, media, government officials and elected leaders, and labour leaders. Saskatchewan is a target region. The campaign objectives are to: make the public more aware of the industry, foster trust in the industry, demonstrate the need for nuclear energy, "aggressively promote the benefits of nuclear energy," "reduce and neutralize people's fears and concerns about nuclear energy" and "move people from opposition to neutrality. In our estimation, converting people from being soft opponents to neutral fence sitters is the best the industry can hope for in the short term" (p. 3). The first part of the campaign was to be "low key, informative and factual in its tonality" (p. 4) to raise public awareness and strengthen industry credibility. Then the industry was to initiate a "harder sell campaign" (p. 4) to justify the need for, to promote the benefits of, and to reduce and neutralize people's fears of nuclear energy. Phase 1 included providing "irrefutable facts that people are forced to agree with to demonstrate that the information is solid, objective and credible" (p. 5). It was to "redefine or reposition the image of the nuclear industry" away from nuclear power plants and "to encourage people to associate the industry and the term 'nuclear,' itself, with the positive, progressive, warm sensitive quality of life overtones associated with the medical technology side of the industry (p. 6)." The study suggests literature campaigns, community information displays, production of a documentary film for use in places like schools, visits to nuclear facilities, involvement of the media, teachers, and community people in symposia, and the development and encouragement of the use of industry material in classrooms (p. 7). The more "aggressive and advocacy oriented Phase 2 of the campaign" was to:

- focus on the limited potential and high costs of alternatives
- appeal to the public's desire for security
- emphasize Canadian economic nationalism in the desire to keep hi-tech jobs
- "appeal to a sense of pride in the industry..."
- reduce and neutralize fear
- demonstrate thoughtout plans for dealing with nuclear waste
- blunt US media criticism of US nuclear plants that spill over into Canada
- build confidence in the people who are responsible for running and inspecting nuclear plants

> reassure the public about the "ability to contain the effects of accidents..." (p. 10)

The report also recommended several tactics. These tactics include: "to overwhelm" people with "credible scientific experts...in favour of the nuclear energy option," testimonials of industry workers, and spokespersons with strong public credibility, and use print, the more authoritative and trusted medium (p. 11).

The *CNA Public Information Program Business Plan 1987 - 1988* reveals dramatic spending increases of more than 1.5 million in 1988 designed to promote the industry's interests. The plan projected the following costs:

Projected Costs
CNA Public Information Program

	1987*	1988*
Programs		
Waste Management	$10,000	$20,000
Education	51,000	40,000
Advertising	1,671,000	3,039,000
Research	349,000	120,000
Media Relations	12,000	20,000
Video/T.V.	70,500	100,000
Print Material	193,000	200,000
Information Telephone Line	10,000	50,000
Speakers Bureau	8,000	20,000
Supporters Group	200,000	
Advisory Council/ Public Participation		30,000
	$2,381,000	$3,849,000
Program Administration		
Salaries	142,000	340,000
Expenses	121,000	71,000
	263,000	411,000
Total Costs	$2,644,000	$4,260,000

*(p. 8)

The objectives and results sought for each program section are quite clear as a review of some of them shows. Waste Management program, for example, seeks to "[r]educe the number of people opposed to existing and future use of nuclear power because of a concern relating to safe management of wastes" (p. 10). The research program was "to have a comprehensive understanding of the views of opinion leaders and the Canadian public on matters relating to the nuclear industry (p. 13). Besides establishing a media data center, the increase of funding to the Media program was to include developing "a media book...a reference document...provided to the media through editorial board meetings, and media briefings..." (p. 14) The Video/TV program was "to prepare a variety of materials to fit the needs of the Education, Media and Speakers Bureau Program" (p. 16). The Information Telephone was to be a 1-800 number manned by persons trained to respond to public inquiries (p. 17), and the Speakers Bureau program would coordinate speakers on nuclear topics into a "Canada wide pool and provide training on the delivery of key messages" (p. 18).

To advance this campaign, Atomic Energy of Canada Limited, funded the Western Projects Development Association, a company that sought to win the support of government officials and community leaders for the construction of a Candu-3 nuclear reactor. Members of this company travelled to town councils, Boards of Trade, and Chambers of Commerce throughout the province in 1988 and 1989 with representatives of AECL and the CNA.[5] In Saskatoon in 1989, AECL proposed to construct a 10-megawatt Slowpoke reactor to heat the University. To advance this proposal, the company set up an office in the city, lobbied the University administration, employed public relations personnel to advance the proposal in the community, hired billboard space, advertised in the newspaper, and conducted consultations with the community. In 1990, AECL began an aggressive campaign to promote public acceptance of the construction of a Candu-3 nuclear reactor and high-level waste management facility.

Targeting Schools

The nuclear lobby in Saskatchewan has invested heavily in securing support by directly influencing schools and the education system. The Saskatchewan Mining and Development Corporation (SMDC) was the first to engage in widespread intervention in schools followed by Uranium Saskatchewan, the uranium section of the Saskatchewan Mining Association. Atomic Energy of Canada Limited (AECL), the federal crown corporation which promotes sales of Candu reactors, became very active in the early 1990s.

The Saskatchewan Mining Development Corporation (SMDC) was the main instrument of nuclear intervention in Saskatchewan schools prior to its amalgamation with Eldorado Nuclear and formation of Cameco. SMDC was established in 1974 through an Order in Council under the Saskatchewan Crown Corporations Act and was established by a special act of the legislature in 1977. Its responsibility was to explore for, develop and mine minerals, primarily uranium, in Saskatchewan. It has also worked to forestall criticism of the nuclear industry and to advance nuclear interests in Saskatchewan schools. While the formal and institutional purposes of the company's activities are laid out in its handbook, at a conference in 1983 the SMDC corporate affairs vice president stated SMDC's strategy is to "immunize" teachers to criticisms of the industry.[6]

This strategy has been most evident in the work of SMDC's Northern Opportunities Branch (NOB). This branch mandated, funded, hired personnel, and developed programs for schools and students. It formed ongoing relationships with school boards, principals, teacher groups, the Department of Education, and the provincial cabinet. The repertoir of public relations initiatives in the north alone included: several bursaries for students; public relations visits with teachers, counsellors and principals; mine employment opportunity materials; donations of books to the forty five area libraries; assistance to the Northern Area Teacher's Association; a speakers bureau and resource service; a summer geology program for students which included the production of slide tape shows for school distribution and a highly publicized banquet of northern dignitaries; tours of students, teachers and school boards to the mine sites; and publication of a high quality pro-nuclear magazine distributed free to all northern students.[7] In the late 1980's and early 1990's Uranium Saskatchewan, the uranium section of the Saskatchewan Mining Association, offered opportunities for school teachers and students. Uranium Saskatchewan provided a free binder of suggested lesson plans, student hand-outs and overheads for teachers for use with all grade eight and nine students in the province.[8] In 1989 Saskatchewan's Lieutenant Governor officially opened a $300,000 Uranium Today trailer that visits Saskatchewan schools with its pro-nuclear message. The uranium companies and their associations continue to maintain contact with teachers and students.

Spratt and Associates, industry consultants for AECL, spell out how to influence school systems and the education establishment in their publication titled, *Rationale for P.J. Spratt & Associates Approach to the*

Challenge of Effective Communicating With the Education Community. It views the education system as a market, with which the industry can set up long term cooperative arrangements. The Ontario school system alone, for example, constitutes a market of two million students and 96,000 teachers who can influence their neighbourhoods. However, the industry requires "marketing" and "communication" strategies to penetrate the bureaucratic school systems with their ministries, boards of education, elementry and secondary schools, teachers, professional teacher associations, and administrative personnel without alienating them. Industry therefore needs to design and refine its requests to each educational sector's sensibilities and ability to respond positively.

In their "Rationale" Spratt and Associates point out that to penetrate the education system outside interests need to understand that "education has established norms regarding its internal decision-making and relationships with the community." Because schools support liberal democractic norms and seek to appear neutral on debateable items, the industry is advised to present resources within the framework of traditional values and not as alternative to them. They also identify the distribution of teaching aids and teacher training as two key elements in informing teachers. To overcome the credibility gap of distrust between education and corporation, characterized by teacher suspicion of nuclear advocacy, they suggest that the industry should develop convenient useable information aids for busy teachers. The development of these aids should result from cooperative efforts in which teacher and industry interests are mutually satisfied. Teachers and suitable provincial representatives should be involved in this production if they are not to be alientated from them.

Spratt and Associates produce *Bridges: The Magazine for Canada's Opinion Leaders*, an independent quarterly magazine available free to all classroom teachers in Canada. AECL operates an Information Center in Saskatoon, provides print and visual resource materials, and sends representatives to visit schools where they discuss the many ecological, environmental, health and safety, and weapons issues related to nuclear proposals. The combined strategies of the Canadian Nuclear Association, Uranium Saskatchewan and its member companies, and AECL have constituted a significant assault on schools. This combination probably comprises the most systematic attempt by any industry in the history of the province to use the schools as a medium to convey ideas, beliefs, and ideology, and to establish a relationship of hegemony on an ongoing basis. For adults to understand how the industry has established and seeks to maintain its influence in schools, they will have to engage in critical reflection and action.

The Political Parties

Upon taking office in 1981, Saskatchewan's Conservative government endorsed the construction and privatization of nuclear reactors to supply electrical power into the provincial grid. Premier Grant Devine said "nuclear energy has many advantanges for Saskatchewan, given the province's large uranium resources.... We have a big potential advantage."[9] Announcement of the agreement between SaskPower and AECL on September 21, 1991, the same day as the announcement of a provincial election culminated a Conservative and nuclear industry political strategy cultivated over several years. The announcement pre-empted the report of the Saskatchewan Power Options Panel which the provincial government struck in 1990 to "seek opinions and increase public understanding of future energy options." The panel was to report on the viability of alternatives ranging through coal, wind, solar, hydro, energy efficiencies, bio-mass, and nuclear for the production of electricity in Saskatchewan. However, before the report was submitted in November[10] SaskPower announced that site selection for a Candu-3 reactor was to be undertaken immediately.[11]

Not to be restricted to the declining fortunes of the provincial Conservative party in its second term of office, the nuclear industry has made inroads in all provincial political parties. Linda Haverstock, leader of the provincial Liberal party, indicated she is solidly behind nuclear development in the province. This pro-nuclear policy was made clear for the first time in the summer of 1991. She has advocated a "thoughtful" approach to nuclear development. Although the Liberal party has had virtually no standing in the provincial legislature since the 1982 Conservative sweep, the pro-nuclear stand offered the party some elements of an economic policy. The New Democratic Party initially supported the expansion of uranium mining in Saskatchewan in the 1970's and has historically been split on nuclear issues. As the NDP went into the 1991 election, AECL forwarded packages of information to each NDP councillor on the benefits of supporting nuclear expansion.[12] The package was part of its strategy to contest NDP policy to phase out uranium mining and to opppose construction of Candu and Slowpoke reactors. However, in a three to one vote, the party confirmed its opposition to construction of Candu and Slowpoke reactors, opposed the research agreement announced September 21, and opposed high-level waste management in the province. It also avoided efforts to reverse the party position on uranium mining.

Resistance and Counter-Hegemony

By reviewing aspects of the CNA, Uranium Saskatchewan, and AECL public relations campaigns, this account has shown that nuclear industry public relations initiatives in Saskatchewan constitute a form of ideological hegemony. It has demonstrated that these campaigns are extensive, strategic, mandated, and funded. Through them, the nuclear industry creates ideas and beliefs and constructs continuing relationships with political parties, educational institutions and other organisations. The purpose of this account was to establish that within a critical theory approach to adult education, if counter-hegemonic struggle is warranted in response to hegemonic conditions, counter-hegemonic approaches are warranted in response to nuclear public relations strategies in Saskatchewan.

In fact, opposition to development of the nuclear industry in Saskatchewan began in the mid-1970's when several organisations pressed the NDP to call a moratorium on uranium mining.[13] Through several manoeuvers, pro-uranium forces convinced the NDP government to conduct a public inquiry into the future of uranium mining in the province. Several church, aboriginal, labour, environmental, international NGOs, anti-nuclear, and other groups in opposition to uranium mining boycotted the inquiry and conducted their own education campaigns around the issue. Although they did not stop uranium mining, they continued to do research and undertake resistance strategies to uranium mine expansion. These citizens groups won a clear victory in 1979 when they opposed and helped prevent the construction of a uranium refinery at Warman near Saskatoon.

Adult education as counter-hegemony has been evident in the early 1990's through the work of three citizens groups. Pokebusters Citizen's Coalition is an ad-hoc committee of Saskatoon citizens who organised initially to oppose the construction of and propose alternatives to a Slowpoke reactor at the University of Saskatchewan. This coalition has organised public meetings, debated industry representatives, published material, sought expert advice, lobbied the government and the University, and written letters to the editor in the local paper. The coalition continued its work by debating and opposing proposals for a Candu-3 reactor and nuclear waste management site. The

Inter-Church Uranium Committee, founded in 1980 by members of the Catholic, United, Anglican, Lutheran, and Mennonite churches, conducts research, undertakes education and lobbies government on nuclear issues, particularly uranium mining. Although this organisation focuses on its constituent organisations, it operates in a milieu of interested organisations with which it interacts on a continuing basis. The Saskatooon Environmental Society operates a resource center which offers resources on alternative energy and energy efficiencies as well as other environmental issues. It was active as early as the uranium inquiry of 1977 where it led opposition to uranium mining proposals with a representative acting as an intervener in questioning mining proponents.

These groups have contested industry claims, organised against their influence, and advanced alternative options. They have published information, conducted public forums with expert speakers, held press conferences, attended hearings, organised demonstrations and rallies, consulted with interest groups, built alliances and coalitions of support among labour, church, environmental, and other groups, lobbied politicians, provided a speakers service, and operated resource centers. To support their public education, they research issues and maintain communications with similar groups throughout Canada and the world. To mount educational campaigns, these citizens groups have establish themselves as counter- organisations with mandate, resources and structure. The emancipatory commitment to public education is not simply to oppose, but to generate possibility and advance options for the common good.

Adult educators working in upgrading and post-secondary institutions can also advance an emancipatory education which addresses the hegemony of the nuclear industry. Pro-nuclear ideology in institutions of adult education is most obvious in overt public relations and information strategies. However, the incorporation and restructuring of these institutions over the years within government, education, and economic policies which services nuclear interests offers a more complex structure of hegemony for educators to critically reflect and act upon. Many adult educators are in positions to question how educational policy, governance, curriculum, and instruction may be shaped to serve nuclear interests, to the detriment of full rational consideration of energy alternatives. While citizens groups address nuclear advocacy in the broader public sphere, adult educators in educational institutions can construct counter-hegemonic struggles which critically question and offer alternatives to the nuclear option. To develop counter-hegemonic adult education, educators can research their own circumstances, link with other counter-hegemonic groups, strategize to address industry claims, and construct pedagogies that empower educators and students.

In Conclusion

This article provides a Canadian case study of the nuclear debate within a critical theory understanding of adult education. This critical theory approach has been more substantially developed in a previous volume of this publication.[14] Within this framework, the notions of hegemony and counter-hegemony are used to understand public relations initiatives of nuclear companies, and the oppositional organisation of citizen groups. The counter-hegemonic struggles of citizen groups is presented as a model of adult education recommended for practicioners in educational institutions as warranted. The purpose of this account is to establish the counter-hegemonic activities of these groups and coalitions as a legitimate part of the adult education movement.

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1. Paul Jackson, "Choice seems to be lights out or nuclear power," Saskatoon: *The Star-Phoenix*, April 22, 1991, p. A2.
2. Some of the fifteen articles are: "Nuclear power plant less risky than drive to work," September 2, 1989; "Anti-nuke groups fighting progress," September 12, 1988; "I feel so safe with a nuclear reactor," April 29, 1989; "Nuclear energy view powers lofty dream," July 6, 1989; "Chief sees benefit of nuclear power proposal," July 10, 1989; "Nuclear power plant could spur economy," July 13, 1989; "Atomic bombings ended vicious war," August 3, 1989; "Most showed sense and did not go to the rally," October 30, 1989; "Peaceniks a menace to world democracy," May 14, 1990; "Peace can't come the peacenik way," July 30, 1990; "Columnist won't gloat over Candu sale," February 4, 1991; and "Nuclear bomb called answer to war's waste," February 11, 1991.
3. Randy Burton, "Nuclear announcement timely for Devine" and "Energy Agreement could develop many jobs for Saskatchewan," Saskatoon: *The Star-Phoenix*, September 14, 1991, p. A10.
4. Randy Burton, "Nuclear plant site research under way," Saskatoon: *The Star-Phoenix*, September 21, 1991, p. F1.
5. Paul Jackson, "Nuclear energy view powers lofty dream," *Saskatoon: The Star-Phoenix*, July 6, 1989.
6. SMDC's strategy for "immunizing" teachers to criticisms of the nuclear industry was laid out by the corporate affairs vice-president at Future-Scan, a conference for business and industry held in Saskatoon in the spring of 1983. At this conference, the vice-president laid out three stages of the relationship between the uranium mining industry and the public. He located many "stakeholders" as potential allies and presented SMDC's public relations strategy. The stakeholders in the southern part of the province were identified as the media, the medical profession, business, churches, labour, the education profession, and women's groups. In the north, they were divided into the categories of adolescents, post-adolescents, and middle-aged people (Smart, 1983, p. 24). In his presentation, he advocated developing a strategy to deal with critics of the industry rather than responding in a "knee-jerk" fashion. He expressed preference for an "indirect approach...the facilitating a crown corporation can do." He explained: "When you set up...interaction between industry and one of the stakeholders, you produce antibodies. And when something happens, that group or somebody from the group can respond to it, so, that person is like attacking it" (Smart, 1983, p. 23-24).
7. For analysis see Robert Regnier and Brian Mclean, "Hegemony in Education: The Nuclear Industry in Northern Schools," in *The Political Economy of Canadian Schooling*, ed. T. Wotherspoon (Toronto: Methuen, 1987) 165-179.
8. See *Uranium in Saskatchewan* (Saskatoon: Uranium Saskatchewan, nd).
9. "Devine considers nuclear energy," Saskatoon: *The Star-Phoenix*, January 23, 1991.
10. D. Traynor, "Energy report receives thumbs up," Saskatoon: *The Star-Phoenix*, November 6, 1991, p. 8.
11. Randy Burton, "Nuclear plant site search under way," Saskatoon: *Star Phoenix*, September 21, 1991.

12. See letter to Councillor from David Bock, Vice-President, Western Region, AECL Candu, Suite 100, 128 4th Avenue South, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, S7K 1M8.
13. D. Gruending, "The Saskatchewan Uranium Pool," *Canadian Forum* (1980): 17.
14. *Critical Social Theory and Adult Education, The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education, Special Issue*, V (Winter 1991).

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BOOK REVIEWS/RECENSIONS

ADULT EDUCATION IN A MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY

Beverly B. Cassara (Ed.) 1990. London: Routledge

From the ferment and figment of "melting pot" theory to the musings of multiculturalism, the path to a comprehensive explanation of the American cultural mosaic has been a patchwork of scholarly endeavours. The renewed recognition of many cultures in American society has become the focus of attention for many educators and social scientists. Beverly B. Cassara attempts to provide us with yet another perspective—incorporating adult education in a multicultural society. As ethnic minorities, aboriginals, and newly-arrived immigrants form a significant part of American society, the provision of adult education in the form of adult-basic education, GED, and language training is essential for their meaningful participation in a democratic society. Cassara has brought together a number of chapters to raise questions about issues in the education of these minority groups.

This book contains twelve chapters with an introduction by the editor and an index at the end. The chapters are clustered into three parts: "dimensions of the problem", "past and present concerns of major ethnic groups", and "innovative approaches to practice and research".

Part one, which contains three chapters, discusses major terms and concepts such as cultural pluralism, multicultural education and linguistic minorities. In chapter one, Young Pai provides the reader with important explanations and definitions of key terms; however, the attempt to include Mezirow's "perspective transformation" appears to be a forced association and does not add to clarity or the importance of this chapter. While Tesconi Jr. (chapter two) and Graham and Cookson (chapter three) cover the meanings of multiculturalism and linguistic minorities in the United States respectively, the relationship between adult education and multiculturalism is not specifically addressed. Graham and Cookson attempt to tie linguistic minorities mainly to

962

immigration and use statistics from 1976, both of which detract from their main thesis.

Four chapters in part two deal with major ethnic groups highlighting some of their historical problems and present concerns. Morgan (chapter four) shows how adult education can help blacks in Manhattan to affirm their integrity and provide access to educational opportunity. She focuses on community-based efforts by church, civic and philanthropic groups to provide literacy and job training, general education, and the promotion of Afro-American culture. Tippeconic III (chapter 5) discusses the background and legislation for Indian education; he emphasizes the role of adult education in providing GED and ABE training. He sees the future as continuing the relationship with the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Montero-Sieburth's chapter (six) about the Hispanic adults is well-written, analytical, and focused. This is an excellent synthesis of a minority's problems and adult education principles resulting in programs for Hispanic adults which are required in the research literature. A consideration of the impetus derived from "community/grassroots" needs and Freire's approaches to literacy training and conscientization provides us with major questions in areas such as the distribution of adult education programs and equity issues. Nakanishi (chapter seven) decries the fact that the professional literature of adult education has given little attention to the needs of minority, immigrant, and refugee adult populations. He provides us with an overview of the diverse group known as Asian Pacific Americans, which now represents the greatest number of legal immigrants to the USA. Attempting to generate empowering skills in Asian immigrants and refugees, Nakanishi uses the concept of political resocialization leading to electoral participation as evidenced in voter registration. He calls on adult education to use its non-formal and formal approaches to assist this group to participate in the political process.

Part three contains five chapters and attempts to provide us with examples of adult education practice. Daniel and Daniel (chapter eight) consider theoretical perspectives such as reproduction theory, experiential learning theory, cognitive theory, and empowerment theory. They demonstrate the application of theory into practice by describing community-based adult education programs administered through the Northern Illinois University service centre in Chicago. Their major focus is education as a social change agent. Barer-Stein (chapter nine) shares her insights from using a phenomenological approach to research in experiencing the unfamiliar. She provides us with a unique approach to discovering knowledge by focusing on the experiences of an ESL teacher. Reeves (chapter 10) uses a case study in health care to demonstrate the application of the "negotiated process" approach. While adult education principles are used in this process the author does not emphasize these in her analysis of this case study. Miller, Grove, and Hansel (chapter eleven) describe three cases in hosting an international exchange student. While the point is made that personality factors are more important than cultural differences in meeting inter-cultural challenges in these situations, it is not clear why this chapter was included in the book. Diaz-Lefebvre (chapter twelve) provides us with an excellent chapter on the "Hispanic adult learner in a rural community". Here is an example of the integration (and use) of adult education principles with the essentials of defining and deriving meaning of ethnic identity by adult learners of Mexican descent. It is quite possible that this approach can be applied selectively to other majority groups.

It is not possible to provide full coverage of a very complex issue such as adult education in a multicultural society in one book. However, there are some areas that are crucial to an understanding of the role of adult education in multi-ethnic America, and the inclusion of these would have strengthened this book. For a very long time the myth of the "melting pot" held sway in American society; the shift to multiculturalism is an important one and should be explained. The roles of adult education in society should be highlighted—a major point being who participates. Since research shows that (a) the most numerous participants in adult education programs come from the middle class and (b) those who already have some schooling and training seek more, how can the poor (the majority ethnic group members and immigrants) participate in adult education programs? The chapters focus on the problems of minority groups; however, an area that needs attention is the education of the majority population about the problems of equity and social justice in a multicultural society.

In the United Kingdom, and to some extent in Canada, the move is now away from multiculturalism towards anti-racist education. It is crucial that adult educators recognize this and incorporate strategies for implementing anti-racist adult education for the sole purpose (if no other) of enhancing equity in and equality of access to education, training, and jobs. The ABE, ESL, and GED programs so often mentioned in this book are important, but adult education has to address some of the larger issues of ideology, hegemony, equality of results, and racism in a multi-ethnic society.

The effectiveness of this book could be increased if Cassara added a summary and conclusion chapter. Such an addition might include the major themes, the problems, and possible solutions raised in most of the chapters. Directions for research in this critical area and implications for public policy would enhance the potential for generating discussion, and hopefully provide a basis for action.

As Jarvis points out in the "editor's note" to this book, there have been few serious studies dealing with adult education and the multicultural society. While some of the chapters could have been replaced with more relevant ones, this book raises some important issues for public policy formulation. Adult educators who are interested in contemporary social change in a cosmopolitan community will be stimulated to think critically about the crucial roles of adult education in our multicultural society.

Deo H. Poonwassie
University of Manitoba

ACTION AND KNOWLEDGE—BREAKING THE MONOPOLY WITH PARTICIPATORY ACTION-RESEARCH

Orlando Fals-Borda and Mohammad Anisur Rahman (Eds.) 1991. New York: Apex Press

This is a major contribution to the liberatory tradition in adult education. This book is the culmination of many years work, in the first place, of two long time contributors to the literature. Orlando Fals-Borda, a Colombian scholar, activist and recently elected member of Colombia's Asamblea Constitutional, has worked mainly in Latin America, but knows the world. Mohammad Anisur Rahman, former professor of economics at the University of Dacca and now based in the International Labour Office in Geneva, has lengthy experience in Asia and Africa, and has published widely. In the second place, the book contains six vivencias or process studies of participatory action research (PAR) in the Americas, Asia and Africa contributed by long time practitioners in those continents. This then is a gold mine of theory and practice.

PAR is a major topic of debate throughout the world and is a cornerstone in the International Council for Adult Education. In a global sense, it was a creation of the South to off-set the dominance of the North. In the

Canadian context, it represents a new expression of adult education's historic commitment to social improvement and can be linked to the community development concept. PAR is disarmingly simple with its appeal to basic democracy and mutual aid. It is a challenging complex in its insistence that we acquire the will and the discipline to live in harmony with each other. PAR arouses emotional discussion about what knowledge is, who owns it, who should it serve and so on. It forces critical examination of traditional positivist research in adult education. It is controversial in that it is clearly political and social change oriented. It is fashionable in that funders of international development projects are favourably disposed to PAR. It is a multi-faceted activity; a method of social investigation, an educational act, a means of taking action and a way of life.

The book is divided into three. Part I contains three essays that introduce PAR; its origins, theoretical standpoints and present overview. Part II includes six vivencias that took place during the mid-eighties. Part III is entitled "Steps in Praxiology" wherein are outlined some of the methods and techniques of PAR.

Chapter one is taken from Fals-Borda's 1988 *Knowledge and People's Power—Lessons with Peasants in Nicaragua, Mexico and Colombia* which is still available for $5.00 from the Indian Social Institute in New Delhi and is a must for a PAR library. This chapter introduces some of the basic ingredients of PAR. He suggests there are three aspects to PAR. It encompasses research, adult education and socio-political action, which are not necessarily consecutive. The purpose is clear—create knowledge upon which to construct power for the oppressed. Fals-Borda argues that a combination of academic knowledge with popular knowledge may result in "total" scientific knowledge of a revolutionary nature which will destroy the previous unjust society. This work is to be performed by two types of change agents, one internal to the community concerned and one external. The dialectical tension between them is long familiar to those who have experienced community development in Canada. Authentic participation means that the unfair subject/object binomial must be replaced by a subject/subject arrangement. This new arrangement means an equal status for the traditional intellectuals and the organic intellectual that lies within us all. Fals-Borda suggests that the creative forces released by PAR will lead to a new kind of state where there will be a healthy balance of human scale proportions. How is people's countervailing power to be established? he asks. Four techniques are outlines in his answer:

collective research, critical recovery of history, valuing and applying folk culture, and production and diffusion of new knowledge. These techniques are discussed in full in Fals-Borda (1988).

In chapter two, Rahman introduces a theoretical standpoint of PAR. The central point is democratizing knowledge because peopie cannot be liberated by a consciousness and knowledge other than their own. After suggesting that PAR as a cultural movement is growing in several countries, he provides some warnings. Clarity about these matters is needed as never before. He suggests that people's knowledge and expert knowledge may dialogue but neither should claim to be superior. The main danger lies in the cooptation of PAR principles by institutions and agencies that recognize PAR's appeal and therefore wish to appropriate it to their own aims. Rahman fully understands that power can corrupt and that even PARers have to take care. He concludes that PAR will survive if it tells the people that it can betray them. The people must be constantly vigilant.

Rahman and Falls-Borda get together in the third chapter in "a self-review of PAR" where they place the concept into historical and contemporary perspective. They provide lists of events, individuals and organizations engaged in PAR internationally. They show that PAR is as much a philosophy of life as a method and claim that it produces a science that truly liberates. In keeping with current global trends, PAR is preoccupied with autonomy, self-reliance and decentralization. Once again they caution, care must be taken to understand the intentions of those institutions and agencies that may be coopting PAR.

Chapters four through nine describe the vivencias. In chapter four, Colombian sociologist Gustavo de Roux writes about a project wherein rural Afro-Colombians organized to get fair treatment from a state electric company. PAR governed the methodology that drove the project, a methodology that met two criteria. First, at the rational level, it had to be capable of unleashing the people's pent-up knowledge. Second, at the emotional level, the process had to be capable of releasing feelings, of tearing down the participant's internal walls in order to free up energy for action. de Roux explains three "moments" in the research process: a mirror-like narrative, strategic codes, and the community's own ideological outlook. Chapter five also reports a Colombian story, this one about a project in Bogota to establish the viability of more critical policies geared to the protection of child labourers. Colombian sociologist Maria Cristina Salazar writes that children participated throughout the project and produced illustrated booklets, pictures and photos dealing with the child labour problems. She concludes that the children acquired new self-esteem during the process as they came to understand and value their own knowledge. Of course all of this was a lengthy process.

Chapter six is more reflective than the two Colombian stories. It is written by two Dutch rural sociologists with many years practical experience with PAR in Latin America, mainly in Peru. Vera Gianotten and Ton de Wit write about their experience of popular education and rural development with peasant communities in the Peruvian Andes. They comment on many aspects of PAR and sketch the various "participatory models" within it. They emphasize the importance of indigenous knowledge and of indigenous organizational structures. Rather than new organizations they argue, it is much better to try to reinforce existing popular organizations or movements. They underline the value of local culture, urging us to resist the temptation to impose ideas or approaches that may have worked elsewhere. Also central in their experience is the importance of continuous reflection to diminish the incongruities between our theoretical statements and our concrete practice.

Senegal, Rwanda and Tanzania are the sites of the "other Africa" that Rahman writes about in chapter seven. African poverty is well known. Not well known are the many positive initiatives on the continent such as the International Labour Office's Program on Participatory Organizations of the Rural Poor. Rahman suggests that wasted time and energy is expended awaiting outside resources rather than on mobilizing domestic resources. The only hope of generating an authentic development dynamism in Africa is through stimulating domestic mobilization of social energy and resources. One of the most important human resources often is ignored. Rahman suggests that the most basic human need is to create, for being human is being creative, and this is what distinguishes the human from the animal in oneself. "The animal, indeed, needs to be fed and clothed and sheltered and medically cared for, and taught how to find all these, but the human needs to be fulfilled by creative acts." He concludes that African communities may be poor materially but rich in their creative abilities.

Zimbabwean sociologist Sithembiso Nyoni describes people's power in Zimbabwe in chapter eight. Several initiatives taken after independence toward helping people assume power over their own affairs are reported.

In particular, the Organization of Rural Associations for Progress is introduced with its strong emphasis on self-reliance and strong organizational bases. Nyoni comments on the complexities of participation suggesting that the development process usually is delayed while change takes place from within each individual. "If development is about people, then it must take place first in people's minds and where people are and not only at the project sites." This sounds much like a basic tenet in adult education—start where the people are.

Chapter nine is devoted to PAR activities in the United States, particularly work being done at the Highlander Centre in Tennessee, rather than in North America which is claimed in the chapter's title. American sociologist John Gaventa outlines three strategies of popular participatory research. First is the reappropriation of knowledge from the knowledge elite by such means as community power structure research, corporate research and right-to-know movements. However, these merely access already codified knowledge. Therefore the second strategy is needed—the development of people's knowledge, a strategy as useful in the First World as in the Third. Here again, however, this is insufficient for people to help themselves effectively. The third strategy calls for popular participation in the social production of knowledge. This means that lay people should have a say in the production of scientific knowledge, for example, through popularly controlled research centres. Gaventa envisages an alternative organization of science—one that is not only for the people but is created with them and by them as well. This then produces a knowledge democracy.

Part III has two chapters. In chapter ten, S. Tilakaratna, research director at the Participatory Institute for Development Alternatives in Colombo, Sri Lanka, reports on work being done in South and Southeast Asia. Tilakaratna outlines in point form a process of stimulation of self-reliant initiatives by sensitized agents. This process very much resembles good adult education with its emphasis on starting where the learner is and then moving through various rigorous and critical stages. Four interrelated factors are introduced to ensure sustainability of organized initiatives by local people: (1) the emergence of a group of internal animators, (2) practice of self-review by people's organizations, (3) the ability to move from micro groups to larger groupings, and (4) an expansion of the action agenda to move toward a total/comprehensive development effort.

In the final chapter, Fals-Borda highlights many of the central concepts in PAR as he explores "remaking knowledge". The challenge is how to combine expert and official knowledge for the benefit of those victimized by power. Dialogical research is introduced as a method that combines conventional learning and implicit knowledge. Fals-Borda warns against thinking that this kind of research can be imitated and replicated. Imitation and replication can be a means of controlling people. The dilemma in this research lies in employing effective logic which involves sentiments and emotions versus dialectical logic with cold-headed analysis. This, he notes, makes the whole approach suspect in some quarters. He asks many of the challenging questions surrounding knowledge: knowledge for what? knowledge for whom? While reflecting on the meaning of participation, he suggests that in participatory action both researcher and researched recognize that despite their otherness they seek the mutual goal of advancing knowledge in search of greater justice. PAR's important role is to rediscover the vitality of community values and roots. He then explores the value of the critical recovery of history by the people themselves. To him, the rediscovery of history and cultural roots is an essential element in any effort to improve depressed communities. His final section on convergences sketches the international work past and present that is related to PAR.

All the authors in this book see PAR as a strategy to help people search back into their experiences and roots to re-acquire the confidence to respect their own knowledge. This is a liberating experience. In a sense, this book and PAR itself encourage us to rediscover our liberatory tradition in adult education rather than having to create a new one to meet the demands of the twenty-first century.

Timothy Pyrch
University of Calgary

AN INTERNATIONAL DICTIONARY OF ADULT AND CONTINUING EDUCATION

Peter Jarvis. 1990. London and New York: Routledge

How do you evaluate a dictionary, especially one as wide ranging as this? Peter Jarvis includes many items not specific to adult education (PhD, alma mater, halo effect) or even education (Karl Marx, ritual, Sigmund Freud); he argues that adult education is but part of the field of study of education and is rooted in the social sciences. The result is a somewhat quixotic yet informative dictionary for adult educators.

The first term I looked up was "workers' education" and found that no definition was offered. There is an entry for **Workers' Education**— the WEA journal—but it does not tell us it is now defunct. The entry for the WEA lists different countries where the WEA operates and gives us some but not all (why not?) current addresses. There are another dozen "worker" or "working" entries all with useful titbits of information yet **working class** is defined as the difference between manual and non-manual workers, which is not a very helpful definition.

If workers' education doesn't feature, how about **industrial studies**? Yes, it's in, as is the **Industrial Tutor** and the **Society of Industrial Tutors**. The entry under **Industrial Education** has four lines and then "see **Worker Education**." But there is no such entry, it must have slipped off his computer screen.

It is difficult to assess how international the dictionary really is. Names pop up such as **Joyce Robinson** from the West Indies, **Norman Macdonald Richmond** from New Zealand or the first person to deliver an extension lecture in Yugoslavia, a significant Spanish adult educator and on the next page a US citizen. *The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education* is listed as emanating from the Department of Adult Education, OISE, plus address, but it is not referred to as the journal of CASAE/AÉÉCA; **CASAE** is listed and we are told it publishes a journal but no cross reference is offered. **Athabasca University** has an entry but much of the information is wrong—the majority of students are home study, not in learning centres—and the address given is in fact that of the Southern Regional Office in Calgary, not the main site in Athabasca. **Roby Kidd** has a good entry as does the **J. Roby Kidd Award and Trust Fund**; **Highlander** is in as is the **Antigonish Movement**. US and Canadian adult education appear to be well represented in the volume.

Who to include and who to leave out must always be a problem with this kind of work. Amongst UK figures there is no reference to Raymond Williams, Richard Hoggard (not even as chair of ACACE) or E.P. Thompson (or to cultural studies). George Thompson, the inter-war Yorkshire WEA District Secretary, does not get a mention nor does S.G. Raybould, Leeds University's first extra-mural director, but **John Robinson** of the BBC does. As the author informs us, the dictionary "reflects one person's understanding of the field and consequently it contains its own limitations".

After checking workers' education and industrial studies I next turned to **liberal adult education** and the **Great Tradition**, both being terms I have had difficulty with in Canada because they are not frequently referred to. The definitions offered by Jarvis are not very expansive; for example, the Great Tradition could have noted its use with reference to its pre World War I origins and WEA/Extension work in the inter-war period, its special concern for the working class and its social purpose focus. However, the liberal adult education led me to **Everett Dean Martin (1880-1941)**, the American adult educator and author of *The Meaning of Liberal Adult Education*, which Jarvis notes was "published in 1926 but perhaps not well known today." I have to agree. I didn't know that, nor presumably do many North American adult educators—Martin's book could be long overdue for a re-issue.

Jarvis does not tell us how many entries there are but it must be close to 5000. His dictionary will find its way on to library shelves and subsequent editions will expand and improve in this first edition.

Bruce Spencer
Athabasca University

UNEMPLOYMENT, EDUCATION AND TRAINING: CASE STUDIES FROM NORTH AMERICA AND EUROPE

Keith Forrester and Kevin Ward (Eds.) 1991. Sacramento: Gaddo Gap Press

The papers in this book were first presented at a conference held at Ruskin College, Oxford in 1988. The book attempts to describe and analyse significant education and training responses to unemployment and general market restructuring from a variety of institutional and organisational settings in North America and Europe. North America in this case means the US and the European case studies are from the UK. However, there is a useful overview of Swedish post-secondary education and training arrangements—in a sense a 'case study' of a government response, and a review of responses to youth unemployment in five European countries.

The first two chapters provide a contextual overview for what follows. John Hughes in chapter one provides a solid analysis of unemployment trends in OECD countries. He recognises the growth of unemployment was a response to the restructuring of commercial capital particularly in the 1980s. High rates of unemployment have become accepted as normal in many Western countries with long-term unemployment entrenched within some regions. The second overview is provided by the editors who look at a range of education and training initiatives within and across countries. They question how these can be compared, whether objectives are being met and what experience is transferable.

The first three case studies are from the US and are examples of responses to the 1980s crisis of unemployment particularly created by large-scale plant shut-down. The first, by Jeanne Prial Gordus and Karen Yamakawa, describes the Downriver Project (Michigan) and its applicability to other studies. Interestingly, the study revealed that skills training was not the key for job search success but broader education was. They also call for more continuing education for those in work arguing that crisis programmes at redundancy is leaving it too late. The next case study, reported by Lee Shore and Jerry Atkin, grew out of concerns for the psychological health of displaced workers and resistance to retraining and continuing education. Although it includes an interesting account of the role of peer counsellors, it concludes with an uncritical call for breaking down the barriers between work and learning. Feinstein, in the third US chapter, gives an account of a communication and information system for the unemployed which enhances networking and support services. This will appeal to readers interested in educational technology.

The UK case studies (chapters six to nine) will be familiar to those who have followed this literature. Paul Fordham considers REPLAN after its first five years, and argues that it is connecting with educationally disadvantaged groups. David Browning gives an account of the Open College networks in the UK, which focus on access and accreditation and, the author claims, has benefitted many unwaged individuals. In chapter eight the editors report on their work with TUC centres against unemployment and hint at some of the struggles involved in maintaining a high profile for this work.

The brief report, by George Burt, on Community Business Development in Scotland (more than 150 community enterprises/co-ops in Scotland) provides an example of alternative reaction to global market pressures and points to a new direction for community activists and educators. The emphasis of community business is on job creation, local control and provision of services in the community. The linkages between self-managed enterprises points to a "third" sector of the economy neither private or state provided. His frustration with finding support services—including education—is understandable given the emphasis on corporate economics in Western society. However, he should be wary of denouncing "academic" and "theoretical" adult education courses for people in "poor communities" (p. 267). Practical educational support is needed for these initiatives alongside critical evaluation and adult education should surely play both roles.

Abrahamsson's account of Swedish adult education and training serves as a useful reminder of what is possible within the bargained corporatism of welfare capitalism. It will be interesting to see how much of this structure can withstand entry into the EEC and the continuing globalisation of markets, supported as it is by the dismal economic tribunes of free enterprise/lowest common denominator strategies for world economic development. One product of mainstream Western European economy in the 1980s provides the focus for Krista Michiels' chapter, youth unemployment. This comparative study raises questions about the appropriate education, training and employment of young people and leads on to questions about the effectiveness of programmes and the needs of the long-term unemployed.

In the concluding chapter the editors argue the selection of papers reflects the pattern of education and training responses which have been made in the 1980s to unemployment. Different settings, perspectives and responses are presented. They struggle with the question of how to evaluate these different responses; they note the networking and coalition building which is taking place. It is difficult to say how successful some of this is. And there is even disagreement on what is success: is it coping skills or finding a new job, is it retraining to fit in to new employment or gaining control over community services? For Ward and Forester "localism"—local control, bottom-up provision is an emergent theme. But they also note how many of these local schemes are underfunded. Education also scores over simple retraining; adult education catering not only for vocational but also personal and social goals is seen as a winner.

This book is a useful guide to the variety of provision of education and training for the unemployed. It also succeeds in introducing some of the

974

theoretical questions associated with this work. Readers will have to decide for themselves which strategies, or combinations, are the most appropriate response to restructuring and unemployment. However, lifelong learning and diverse adult educational provision going beyond training are critical.

Bruce Spencer
Athabasca University

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Graduate Degrees in Canada—Adult Education and Cognate Subjects/Diplômes d'Etudes supérieures au Canada—Education des adultes et sujets connexes - 1991.

Graduate degrees awarded by Canadian universities in adult education and cognate subjects in 1991/Mémoires et thèses en éducation des adultes ou sur des sujets connexes — 1991. Compiled by: G. Ambury, A. Bélanger, A. Blunt, P. Brook, I. Hunt, D. MacKeracher, M. Proctor, R. O'Reilly, G. Selman.

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

Department of Adult, Career and Technology Education

Master of Education in Adult and Higher Education (Theses)

C.L. Barabash-Pope	Evaluation of the curriculum of a nursing refresher program (Supervisor: D.A. McKay)
E.M. Berg	Attitudes concerning role transitions for the elderly by adult children and their aging parents (Supervisor: G.C. Hess)
S.J. Blake	Learning needs and job satisfaction of non-medical support staff (Supervisor: J.M. Small)
L.A. Campbell	Empowering re-entry women (Supervisor: J.F.D. Ilott)
A.M. Lind-Wilson	Basic skills for adults with mental handicaps (Supervisor: D.J. Collett)

C.S. MacPhail	Formative evaluation of the master's program in adult and higher education at the University of Alberta (Supervisor: J.M. Small)
G.J. McKee	Evaluation of the short term impact of a nursing refresher program (Supervisor: A. MacKay)
M.J. Reston	Participation decisions of adult literacy learners (Supervisor: G. Malicky)
A.M. Risdon	Professional development needs of Alberta adult educators (Supervisor: A.G. Konrad)
E.M. Swann	Responsive evaluation of a community health representative program (Supervisor: D.A. MacKay)
K.G. Teeling	Women's experiences as learners: A story of struggle (Supervisor: M. Haughey)
M. White	Getting the story out: Four adults learning to write (Supervisor: W.T. Fagan)

Master of Education in Adult and Higher Education (Project)

L.G. Bowes	Pet-assisted therapy at St. Joseph's Auxiliary Hospital (Supervisors: E. Fox and C. Kanchier)
M.A. Brese	Interest group input into policy development in adult literacy (Supervisor: W. Fagan)
F.M. Brokop	Single mothers in adult basic education (Supervisor: W. Fagan)

K.A. Clinker	Evaluative research study of the effectiveness of a back injury prevention program (Supervisor: D.A. MacKay)
D.L. Conrad	Student support in distance learning (Supervisor: M. Haughey)
S.R. Devins	Perceptions of the role of literacy tutors (Supervisors: H. Ilott and G. Malicky)
S.M. Gnida	Being a teacher in an adult multi-cultural class (Supervisor: M. Haughey)
R.W. Hanson	Higher education as an agent in mid life career change (Supervisor: M. Haughey)
J. Li	Adjustment strategies of Chinese students at a Canadian university (G. Malicky)
R.H. MacLeod	Lifelong learning and the creative process (Supervisor: P.A. Brook)
F.I. Maxwell	Education graduate students as end users: A survey of computer-based library information systems at the U of A (Supervisor: M. Szabo)
R. Oddy	The participatory approach: How effective is it? (Supervisor: A. MacKay)
B.H. Schur	Micro-teaching: In-service education for adult educators (Supervisor: P. Brook)
R.M. Stewart	Subjectivity in clinical supervision (Supervisor: P. Brook)

M.A. Walker	A descriptive study of women in a re-entry program (Supervisor: D.A. MacKay)

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

Department of Administrative, Adult and Higher Education

Master of Arts (Theses)

B. Clough	Learning activities in later life (Supervisor: J.E. Thornton)
B. Gurm	Life Review and the institutionalized elderly (Supervisor: J.E. Thornton)

Master of Education (Major Papers)

M. Boulger	Dismantling domination: Adult education's other agenda (Supervisor: T.J. Sork)
D.L. Buckerfield	Analysis of adult education in libraries and museums (Supervisor: G.R. Selman)
B. Chen	Adult education and "half the sky" in the People's Republic of China, 1949-1986 (Supervisor: G.R. Selman)
J.N. Clark	Andragogy and art galleries (Supervisor: G.R. Selman)
J. Dedhar	Planning programs for Ismailis (Supervisor: T.J. Sork)
E.J. Heldman	Competencies of adult educators: A review of selected literature (Supervisor: D.D. Pratt)
H. Kettle	Staff development: An integrated approach (Supervisor: T.J. Sork)

H. Kux-Kardos	Designing a training manual for foodservice employees (Supervisor: G.R. Selman)
J.K. McMurtry	Education for change: "The Saskatchewan Christian Feminist Network" (Supervisor: G.R. Selman)
E.H. Miller	Getting my house in order: A search for the soul within myself and within nursing -- a journey, an analysis, and a program proposal (Supervisor: T.J. Sork)
E. Mitchell	Telecommunications: Moving distance education toward a more learner-centred approach (Supervisor: T.J. Sork)
F. Neale	Gerontology education in institutions of higher education, and manpower issues in the field of aging (Supervisor: J.E. Thornton)
J.J. Oliver	Competency-based education for nursing staff development (Supervisor: T.J. Sork)

Doctor of Education

R.M. MacNeill	The prediction of dropout in an entry level trades training program (Supervisor: W.S. Griffith)
J. McLaren	Adult students in university: Long-term persistence to degree-completion (Supervisor: W.S. Griffith)
L. Titterington	An analysis of collective investigation as an adult education method (Supervisor: K.R. Rubenson)

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

Department of Educational Policy and Administrative Study

Doctor of Education

M. Baynton	Control of the learning process in distance education (Supervisor: P. Adams)

Master of Education (Theses)

Y. Hassam	Perspectives on English as a second language programs for adults in Calgary (Supervisor: S. Mitchell)
C. Jaques	The United Farmers of Alberta: A social and educational movement (Supervisor: C. Warren)
W. Mortis	Conversational analysis of nurse-patient talk in a Calgary hospital (Supervisor: R. Heyman)

Master of Education (Projects)

T. Dewar	Part-time instructors - phantoms of the night? (Supervisor: T. Pyrch)
J. Fortuin	A critical examination of school based staff development (Supervisor: H.K. Baskett)
T. Gahlinger	Interviewing as a feminist methodology: A critical essay (Supervisor: C. Warren)
S. Galenza	Education in the workplace: Is it adult education? (Supervisor: D. Kirby)

R. Gibson	Adult education and the community college in Alberta (Supervisor: A.B. Hamilton)
M. Motter-Hodgson	A critical analysis of selected staff development models (Supervisor: W.G. Roberts)
C. Roy	Application of adult education philosophies and principles to patient education (Supervisor: D. Kirby)
L. Thompson	Employee assistance programs and management theory (Supervisor: S. Mitchell)

UNIVERSITÉ LAVAL

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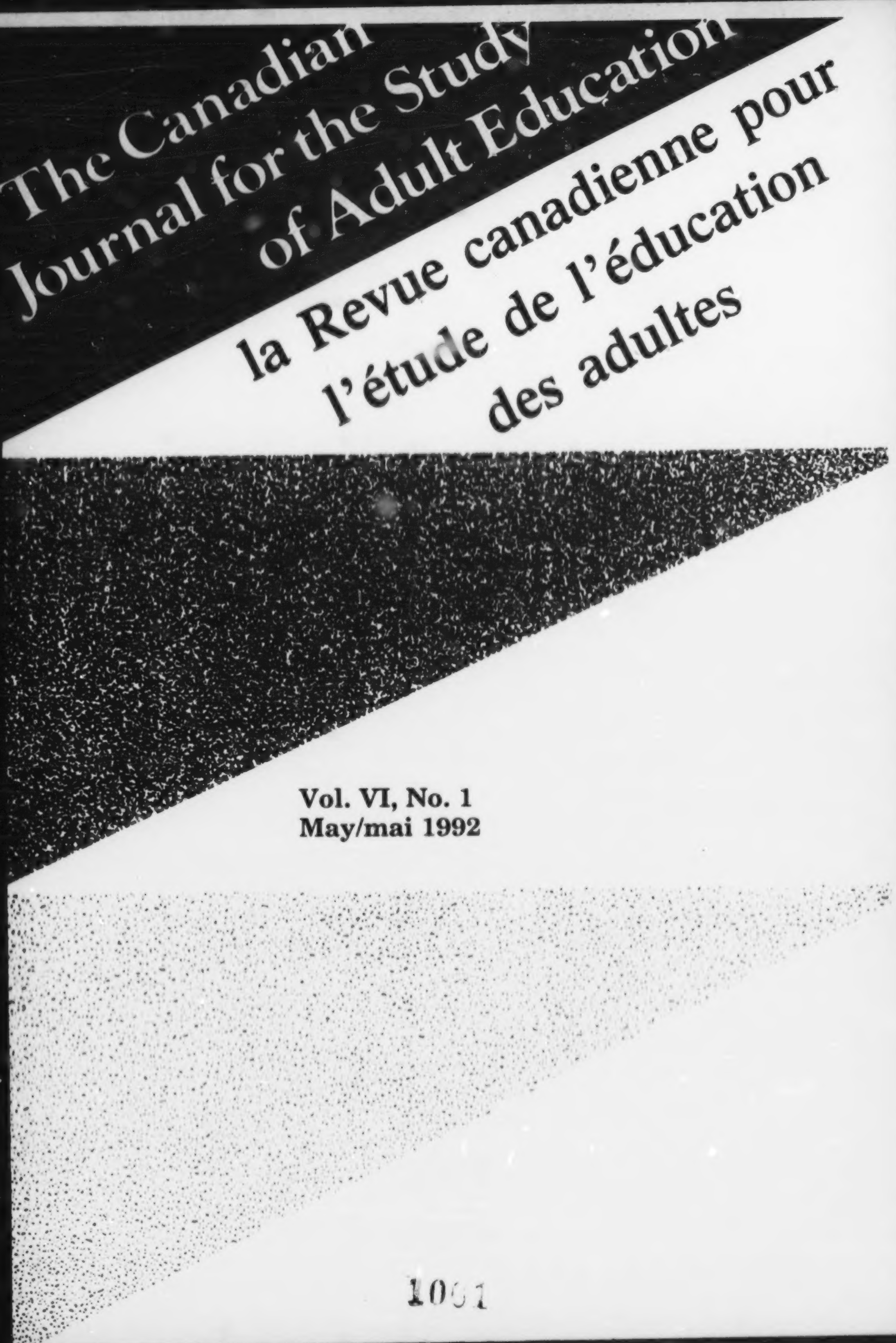

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la Revue canadienne pour l'étude de l'éducation des adultes

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1001

CANADIAN JOURNAL FOR THE STUDY OF ADULT EDUCATION

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THE CANADIAN JOURNAL FOR THE STUDY OF ADULT EDUCATION

LA REVUE CANADIENNE POUR L'ÉTUDE DE L'ÉDUCATION DES ADULTES

May/Mai, 1992, Vol. VI., No. 1

Table of Contents/Table des Matières

Articles

Activités éducatives et leurs attributions
Madeleine Blais 1

Analyse comparative des modèles de l'apprentissage
de R.J. Stahl et de C.E. Kasworm
Michèle-Isis Brouillet 17

Women's Learning: Implications for Adult Education
Research and Practice
Edith Smith 45

Perspectives

Student-centred Courses and Social Awareness: Contrary
Evidence from UK Workers' Education
Bruce Spencer 67

Book Reviews/Recensions

The Making of an Adult Educator
Malcolm Knowles
Robert A. Carlson 81

Fostering Critical Reflection in Adulthood: A Guide to Transformative and Emancipatory Learning
Jack Mezirow
L.N. Karlovic 86

Something in My Mind Besides the Everyday: Women and Literacy
Jenny Horsman
Betty Ann Lloyd 89

The Politics of Nonformal Education in Latin America
Carlos Alberto Torres
B. Allan Quigley 93

University Adult Education in Crisis
John McIlroy and Bruce Spencer
Joyce Stalker 99

Reviewers/Arbitres 103

Index/Répertoire 105

Call for Papers 119

Announcement of Position 121

Guidelines for Contributors 122

The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education/
La Revue canadienne pour l'étude de l'éducation des adultes
May/mai, 1992, Vol. VI, No. 1

ARTICLES

ACTIVITÉS ÉDUCATIVES ET LEURS ATTRIBUTIONS

Madeleine Blais
Université de Montréal

Résumé

Cette recherche a pour objet la motivation des adultes à apprendre, sous l'angle spécifique de l'attribution. Elle a pour but d'identifier l'orientation attribuée à des activités éducatives de toute nature menées sous divers modes, par des professionnelles en soins infirmiers. Les raisons pour apprendre et celles du choix du mode d'apprentissage ont été analysées en termes d'attribution. Les résultats indiquent que lorsqu'il s'agit des objets d'apprentissage, les énoncés d'attribution sont le plus souvent internes alors que lorsqu'il s'agit des modes d'apprentissage, ils sont le plus souvent externes. Le profil des répondantes indique que toutes expriment selon les objets et les modes d'apprentissage, des attributions internes et externes; si une proportion importante (40%) des répondantes semblent avoir un centre de causalité interne, une proportion égale n'a pas d'orientation claire.

Abstract

This research is on the motivation of adults to learn, from an attributional point of view. It sought to identify the orientation of the attribution in learning activities of all nature run by a group of female professionals who were using different modes of learning. The reasons for learning and those for the choice of specific modes of learning have been analyzed in terms of attribution. The results indicate that attribution is more often internal when considering learning themes, and more often external when expressing choices of modes of learning. The profile of the respondents shows that all of them express internal or external attributions depending of the object and mode of learning; if a high percentage (40%) of the

respondents seems to have an internal locus of causality, an equal proportion does not have a clear orientation.

Introduction

Chez l'adulte, apprendre est une activité parmi d'autres; elle peut être continue ou sporadique, spontanée ou fortement encouragée mais rarement imposée. Pourquoi l'adulte continue-t-il d'apprendre après avoir quitté les bancs de l'école obligatoire? Pourquoi choisit-il d'apprendre sur tel sujet? Pourquoi choisit-il tel mode d'apprentissage?

Malgré les nombreuses recherches menées au cours des 25 dernières années, notre compréhension du phénomène ne progresse que lentement. Plusieurs raisons peuvent expliquer cette situation; d'abord l'absence de consensus chez les psychologues de la motivation sur une théorie générale de la motivation humaine. Il y a aussi qu'en éducation des adultes, les recherches ont surtout porté sur la motivation à **participer** et sur les facteurs qui empêchent la participation; et sur ce point, comme le note Cross (1981), il y a absence de consensus chez les chercheurs sur une façon de définir la participation. L'emphase des études sur la motivation à participer a fait en sorte qu'il y a très peu d'études sur la motivation à apprendre, si bien qu'on en est venu à prendre l'une pour l'autre. Or apprendre et participer sont deux phénomènes distincts.

La présente étude, de type exploratoire, s'est inspirée de la théorie de l'attribution pour analyser les raisons pour apprendre chez un groupe de femmes.

La théorie de l'attribution

Il existe de nombreuses théories de la motivation, plus d'une quarantaine selon Madsen (1974). Celles qui ont attiré l'attention des chercheurs en éducation des adultes sont la théorie du champ de force de Lewin combinée à celle de Maslow (Miller, 1967), la théorie de l'accomplissement de Atkinson et Feather (Dubin, 1970), la théorie du niveau d'aspiration d'Escalona et de Festinger (Buttedahl, 1974; Burgess, 1976), la théorie des besoins de Maslow (Boshier, 1977), la théorie de l'action raisonnée de Fishbein et

Ajzen (Gruteluesehen et Caulley, 1977; Ray, 1979; Pryor, 1990) et la théorie de la curiosité épistémique de Berlyne (Rossing et Long, 1981). La théorie de l'attribution, bien que considérée comme "pierre angulaire dans la construction d'une théorie de la motivation et des émotions" par Weiner (1986), ne semble pas avoir attiré l'attention.

Par théorie de l'attribution, nous entendons "l'étude des perceptions causales, où l'attribution réfère à la perception ou à l'inférence de causalité" (Kelley et Michela, 1980).

Les théories de l'attribution se sont développées à compter des écrits de Heider (1958) sur la psychologie naïve et particulièrement sur la notion de causalité phénoménale. La causalité phénoménale réfère à l'impression subjective qu'ont les individus qu'il existe un lien entre deux ou plusieurs objets ou événements. Ainsi, les individus cherchent des liens de causalité lorsqu'ils sont en contact avec leurs semblables et, constate Heider, certaines personnes ont tendance à attribuer leurs comportements à des causes extérieures à elles alors que d'autres les attribuent à elles-mêmes. "L'homme de la rue fait donc une distinction fondamentale entre causalité personnelle et causalité impersonnelle" (Heider, 16). La différence dans la perception de la causalité produit des disparités dans l'expérience affective de la personne, dans ses attentes futures et dans ses comportements. Par exemple, la différence est importante entre croire que l'on a réussi un examen difficile parce que l'on a travaillé ou parce que la chance s'est manifestée. C'est ce que la personne croit qui est important, c'est cela qui influence directement ses réactions écrit Heider (1958, 173). Ce sont donc les attributions et les conséquences de ces attributions qui constituent le coeur de la théorie de l'attribution; elles jouent, croit-on, un rôle central dans le comportement humain. Elles constituent la compréhension que la personne a de la structure causale du monde, donc sont des déterminants de son interaction avec le monde (Kelley et Michela, 1980).

Cette théorie a été adoptée par de nombreux chercheurs de l'école cognitiviste qui l'ont interprétée de diverses façons si bien qu'aujourd'hui on parle des théories de l'attribution qui représentent trois grands courants.

Un premier courant est celui de Rotter (1966, 1975). Dans le contexte d'une théorie générale de l'apprentissage social, Rotter a identifié les attentes, la valeur des renforcements et la situation psychologique comme étant des variables importantes pour prédire un comportement. Les expériences antérieures déterminent les attentes d'un renforcement particulier; le comportement, dans une situation donnée, est fonction des attentes de renforcement et de la valeur accordée à ce renforcement. L'accent mis par Rotter sur le renforcement dirige l'attention sur le résultat du comportement plutôt que sur les antécédents ou le comportement lui-même. Selon cet auteur, ce sont les attributions quant aux renforcements qui sont des indicateurs, et c'est surtout la valeur accordée au renforcement qui est déterminante du comportement (Rotter, 1975). Ces attributions sont de deux types: interne et externe. Elles expriment un centre de contrôle ("locus of control") interne lorsque la personne croit qu'un renforcement découle de son comportement ou d'une caractéristique personnelle relativement permanente. Elles expriment un centre de contrôle externe lorsque la personne perçoit le renforcement comme n'étant pas entièrement de son ressort, c'est-à-dire comme résultant de la chance, du destin, ou du contrôle d'autres personnes (Rotter, 1966).

Un second courant, représenté par deCharms (1977), s'intéresse à l'attribution du comportement ou de l'action elle-même. En réponse à la question du **pourquoi** d'un comportement ou d'une action, la personne peut se percevoir comme étant déterminée par ses propres choix (causalité personnelle), ou encore comme étant poussée à agir par des forces extérieures qu'elle ne contrôle pas (causalité impersonnelle). Chacune de ces perceptions a des conséquences importantes. La personne qui se perçoit comme étant à l'origine de ses comportements, a l'impression de contrôler sa vie, elle prend la responsabilité de ses actes parce qu'ils procèdent de son libre arbitre et elle en assume les conséquences. L'autre vit plutôt passivement, dans l'attente d'événements qui viendront changer le cours de sa vie et dont elle ne porte pas la responsabilité. Cependant, remarque deCharms "une personne ne peut être continuellement à l'origine de ses comportements comme il est probablement impossible de continuellement subir les événements". Deux facteurs déterminent la façon dont chaque personne perçoit la causalité de ses actions: les prédispositions personnelles et la nature de la situation (deCharms, 1968, 1977).

Le troisième courant de recherche, plus récent, a centré son attention sur "le champ des attributions". Ainsi, certains chercheurs s'intéressent aux liens entre celles-ci et leurs antécédents c'est-à-dire les facteurs comme l'information, les croyances et la motivation, qui amènent le sujet à attribuer un événement particulier à une cause plutôt qu'à une autre. D'autres essaient d'identifier les conséquences des attributions sur les comportements, les émotions et les attentes (Kelley et Michela, 1980).

Parce que les croyances causales sont panculturelles, qu'elles existent de tout temps et qu'elles ont une signification dans l'adaptation du comportement, les attributions causales pourraient devenir le pivot d'une théorie de la motivation (Weiner, 1986), d'où notre intérêt pour cette théorie.

Le cadre conceptuel

L'adulte choisit généralement les activités éducatives dans lesquelles il s'engage. Il fait ces choix parce qu'il croit qu'elles vont le mener aux résultats désirés. L'adulte fait des choix sur le comment apprendre (mode d'apprentissage), sur le quoi apprendre (objet d'apprentissage) et il peut dire pourquoi il a fait ces choix. Ses perceptions sont d'importants facteurs de causalité de ses comportements. Les **raisons évoquées** pour expliquer ses choix sont l'expression d'une connaissance privée, personnelle et sont considérées comme l'expression subjective de certains éléments de la motivation à apprendre. Elles constituent un premier niveau d'explication, de conceptualisation.

Cependant les raisons évoquées sont nombreuses, leur catégorisation est nécessaire. Une des trois dimensions importantes de la structure causale, comme l'indique Weiner (1986) est le "centre de causalité" qui peut être interne ou externe, les autres dimensions étant la stabilité et le niveau de controlabilité des causes. La catégorisation dans l'une ou l'autre des dimensions est considérée comme un deuxième niveau d'explication, de conceptualisation. L'analyse des raisons évoquées selon la dimension "centre de causalité" devrait nous permettre de répondre aux questions suivantes:

1. Les raisons évoquées pour le choix des objets d'apprentissage diffèrent-t-elles, en termes de causalité, de celles évoquées pour le choix des modes d'apprentissage?

2. Chez une même personne, le centre de causalité varie-t-il?

Par **objet d'apprentissage** nous entendons les huit catégories de Johnstone et Rivera (1965), soit les apprentissages reliés 1) au travail; 2) aux hobbies et loisirs; 3) à la religion, à la morale et à l'éthique; 4) à l'éducation générale; 5) à la vie domestique et familiale; 6) au développement personnel; 7) à l'actualité et aux affaires publiques; et 8) autres.

Par **modes d'apprentissage** nous entendons les diverses formes que peuvent prendre les activités d'apprentissage. Trois éléments permettent de distinguer entre divers modes (Kleis et al, 1974; Blais, 1983), ce sont: 1) l'intentionalité de l'apprenant; 2) la présence ou l'absence de systématisation de l'apprentissage; 3) la reconnaissance (attestation ou autre) de l'apprentissage par un organisme officiel. Ces éléments, identifiés par les répondants, permettent de définir trois modes: formel, nonformel et informel. Le mode formel est celui offert par une institution dont la fonction première est l'enseignement. L'apprentissage est organisé de façon systématique avant et/ou au cours de l'activité qui est assurée d'une reconnaissance officielle. L'intention première de l'apprenant dans ce contexte est d'apprendre. Le mode nonformel est celui où l'apprentissage est organisé de façon systématique avant et/ou au cours de l'activité et où l'intention première de l'apprenant est d'apprendre. En outre, si l'activité est offerte par une institution d'enseignement, elle ne donne lieu à aucune attestation ou crédit. Le mode informel est celui où l'intention d'apprendre de l'apprenant est secondaire, ou encore, son intention est première mais l'apprentissage n'est pas organisé de façon systématique. Ces modes comportent des sous-modes selon que l'activité est structurée ou provoquée par un objet (enseignement programmé, par exemple), par une autre personne, par un groupe, par un organisme ou par l'apprenant lui-même.

Le **centre de causalité** est défini en fonction de la provenance de la responsabilité de l'action; il réfère à la perception qu'a un individu d'être ou de ne pas être la cause, l'origine de son choix. Il est inféré à partirdes énoncés formulés par des personnes interrogées sur le pourquoi du choix des objets d'apprentissage et du choix des modes d'apprentissage. Une étude préliminaire a permis de constater que quatre catégories étaient nécessaires pour contenir tous les énoncés: le centre de causalité interne, externe, mixte et une catégorie résiduelle.

Le centre de causalité est interne lorsque, dans l'énoncé de raison, la personne attribue son intérêt, son comportement à elle-même, c'est elle qui a cherché à savoir sur le sujet ou c'est elle qui a choisi librement ou a recherché le mode d'apprentissage. L'énoncé de raison est formulé de sorte qu'on peut lui attribuer l'origine de son comportement. Le centre de causalité est externe lorsque, dans l'énoncé, la personne attribue son intérêt, son comportement à un facteur extérieur auquel elle réagit; l'objet d'apprentissage ou le mode d'apprentissage s'est imposé de lui-même ou il a été imposé par une personne, un événement, une situation. Le centre de causalité est mixte lorsque, dans l'énoncé, la personne attribue son intérêt, son comportement d'apprentissage ou le choix du mode d'apprentissage à la fois à elle-même et à un facteur extérieur. La catégorie résiduelle recueille les énoncés qui ne peuvent être classés dans les catégories précédentes.

La méthodologie

La population cible est constituée de professionnelles en soins infirmiers en exercice dans divers milieux: centre hospitalier, centre d'accueil, santé communautaire, formation professionnelle. Les répondantes, au nombre de 40, ont été recrutées sur une base volontaire. Ce sont des femmes qui ont 25 ans et plus, pour une moyenne de 33 ans. Elles habitent majoritairement (68%) en milieu urbain. Leur formation initiale est de niveau collégial et seulement 35% ont poussé plus avant leur formation. Toutes travaillent, les unes à plein temps (75%) et les autres à temps partiel.

Quarante entrevues individuelles, semi-structurées d'une durée moyenne de 2,5 heures ont permis d'identifier les activités éducatives des répondantes au cours d'une période de 12 mois. Pour chacune des activités, les répondantes ont été invitées à dire "pourquoi elles avaient choisi d'apprendre sur le sujet et pourquoi elles avaient choisi le mode d'apprentissage".

Une analyse de contenu des énoncés a été réalisée par l'auteure. Le travail de catégorisation a été soumis à l'appréciation successive de cinq juges; la familiarité avec le phénomène étant recommandée (Krippendorff, 1980), des étudiants en psychologie, familiers avec la théorie de l'attribution, ont été recrutés. Des instructions précises leur ont été données quant à la codification et au processus de validation. Un consensus de 80% a été retenu.

Les résultats

Nous présentons les résultats dans la séquence suivante: l'orientation de l'attribution en fonction des objets d'apprentissage et en fonction des modes d'apprentissage, puis le profil général des répondantes quant à leurs attributions.

Les objets d'apprentissage et leurs attributions

Les répondantes ont identifié 186 activités éducatives qui ont généré 477 énoncés de raisons reliés au choix des objets d'apprentissage.

Les résultats qui apparaissent au TABLEAU 1, indiquent que les énoncés attribuant le choix de l'objet d'apprentissage à la personne (causalité interne) sont proportionnellement (N = 269:56%) plus nombreux que ceux exprimant une causalité externe (N = 160:33%). Les énoncés d'attribution mixte sont peu fréquents, à peine 4% (N = 19) et ceux n'incluant pas une référence au centre de causalité, 6% (N = 29).

On voit aussi dans ce tableau, la répartition des énoncés selon l'objet d'apprentissage. On peut constater qu'à l'intérieur de chaque catégorie d'objets d'apprentissage, les répondantes s'attribuent le choix de ces apprentissages dans une proportion plus élevée, la causalité interne étant exprimée dans des proportions variant entre 45% et 84% alors que la causalité externe n'est exprimée que dans des proportions variant entre 3% et 42%. Deux catégories ont des écarts moins larges entre la causalité interne et la causalité externe, ce sont les activités d'apprentissage reliées au travail et celles reliées à l'actualité et aux affaires publiques. Enfin, la causalité externe est plus souvent évoquée pour ces deux catégories que pour les autres.

TABLEAU 1

Proportion des énoncés selon les objets d'apprentissage et selon le centre de causalité

objets reliés à (N = énoncés)	causalité interne % (N = 269)	causalité externe % (N = 160)	causalité mixte % (N = 19)	autre % (N = 29)
au travail (N = 239)	50	42	3	5
aux hobbies et loisirs (N = 31)	84	3	0	13
à la religion (N = 0)	-	-	-	-
à éduc. gén. (N = 58)	74	22	2	2
à vie domestique et familiale (N = 63)	54	25	11	10
au dév. pers. (N = 33)	61	30	9	-
à l'actualité (N = 20)	45	40	-	15
divers (N = 33)	52	36	3	9

Si l'on définit une orientation des attributions comme étant celle qui recueille plus de 50% des énoncés exprimés, l'examen du TABLEAU 1 indique qu'à l'exception des activités reliées au travail et à l'actualité, c'est la causalité interne qui détermine le plus souvent les choix. Elle semble être davantage présente lorsqu'il s'agit d'activités reliées aux hobbies et loisirs (84%), à l'éducation générale (74%) et au développement personnel (61%).

Il y a donc des variations dans le centre de causalité selon les objets d'apprentissage. Certaines activités d'apprentissage, notamment celles reliées au travail et à l'actualité, semblent plus perméables à la causalité extérieure. Cette constatation concernant les activités d'apprentissage reliées au travail n'étonne pas puisque des pressions sont faites, tant par les employeurs que par la corporation professionnelle, pour une mise à jour continue des connaissances. La deuxième constatation concernant les activités reliées à l'actualité et aux affaires publiques s'expliquerait par le fait que les événements s'imposant à l'actualité, on se sentirait poussé à faire des apprentissages pour mieux les comprendre.

Les modes d'apprentissage et leurs attributions

Les 186 activités d'apprentissage, réparties en modes, ont généré 434 énoncés d'attribution. Les résultats présentés au TABLEAU 2 indiquent que les énoncés d'attribution externe sont proportionnellement plus nombreux (202: 47%), signifiant que le mode d'apprentissage s'est imposé ou a été imposé par une personne, un événement ou une situation. Une attribution interne a été exprimée dans 37% (N = 164) des énoncés alors qu'une attribution mixte n'a été exprimée que dans une proportion de 7% (N = 28). Aucune attribution n'apparaît dans 9% (N = 40) des énoncés.

Ce tableau indique aussi que c'est l'attribution externe qui est exprimée le plus souvent lorsqu'il s'agit des modes formel (51%) et nonformel (49%), alors que pour le mode informel, le centre de causalité interne est proportionnellement plus présent avec 49% des énoncés. Les énoncés mixtes sont exprimés dans une proportion un peu plus élevée pour le mode informel (9%) que pour les deux autres modes.

Si, comme nous l'avons fait plus haut, nous définissons une orientation de l'attribution comme étant celle qui recueille plus de 50% des énoncés exprimés, l'examen du TABLEAU 2 indique que seul le mode formel présente un profil clair d'attribution externe.

TABLEAU 2

Proportion des énoncés selon le mode d'apprentissage et le centre de causalité

modes (N = énoncés)	causalité interne % (N = 164)	causalité externe % (N = 202)	causalité mixte % (N = 28)	autre % (N = 40)
Formel (N = 45)	38	51	7	4
Nonformel (N = 307)	35	49	6	11
Informel (N = 82)	49	37	9	6

Il est intéressant de noter que ce mode, qui est celui imposé par lesinstitutions d'enseignement, et où les apprenants ont peu de pouvoir, s'attire malgré tout des attributions internes dans une proportion assez élevée (38%). Un examen plus poussé des sous-modes de ce mode, indique que la causalité interne est perçue lorsque c'est un objet, type enseignement programmé, ou le groupe qui structure l'activité.

Les attributions exprimées varient donc en fonction des modes d'apprentissage; les modes formel et nonformel semblent susciter davantage d'attributions externes. Les attributions internes s'expriment lorsque un objet, un groupe, ou la personne elle-même a structuré l'apprentissage. Que le mode formel favorise davantage des attributions externes n'étonne pas; ce n'est que le reflet d'une réalité connue en éducation des adultes où généralement l'adulte choisit l'objet de son apprentissage mais où il n'a que rarement prise sur le mode d'apprendre et ce, malgré tous les discours théoriques sur la capacité de l'adulte de gérer ses activités éducatives. Si le modèle traditionnel de l'enseignement magistral est remplacé, par exemple par un enseignement programmé, ou encore par une participation du groupe-classe à la structuration de l'activité éducative, la perception du centre de causalité s'intériorise.

Orientations attributives des personnes

Nous avons aussi voulu savoir si le centre de causalité variait chez une même personne. Le TABLEAU 3 nous permet de constater que toutes les répondantes perçoivent tantôt une causalité interne, tantôt une causalité externe, et à l'occasion, une causalité mixte. Seulement quinze répondantes (39%) n'ont jamais évoqué de raisons faisant référence à un centre de causalité mixte.

Nous avons voulu pousser plus loin l'examen des données et voir si nous pouvions identifier une orientation pour un type ou l'autre d'attribution. Si nous considérons qu'une personne présente une orientation attributive lorsque 50% et plus de ses énoncés appartiennent à une catégorie voici ce que nous constatons.

D'abord, lorsqu'il s'agit de l'attribution des objets d'apprentissage, 25 personnes se perçoivent plus souvent comme étant à l'origine de leurs choix, quatre évoquent plus souvent des raisons extérieures et onze ne présentent pas une orientation définie, c'est-à-dire qu'elles se répartissent entre les différentes catégories d'attribution dans des proportions inférieures à 50%.

Lorsqu'il s'agit de l'attribution des modes d'apprentissage, huit expriment un centre de contrôle interne, treize ont plutôt tendance à percevoir le mode comme s'étant imposé ou comme ayant été imposé par une personne, un événement ou une situation, et 18 ne présentent pas de tendance.

Si nous tentons de faire le profil global des répondantes, c'est-à-dire si nous regroupons les raisons évoquées pour le choix de l'objet et du mode d'apprentissage pour constituer les raisons qui ont motivé l'engagement dans l'activité éducative (objet + mode) d'une part, et si nous définissons une orientation comme précédemment, nous constatons, au TABLEAU 3, que 16 répondantes (40%) se perçoivent plus souvent comme étant à l'origine de leurs activités éducatives, et huit (20%) ont tendance à attribuer plus souvent leurs choix à un facteur extérieur. Par ailleurs, seize personnes (40%) ne présentent pas une orientation telle que nous l'avons

TABLEAU 3

Les attributions internes, externes, mixtes exprimées pour le choix des objets et des modes d'apprentissage par chaque répondante

rép.	interne			externe			mixte			autre			total
	obj.	mode	%	obj.	mode	%	obj.	mode	%	obj.	mode	%	N
1	9	5	50	4	5	32	-	-	-	4	1	18	28
2	15	8	56	7	5	29	3	2	12	-	1	2	41
3	2	-	33	1	2	50	-	-	-	-	1	17	6
4	6	1	27	7	10	65	1	-	4	-	1	4	26
5	3	-	30	3	1	40	-	-	-	2	1	30	10
6	4	3	39	4	5	50	-	-	-	2	-	11	18
7	5	5	37	6	6	44	1	2	11	2	-	7	27
8	4	2	40	3	5	53	-	-	-	-	1	7	15
9	3	4	64	2	-	18	1	-	9	1	-	9	11
10	10	3	57	-	9	39	1	-	4	-	-	-	23
11	12	6	46	2	12	36	1	1	5	2	3	13	39
12	6	9	75	2	1	15	1	-	5	1	-	5	20
13	5	5	42	7	5	50	-	-	-	-	2	8	24
14	1	2	43	1	2	43	1	-	14	-	-	-	7
15	3	2	29	2	4	35	1	4	29	1	-	6	17
16	9	9	67	4	4	30	1	-	4	-	-	-	27
17	11	7	51	7	6	37	1	-	3	2	1	9	35
18	6	2	44	2	4	33	-	2	11	-	2	11	18
19	4	3	41	6	3	53	-	1	6	-	-	-	17
20	10	2	39	10	8	58	-	1	3	-	-	-	31
21	11	7	46	4	10	36	4	-	10	-	3	8	39
22	1	7	27	8	6	47	-	3	10	1	4	17	30
23	10	3	34	7	10	45	-	3	8	2	3	13	38
24	9	5	67	1	5	29	-	1	5	-	-	-	21
25	3	1	24	5	4	53	-	1	6	2	1	18	17
26	3	-	21	2	7	64	-	-	-	2	-	14	14
27	8	6	61	3	4	30	-	-	-	1	1	9	23
28	7	1	42	4	6	53	-	-	-	1	-	5	19
29	5	2	50	2	3	36	-	1	7	-	1	7	14
30	12	3	44	4	9	38	-	2	6	-	4	12	34
31	2	2	67	1	-	17	-	-	-	-	1	17	6
32	9	2	52	4	5	43	-	-	-	1	-	5	21
33	8	12	74	3	4	26	-	-	-	-	-	-	27
34	9	4	57	6	2	35	-	-	-	-	2	9	23
35	8	5	52	3	5	32	-	3	12	1	-	4	25
36	10	10	49	9	8	42	1	1	5	-	2	5	41
37	5	2	35	6	6	60	-	1	5	-	-	-	20
38	12	7	61	2	5	23	1	-	3	1	3	13	31
39	4	3	58	3	2	42	-	-	-	-	-	-	12
40	5	4	56	3	4	44	-	-	-	-	-	-	16

définie. Ainsi, 60% des répondantes ont une orientation motivationnelle et chez celles-ci, 66% l'expriment en termes de causalité interne.

Un examen plus poussé des réponses pour chaque activité indique que les répondantes ont tendance à évoquer pour une même activité, des raisons qui appartiennent à au moins deux catégories d'attribution: interne et externe. Ceci suggère que la décision de poursuivre une activité d'apprentissage résulte d'une combinaison de raisons (intrinsèques + extrinsèques) et non d'un seul type de raisons (intrinsèques ou extrinsèques).

Discussion

Cette étude exploratoire a permis de vérifier qu'il est possible de traduire les raisons évoquées pour le choix d'un objet ou d'un mode d'apprentissage en terme de centre de causalité. Il est clair que les raisons évoquées ne sont pas des états motivationnels, cependant comme l'indique deCharms (1968), la motivation étant quelque chose que la personne connaît de l'intérieur, elle peut être inférée par l'observation de la personne et aussi, par l'analyse de l'expression verbale de sa volonté.

La théorie de l'attribution est intéressante en éducation des adultes, notamment parce qu'elle postule que la personne sait pourquoi elle agit et qu'elle seule peut dire pourquoi. C'est en partie ces raisons qui l'incitent à agir, à apprendre. Les trois dimensions de la structure causale identifiées par Weiner (1986): le centre de causalité, la stabilité et le niveau de contrôlabilité des causes, pourraient nous permettre de mettre en lumière un volet de la structure causale de l'apprentissage chez les adultes. Il nous faudrait développer un outil qui, non seulement irait chercher la perception du centre de causalité (interne, externe, mixte) mais aussi, permettrait l'analyse de la stabilité (stable, instable) des causes et leur contrôlabilité.

Il serait également possible d'examiner l'influence de l'attribution sur l'apprenant adulte au moment où il s'engage dans une activité éducative: se perçoit-il vraiment comme l'agent premier de son apprentissage? Ses attributions influencent-elles ses buts, ses attentes en termes d'apprentissages et de supports pédagogiques? Influencent-elles l'utilisation qu'il fait de ses apprentissages? Le besoin de pousser plus avant les recherches dans ce domaine est évident et cette étude, dans sa forme actuelle, ne constitue qu'une étape préliminaire. Ces recherches, sans aucun doute, enrichiraient les premiers chaînons du modèle COR (chain-of-response) proposé par Cross (1981), que sont notamment, l'autoévaluation, les attitudes face à l'éducation et l'importance des buts et des attentes.

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ANALYSE COMPARATIVE DES MODÈLES DE L'APPRENTISSAGE DE R.J. STAHL ET DE C.E. KASWORM

Michèle Isis Brouillet
Université du Québec à Montréal

Résumé

L'article s'inscrit dans la foulée des études qui tentent de donner au champ de l'apprentissage de l'adulte des balises conceptuelles pour mieux définir le territoire théorique qu'il couvre. L'analyse comparative du modèle de l'acquisition du savoir (Stahl) et d'un cadre de référence sur le développement de l'apprentissage autodirigé (Kasworm) tente de créer des ponts entre des approches différentes en dégageant la complémentarité des travaux de ces auteurs.

Abstract

This article is in keeping with the different studies which aim at providing conceptual paths to the adults scope of learning in order to better define the theoretical field it embraces. The comparative analysis between attainment of knowledge (Stahl) and self-directed learning in a precise context (Kasworm) aims at creating a link to different approaches by elucidating the complementarity of the authors' works.

Problématique

Il y a peu de recherches d'élaboration théorique dans le champ de l'éducation des adultes, particulièrement dans le champ de l'apprentissage de l'adulte (Courtney, 1986; Merriam, 1987). La pluralité des directions et des courants démontrent que le territoire conceptuel de l'apprentissage de l'adulte est sillonné par de multiples pistes. Il semble difficile de dégager une cartographie qui rende compte des principaux courants et modèles qui en découlent, car il n'y a pas ou peu de lignes directrices de recherches systématiquement développées par les chercheurs du champ. Il y a donc un besoin d'orientation commune des diverses recherches couvrant les facettes de la réalité de l'apprentissage de l'adulte. Comme le mentionne Chickering (1980), il semble approprié de comparer et de faire des croisements entre différentes théories et approches pour faciliter l'émergence des bases d'une élaboration théorique de l'apprentissage de l'adulte.

C'est dans ce contexte conceptuel particulier que s'inscrit l'analyse comparative du modèle d'acquisition du savoir de Stahl (1978) et du paradigme (cadre de référence) du développement de l'apprentissage autodirigé et de développement humain de Kasworm (1983). En effet, la diversité et la spécificité du genre des objets d'études entraînent souvent les chercheurs à explorer des avenues inédites et c'est le cas du présent article. Bien que le modèle de Stahl (1978) n'appartienne pas au domaine de l'éducation des adultes, son étude enrichit la représentation qu'on se fait du fonctionnement interne de l'acquisition de la connaissance car il tient compte de la dimension valorielle et affective de la cognition. Kasworm (1983) démontre pour sa part le rôle essentiel joué par cette même dimension dans la capacité de l'adulte à développer un apprentissage autodirigé.

La comparaison de ce modèle et de ce cadre de référence présente un autre intérêt. D'une part, plusieurs chercheurs du champ de l'apprentissage de l'adulte croient que les activités d'apprentissage autodirigé n'ont de signification qu'auprès de la population adulte. Or, le modèle cognitif de Stahl (1978) semble apporter un démenti à ce postulat. D'autre part, comme le mentionne Kasworm (1983), il semble impossible qu'il n'existe qu'un seul cadre de référence de l'apprentissage autodirigé à cause de la complexité et de l'interdépendance des composantes en jeu. Bien qu'ayant des bases communes comme préoccupations (démarche d'apprentissage, essai de représentation du réel/modèle, intégration de la dimension cognitive et affective), chacun l'aborde d'une manière spécifique. Le modèle de Stahl (1978) se rapproche des courants qui traitent des processus de traitement de l'information et de la cognition, alors que le cadre de référence de Kasworm appartient plutôt au courant développemental de l'évolution de la personne humaine.

L'analyse comparative se base sur la double description (Bateson, 1984). La double description est une manière d'aborder un même objet de recherche (démarche d'apprentissage) sous plusieurs aspects selon des points de vue différents (Stahl-Kasworm) qui, lorsqu'ils sont perçus comme inclusifs (complémentarité), nourrissent une vision de l'objet lui apportant une nouvelle dimension (Brouillet, 1989).

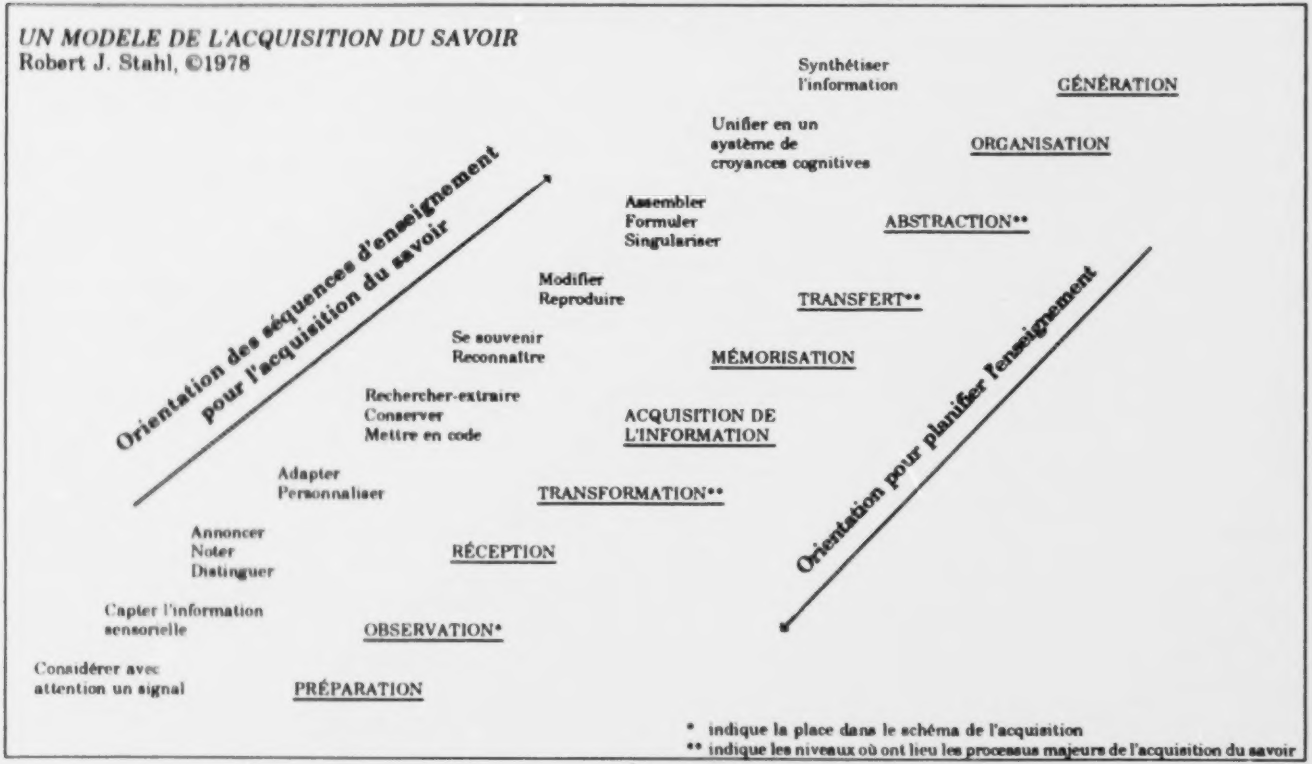
1. Connaître: Un modéle des processus et des procédures d'acquisition du savoir: R.J. Stahl

Stahl (1978) en s'appuyant sur des recherches récentes tente de fournir une taxonomie intégrée du fonctionnement interne de l'acquisition de la connaissance (Lincoln, 1983). Ce modèle est un "construit" théorique couvrant la gamme des apprentissages d'ordre cognitif et d'ordre cognitivo-affectif et les comportements qu'ils supposent. Une précision s'impose quant aux apprentissages d'ordre cognitivo-affectif. Stahl précise qu'il se réfère ici aux apprentissages ayant une connotation affective qui passent par une intégration cognitive, c'est-à-dire qu'il exclut ce qui serait purement sensitif ou émotif. L'originalité du modèle repose donc sur une nouvelle vision de l'apprentissage, de la pensée et sur un effort d'intégration dans une seule et unique représentation des dimensions cognitives et affectives des différentes opérations à travers lesquelles s'ébauche et se constitue la connaissance intérieure. Le modèle permet une saisie intégrée et complète du cheminement de l'information chez l'apprenant dans sa progression vers un système de connaissances personnelles où l'information s'est fondue dans un ensemble d'informations structuré et cohérent qui est la pensée propre de l'apprenant. Stahl (1978) offre ainsi un outil aux professeurs en vue de leur faciliter la planification et la réalisation des interventions de formation. Cette manière de présenter un modèle unique de tous les comportements impliqués lorsqu'on traite de l'acquisition de la connaissance en fait un modèle entièrement nouveau et différent des autres (Stahl, 1978).

1.1 Eléments constitutifs du modèle de Stahl

Le modèle de l'acquisition du savoir de l'auteur se présente comme un ensemble hiérarchique de huit niveaux d'apprentissage. Ces niveaux sont progressifs et séquentiels les uns aux autres. Chacun des niveaux se caractérise par des comportements d'apprentissage spécifiques. Les huits niveaux sont les suivants: la préparation—la réception—la transformation—la mémorisation—le transfert —l'abstraction—l'organisation—la génération de pensée (conf. figure 1).

Figure 1: Les niveaux et les composantes de l'acquisition du savoir, une illustration hiérarchique


UN MODELE DE L'ACQUISITION DU SAVOIR
Robert J. Stahl, ©1978
Synthétiser l'information
GÉNÉRATION
Unifier en un système de croyances cognitives
ORGANISATION
Assembler
Formuler
Singulariser
ABSTRACTION**
Modifier
Reproduire
TRANSFERT**
Se souvenir
Reconnaître
MÉMORISATION
Rechercher-extraire
Conserver
Mettre en code
ACQUISITION DE L'INFORMATION
Adapter
Personnaliser
TRANSFORMATION**
Annoncer
Noter
Distinguer
RÉCEPTION
Capter l'information sensorielle
OBSERVATION*
Considérer avec attention un signal
PRÉPARATION
Orientation des séquences d'enseignement pour l'acquisition du savoir
Orientation pour planifier l'enseignement

* indique la place dans le schéma de l'acquisition

** indique les niveaux où ont lieu les processus majeurs de l'acquisition du savoir

D'autres éléments sont aussi des composantes du modèle. Il s'agit des procédures, des processus, des signaux et des balises. Une procédure est une combinaison de deux ou plusieurs processus qui forment une activité mentale telle la solution de problème ou encore la déduction. Cette activité mentale vise généralement l'atteinte d'un résultat précis qu'un seul processus ne permet pas de réaliser. Les apprenants semblent avoir leurs propres procédures ou structures de procédures.

Le processus est l'unité d'activité mentale la plus simple et, comme la procédure, il est libre de contenu. Il a pour rôle de traiter l'information d'une manière spécifique pour donner un résultat particulier. Le processus en grappe (cluster) correspond à des regroupements de processus comme des niches à proximité les unes des autres, lesquels entretiennent des liens et créent des agencements multiples entre eux. Ainsi, ce processus est un modèle très utile à l'apprenant pour décrire, expliquer ou étudier. D'ailleurs, c'est ce processus en grappe qui explique la variété des méthodes utilisées par les apprenants même lorsqu'ils sont dans des situations similaires.

Stahl insiste pour rappeler que les procédures et les processus ne sont en aucune façon associés à l'un ou l'autre des niveaux du modèle. Ils peuvent prendre place à chacun des niveaux et le critère servant à déterminer le niveau de connaissance pour une procédure (par exemple, une déduction) ou un processus (par exemple, une comparaison) donné est le suivant: être une information servant de base à des activités mentales qui ultimement caractérisent le niveau de connaissance de l'apprenant.

On appelle signal, toute information qui permet à l'apprenant d'être alerté ou tout aspect de l'environnement qui lui signifie qu'il doit se comporter d'une certaine manière s'il veut répondre à une situation donnée. L'apprenant dispose d'un répertoire de signaux importants et ceux-ci forment une organisation mentale propre à l'apprenant. Cette base spécifique, influence alors l'attention, la réceptivité, la pensée et le comportement de l'apprenant. Les signaux jouent un rôle important: d'abord, ils permettent à l'apprenant d'avoir une routine quant à certaines décisions ou réponses à fournir; ensuite, comme l'apprentissage repose sur l'association d'une partie de l'information avec une autre partie, une information devient elle-même un signal pour retenir ou choisir une autre information. L'importance de signaux est également liée à leur présence avec les balises dans une situation donnée.

Les balises sont des formes d'information qui permettent à l'apprenant de diriger ou d'orienter sa pensée, son comportement dans une direction ou selon une méthode particulière. Par exemple, les principes, les postulats, les concepts ou les formules sont ces informations qui fournissent des guides à l'apprenant pour examiner, prendre une décision, expliquer un problème, une situation ou une expérience. Ces balises sont, comme les procédures et les processus, présentes à tous les niveaux du modèle sans être attachées à un niveau en particulier. Toutefois, Stahl met l'accent sur la présence vitale des balises pour les niveaux supérieurs à celui de la rétention. En effet, les balises sont nécessaires aux niveaux supérieurs du modèle et ce sont seulement elles qui peuvent être rappelées par la mémoire à long terme et qui peuvent être disponibles à l'apprenant pour servir de fondement aux niveaux supérieurs. Chaque enseignant se doit d'aider l'apprenant à développer un vaste répertoire de balises que l'apprenant pourra utiliser comme cadre de référence pour examiner ses expériences et ses apprentissages.

La présentation des éléments constitutifs du modèle de Stahl se complète par l'insertion de la connaissance affective dans son modèle. C'est l'intégration de cet aspect de la connaissance qui crée l'originalité du modèle. La notion d'affectivité dont il est question dans son modèle se réfère à toute information affective qui suppose une compréhension et une connaissance de celle-ci à l'exclusion du contenu purement sensitif ou émotif. Dans cet ordre d'idée, la connaissance affective, comme les autres connaissances, n'a pas de place spécifique dans la hiérarchie des niveaux de la pensée et elle est constituée aussi de balises de procédures, de signaux comme la connaissance cognitive.

Stahl présente trois sortes d'éléments intégrateurs de la connaissance affective au système:

a) c'est toujours à partir de la compréhension que l'apprenant a de l'information qu'il utilise comme fondement (balises) pour décider ou penser qu'on peut dégager le niveau de la décision ou pensée affective en cause;

b) les connaissances dont ont parle ici traitent des valeurs de la morale, de l'esthétique et de l'éthique. Pour aider un apprenant à développer une capacité de penser et de décider à des niveaux élevés du modèle, cela suppose qu'il acquière les balises nécessaires à ces niveaux. Ces balises sont en tous points semblables à celles des autres connaissances sauf leur orientation (ex. raisons morales, principes d'éthique, critères esthétiques);

c) finalement les procédures et les processus affectifs sont, comme les autres, libres d'affiliation à quelque niveau de pensée que ce soit. Le processus affectif primaire est celui de l'évaluation et les procédures affectives comprennent le raisonnement moral, le processus de solution d'ordre moral et les jugements d'ordre éthique.

Finalement, Stahl complète l'intégration de cette connaissance affective en précisant le rôle actif, constant qu'elle joue dans l'acquisition du savoir. Pour lui, c'est une dimension intégrale qui ne peut être considérée séparément des autres opérations d'acquisition de la connaissance.

1.2 Fonctionnement dynamique du modèle de Stahl

Le fonctionnement dynamique du modèle s'élabore à travers le cheminement de l'information et la démarche de l'apprenant en situation d'acquisition de la connaissance. Stahl signale également le rôle joué par l'enseignant tout au long de la démarche. On doit garder à l'esprit que la connaissance affective opère de concert avec les autres opérations d'acquisition du savoir.

La progression du cheminement de l'information, de la démarche d'apprentissage et du rôle de l'enseignant sont présentés en trois étapes qui correspondent à des passages spécifiques du modèle. La première étape couvre du niveau de la préparation au niveau de la transformation; on y trouve particulièrement les fonctions des signaux et des balises dans l'évolution des séquences d'apprentissage. La seconde étape traite du niveau de la mémorisation jusqu'à celui du transfert, l'accent est mis sur l'insertion des procédures et des processus qui accompagnent les signaux et les balises dans le modèle. La troisième étape aborde le niveau du transfert jusqu'à celui de la génération, il s'agit ici de mettre en évidence le passage à la capacité d'abstraire chez l'apprenant par le biais de nombreuses combinaisons de signaux, de balises, de procédures et de processus. On termine par une brève présentation du fonctionnement dynamique de la connaissance affective.

La première étape

Niveau 1: Préparation

Au début de cette étape, l'apprenant sera sensible à des **signaux** qui précèdent la phase d'observation même; ceux-ci favorisent la réceptivité mentale, l'accueil de l'information. Ces signaux l'incitent à l'attention et à l'examen de la présence de **balises**. Ainsi, avant même que l'information soit transmise, les signaux de la période de pré-observation et la recherche même floue des balises placent l'apprenant en état d'alerte. Il commence à penser. Ces signaux influenceront donc ce qu'il reçoit comme information et comment celle-ci est traitée, encodée et "conservée" dans sa mémoire à long terme. Cette étape sert donc à diriger son attention sur certains éléments de l'environnement immédiat avant même que l'expérience ne commence. Lorsque l'information est reçue par les sens et qu'il y a eu attention de la part de l'apprenant, on passe au niveau suivant.

Niveau 2: Réception

A partir de cette phase, l'apprenant est en mesure de manifester qu'il a reçu l'information. Cela se prouve aisément par des comportements allant du hochement de tête à la prise de parole sur l'information. Son attention sera aussi orientée à identifier les stimuli appropriés et les balises spécifiques ainsi que leurs usages car il voudra leur donner un sens. Ce niveau est en interaction avec le troisième, celui de la transformation. Durant ce passage, il est important que l'enseignant soit attentif pour être sûr que les résultats de la réception soient consistants avec l'information originalement présentée. D'ailleurs, l'enseignant doit garder à l'esprit que ces deux niveaux (préparation et observation) sont presque automatiquement mis en place dès la présentation de l'information nouvelle. Un niveau élevé de réceptivité se traduira par la capacité pour l'apprenant d'énoncer oralement et sans erreur l'information nouvelle telle qu'il l'a reçue. Lorsqu'il y a l'ébauche d'une traduction en signification plus personnelle, l'étudiant amorce la phase suivante.

Niveau 3: Transformation

Cette phase est l'une des charnières importantes du processus de la pensée et de l'apprentissage; elle est intermédiaire entre la post-observation (2) et le pré-conservation de l'information (4). Les effets sur le processus de la pensée de ce niveau influencent ce qui sera entreposé et comment il le sera dans la mémoire à long terme. L'apprenant cherche à donner un sens personnel à cette information (contenu) et, lorsqu'il atteindra le niveau le plus élevé de la transformation (niveau de l'adaptation), il utilisera cette information personnalisée dans la même période que celle de la réception de l'information (contenu).

A cette étape, il sera important que l'enseignant ne prenne pas ces signes de changement pour de la connaissance de l'information. Les apprentissages et les comportements du niveau de la transformation ne sont pas encore l'équivalent de ce qui est emmagasiné dans la mémoire à long terme. Compte tenu de cette dimension de la personnalisation de l'information, la traduction qu'en fait l'apprenant peut modifier et déformer l'information d'entrée.

Il existe une période entre ce niveau de transformation et l'étape suivante où l'information est rejetée ou codée ou "conservée" dans la mémoire à long terme et peut être en train de se préparer à servir pour l'étape de la mémorisation. C'est l'information "conservée" qui sert à l'apprenant comme étant "sa connaissance" de cette information. Plus l'information est importante pour les niveaux supérieurs, plus il est nécessaire qu'elle soit "conservée" dans la mémoire à long terme. De plus l'enseignant sera particulièrement attentif à fournir un soutien à l'apprenant pour la réceptivité et la pratique des balises de ce niveau. Le plus haut niveau atteint dans cette période d'acquisition de la connaissance est la capacité d'extraire de l'information "conservée" dans la mémoire à long terme.

La deuxième étape

Les interactions entre le troisième et le quatrième niveau sont importantes puisque les pratiques et la signification attribuées à l'information après la réception influencent la procédure de codage, de décodage et de conservation de l'information.

Niveau 4: Mémorisation

Ce niveau consiste à poursuivre le travail de rétention de l'information à long terme. Il est possible pour l'apprenant de se rappeler des leçons de jours précédents; c'est un peu l'équivalent du travail de la pensée de l'apprenant sur cette connaissance. Selon la manière dont l'apprenant a traduit et utilisé l'information nouvellement reçue, celle-ci prend une place, une pertinence et forme une association avec les informations déjà emmagasinées. Ce passage dans le cheminement de l'information et la démarche d'apprentissage de l'apprenant démontre l'importance du soutien de la part de l'enseignant pour éviter le manque d'exactitude ou une mauvaise mémorisation. Cela souligne également l'importance de l'inspection des processus, des procédures et particulièrement la constitution des balises.

Les balises sont ici importantes: un manque d'habileté à se souvenir des balises nécessaires au traitement de l'information est une faiblesse grave pour la progression vers les niveaux plus complexes de la pensée et de l'apprentissage. Plus les balises sont cruciales, plus il sera nécessaire d'octroyer du temps pour les acquérir.

La troisième étape

Ces niveaux coïncident avec le développement de plus en plus personnalisé chez l'apprenant de son mode d'apprentissage spécifique. D'ailleurs, le rôle de l'enseignant change et la connaissance affective prend une place plus grande dans la constitution de la connaissance de l'apprenant.

Niveau 5: Transfert

Dans la mémoire à long terme, l'apprenant est en mesure de se rappeler sa connaissance des balises avec leurs signaux et leurs usages. Il est capable de ce rappel pour des situations à la fois familières et différentes de celles où il a reçu la première fois l'information. D'ailleurs, il lui est possible d'utiliser une ou plusieurs balises combinées pour répondre aux problèmes ou aux situations présentées. Stahl insiste sur l'importance de l'acquisition correcte et exacte des balises telles qu'elles lui ont été présentées. A ce moment-là, l'apprenant maîtrise si bien un ensemble de balises qu'il lui est possible de savoir quand, où et comment utiliser les balises sans avoir été prévenu par un signal externe. Cette intériorisation est un signe du passage au niveau de l'abstraction. Il peut alors faire usage de ses balises intérieures comprises maintenant comme des idées abstraites au moyen de n'importe lequel des processus.

Niveau 6: Abstraction

Il est nécessaire d'aborder le mouvement de passage du cinquième niveau au sixième. Ce passage met en lumière la fonction essentielle du transfert de la pensée et de l'apprentissage et soutient la démarche de l'apprenant pour confirmer ses habiletés à faire usage de l'information déjà entreposée, qu'il peut rappeler. C'est le moment où il pratique le plus les habiletés provenant des balises ou des ensembles de balises précédentes. A ce stade, l'apprenant est capable d'acquérir et de pratiquer des procédures de plus en plus efficaces pour atteindre le résultat qu'il poursuit. Par exemple, l'utilisation de la comparaison ou de l'analyse réaménage l'information à l'aide des balises et donne à une procédure spécifique, comme la déduction ou la solution de problème, la couleur particulière de la démarche d'un apprenant par rapport à un autre apprenant.

Le passage chez l'apprenant du niveau "transfert" au niveau "abstraction" implique un changement de rôle de la part de l'enseignant. Celui-ci ne peut plus assister l'apprenant de la même manière, il peut seulement lui fournir des conditions favorisant l'usage libre et spontané de l'information supposément comprise comme idée abstraite. La liberté et la spontanéité de l'utilisation des balises dans une situation complètement différente de la situation originale d'apprentissage et ce, sans indices externes, démontre à l'enseignant que l'apprenant a atteint le niveau de pensée qu'est l'abstraction.

Niveau 7: Organisation

A partir de maintenant, les balises opèrent comme fondement de la pensée et de l'apprentissage pour les deux derniers niveaux de la pensée. Cette base permet à l'étudiant d'apprendre à penser de plus en plus abstraitement et même, d'examiner son mode de pensée et d'apprendre. Comme les balises sont comprises comme idées abstraites, l'apprenant automatiquement et inconsciemment, arrange, met en relation, met en priorité ces ensembles d'idées abstraites. Cette capacité de structuration correspond au niveau de l'organisation de la connaissance. Les résultats de cette organisation forment le système des croyances cognitives de l'apprenant. Les balises comprises à ce niveau ont une telle influence qu'elles orientent la manière dont l'apprenant se prépare à recevoir l'information, à la transformer, à l'engrammer et à la retenir. La diversité des types de pensée des apprenants s'appuie sur l'existence d'une prépondérance de certaines balises par rapport à d'autres. La marque de cette influence se dénote dans les pensées, les apprentissages et les comportements de l'apprenant.

Niveau 8: Génération

Le huitième et dernier niveau se déclenche chez l'apprenant par un besoin ou par une insatisfaction à trouver de nouvelles façons d'expliquer et de résoudre ce qu'il rencontre parce que ce qu'il comprend présentement n'est pas pertinent ou suffisant. Ce manque l'entraîne à utiliser des ensembles de balises dans des combinaisons avec d'autres ensembles de balises, jusqu'à être en mesure de favoriser l'émergence d'un nouvel ensemble de balises qui sera différent des ensembles originaux et plus fonctionnel que ceux-ci. Cet événement est une génération parce qu'il entraîne un nouvel usage de l'information. L'enseignant doit être conscient que ce fonctionnement de la pensée et de l'apprentissage se déroule ainsi aussi bien pour une information correctement comprise que pour une information qui aurait été incorrecte ou inadéquatement comprise. L'apprenant aura tendance à fonctionner comme si sa compréhension était juste et complète jusqu'à ce qu'il reçoive une information lui disant le contraire.

La connaissance affective est un aspect du domaine de la cognition qui ne doit pas être traité différemment des autres opérations de la connaissance. On se souvient que cette connaissance se compose de processus, de procédures et de balises qui peuvent être acquises, retenues et apprises.

Chacune de ces balises affectives (esthétiques, morales, normatives et valorielles) peut être utilisée pour prendre une décision ou orienter la pensée selon les différents niveaux de la connaissance. Les balises affectives du niveau de l'abstraction influent fortement sur comment un apprenant aborde une situation donnée, car la plupart du temps, l'apprenant a un répertoire de balises affectives qui correspondent à des informations provenant des règles parentales, des directives religieuses ou des enseignements d'une église, etc. Etant donné que ces balises sont inconscientes, l'apprenant n'est pas éveillé au fait qu'elles dirigent ses comportements et ses décisions. C'est pourquoi, l'enseignant peut aider l'étudiant à les connaître et à les examiner.

En conclusion, l'intérêt du modèle de Stahl consiste en une saisie intégrée et complète du cheminement de l'information dans sa progression vers un système de connaissances personnelles chez l'apprenant. Ainsi la pensée propre de l'apprenant devient un ensemble d'informations structuré et cohérent. L'intérêt se retrouve aussi dans la tentative d'intégration de la connaissance affective dans un seul modèle du fonctionnement de la pensée et de l'apprentissage. Finalement, le découpage de la connaissance en une série de niveaux intégrant des processus et des procédures d'une manière dynamique donne une modélisation particulière à l'acquisition du savoir. De plus, les différents niveaux nous fournissent des informations sur les habiletés, sur les habitudes que l'étudiant doit maîtriser pour poursuivre l'intégration de l'information et sur l'utilisation de ses connaissances (savoir, savoir-faire, savoir-être) dans toute situation, expérience ou apprentissage nouveau. De ce fait, il y a donc une création, une appropriation et une activité mentale d'auto-apprentissage.

Le modèle de Stahl peut également servir de cadre de référence à des études empiriques en fournissant des définitions opératoires des niveaux de l'acquisition du savoir, ainsi qu'une liste des comportements d'apprentissage propres aux différents niveaux. Les recherches empiriques qui utilisent ces définitions en les jumelant à des échelles de mesure des attitudes et des comportements peuvent confirmer ou infirmer l'importance de la dimension affective dans le processus d'apprentissage d'un savoir et dans le maintien de l'acquisition de ce savoir.

2. Apprentissage autodirigé et développement humain: C. Kasworm

L'apprentissage autodirigé peut être abordé dans au moins trois perspectives différentes: celles du changement, celle de la croissance et celle du développement. C'est à cette dernière vision que Kasworm adhère Selon celle-ci il n'y aurait pas seulement changement et croissance des attitudes et des aptitudes autodirigées, mais il y aurait aussi des étapes et des différences qualitatives précises qui peuvent être identifiées au fur et à mesure que l'apprenant apprend. Ainsi, dans un même groupe d'apprentissage autodirigé, il y aura des distinctions d'ordre qualitatif et quantitatif des apprentissages parmi les membres du groupe.

L'apprentissage autodirigé est un ensemble structurel plus dynamique, progressif que les méthodes d'enseignement le laissent habituellement entendre. Les séquences très linéaires de mécanismes de mono-éléments des méthodes d'enseignement ne reconnaissent pas que l'apprentissage autodirigé est plutôt une série évolutive de mécanismes développementaux insérant des différences qualitatives et quantitatives dans la connaissance, les valeurs, les aptitudes et les croyances. Tout apprenant qui est stimulé par un environnement et qui est soutenu par un professeur ayant conscience des mécanismes de l'apprentissage autodirigé, peut développer le potentiel maximal de ses ressources d'ordre cognitif et d'ordre affectif et parvenir à un degré d'autonomie de plus en plus grand. L'apprenant reste cependant essentiellement le seul à être maître de la confiance et de l'ouverture qu'il met dans son apprentissage; cela favorise l'exploration, la manipulation et la différenciation de l'ancienne information d'avec la nouvelle. Kasworm précise que le processus d'apprentissage autodirigé de la personne ressemble plus à un mouvement dynamique d'évolution et d'étapes semblables à celui du développement de la personne humaine.

Les éléments constitutifs du cadre de Kasworm abordent quatre thèmes. Le premier thème présente les trois dimensions de l'apprentissage autodirigé dans un cadre du développement humain. Le second thème décrit la nature des niveaux du processus du développement humain. Le troisième thème aborde la structure de l'aspect cognitif du développement humain. Le dernier thème traite du processus affectif/valoriel du développement humain.

2.1 Eléments constitutifs du cadre de Kasworm

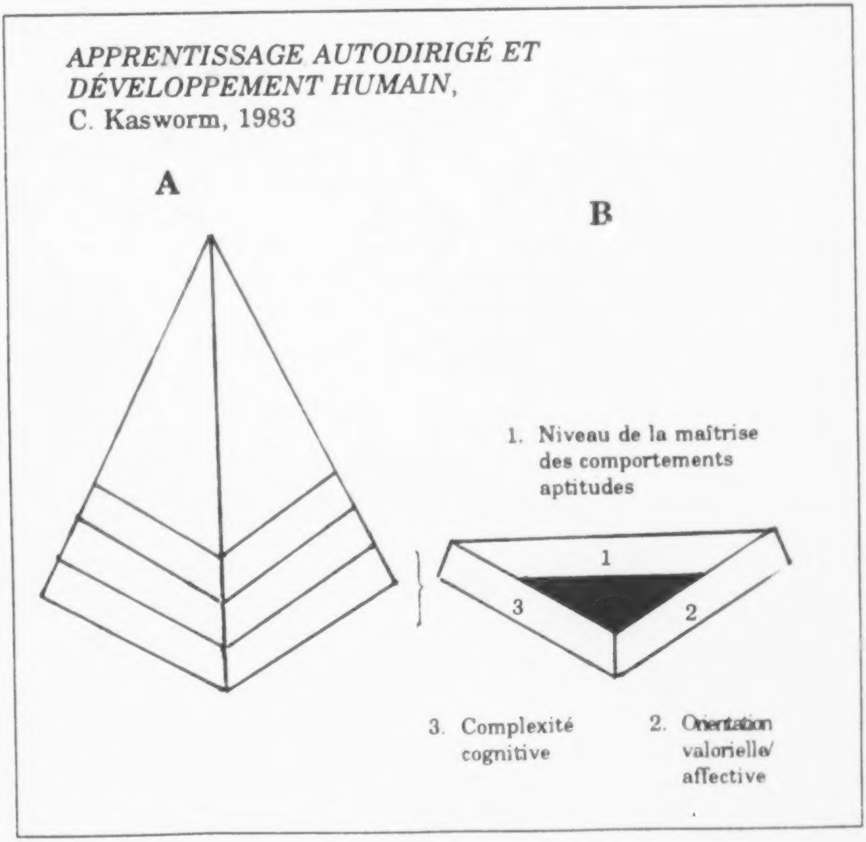
Le premier thème

Les trois dimensions de l'apprentissage autodirigé

Voici les trois dimensions du cadre de Kasworm qu'il est nécessaire de situer dans une perspective développementale de l'apprentissage autodirigé. La première dimension aborde les niveaux spécifiques de comportements/aptitudes nécessaires pour s'engager et compléter l'action de l'apprentissage autodirigé. La seconde dimension traite des niveaux spécifiques de complexité cognitive propres à la nature des actes de l'apprentissage; et la troisième dimension précise les niveaux spécifiques d'ordre affectif/valoriel en relation avec la connaissance et des actions d'apprentissage (Conf. figure 2).

Figure 2 A) Cadre du développement de l'apprentissage autodirigé (mathétique)

B) Section interne d'un niveau et ses éléments clés.



APPRENTISSAGE AUTODIRIGÉ ET DÉVELOPPEMENT HUMAIN,
C. Kasworm, 1983

A
B
1. Niveau de la maîtrise des comportements aptitudes
1
3
2
3. Complexité cognitive
2. Orientation valorielle/ affective

Le deuxième thème

Nature des niveaux du processus du développement humain

Ces niveaux impliquent la reconnaissance des différences qualitatives du mode de pensée de l'individu à l'égard de lui-même (dans son monde personnel et au sujet du monde).

Ces niveaux décrivent un processus complexe des caractéristiques propres de l'apprenant au sujet de: a) son niveau d'aptitude comportementale à s'engager dans la recherche d'apprentissage; b) ses capacités cognitives et ses compétences; c) ses orientations valorielles et affectives portant à la fois sur la nature de la recherche d'apprentissage et le sens perceptuel de la connaissance gravée dans ces valeurs.

Ces niveaux représentent des structures cognitives, des capacités comportementales et intellectuelles, des fonctions valorielles. Dans la progression du développement, ces étapes sont en séquence, l'une devant logiquement suivre l'autre;

Chaque niveau indique la structure de pensée, à la fois d'ordre cognitif et perceptuel. C'est ainsi que, à chaque étape, la définition de soi varie et influence les filtres perceptuels avec lesquels le moi regarde et interprète le monde et la nature de l'apprentissage;

Les niveaux sont des intégrations hiérarchiques allant du moins complexe au plus complexe. Toute étape s'insère dans le processus du développement global et a des potentialités à la fois positives et négatives.

L'apprentissage autodirigé aborde la nature du développement humain et de l'apprentissage dans les aspects de base les plus complexes. C'est pourquoi Kasworm s'inspire de deux chercheurs (Perry, 1981; Mezirow, 1981) pour permettre au paradigme qu'elle développe d'être le plus près de cette réalité complexe. Dans son cadre, les apports d'ordre cognitif au niveau structurel sont tirés de Perry (1981), ceux d'ordre d'orientation valorielle et affective au niveau processuel sont tirés de Mezirow (1979; 1981).

Le troisième thème

La structure de l'aspect cognitif du développement humain

La dimension structurelle du développement cognitif et éthique de l'apprenant contient neuf niveaux; ceux-ci définissent la progression du développement de la pensée. Les trois premiers niveaux couvrent la période du dualisme. Durant cette phase, l'étudiant perçoit le professeur comme l'autorité pour trouver la bonne réponse. Il n'y a d'ailleurs qu'une bonne réponse et toutes les informations et valeurs se classifient en bon et mauvais et l'incertitude est une erreur. La perception de la connaissance étant quantitative et cumulative, il lui est donc nécessaire d'être persévérant et de travailler dur pour arriver. Au fur et à mesure qu'il avance d'une position à l'autre, la seconde période s'amorce, soit celle du relativisme.

Du quatrième au sixième niveau, le regard de l'étudiant change. Souvent ce changement est provoqué par une faille, un choc. Au quatrième, il envisage une certitude comme pouvant être acceptable; ainsi, l'autorité du professeur et des livres peuvent exprimer des opinions différentes et il y aura quand même légitimité de leurs points de vue. Toutefois, à ce niveau, la diversité n'est due qu'au hasard. Au cinquième niveau, un pas de plus se fait. L'étudiant considère sa connaissance et ses valeurs comme contextuelles, relativistes et situationnelles. L'étudiant semble s'approprier ses postulats relativistes, c'est-à-dire qu'il les applique à la connaissance de sa propre réalité. A partir de cette phase, l'étudiant développe un cadre qualitatif de références, où la diversité de ses valeurs et de ses connaissances font partie d'un ensemble cohérent. Ce système d'ailleurs lui permet l'analyse et la comparaison. Au sixième niveau, il devient conscient de lui-même et cette connaissance de sa propre identité, alliée à la connaissance d'ordre cognitif et celle de ses valeurs, se présente maintenant sous forme d'actes d'engagement envers une perspective, une théorie ou une action.

Les trois derniers niveaux n'ont plus trait aux connaissances ni à l'engagement mais ils traitent de l'évaluation interne affective de la reconnaissance de l'individu et de son engagement initial.

Le quatrième thème

Le processus affectif/valoriel du développement humain

C'est à ces derniers niveaux du développement de la pensée que s'insère le processus affectif/valoriel. A mesure que l'apprenant s'engage dans une évolution continue d'apprentissage, il augmente son sens de l'estime de soi. Ses réalisations le confrontent à une reprise du travail quant à ses compétences, la solitude, l'estime de soi, son appartenance à des groupes. Il y a à ces niveaux un jeu d'équilibre intégrant de plus en plus les engagements et les croyances divergentes et contradictoires. Kasworm note que les caractéristiques de l'apprenant autodirigé à ces niveaux coïncident avec les caractères décrits par Mezirow.

La mathétique suppose une réorganisation du sens de soi et des autres chez l'apprenant. Il semble que, de la "perspective de la transformation" de Mezirow, c'est l'action émancipatoire qui provoque l'utilisation des compétences et des aptitudes de la mathétique. Donc, un apprenant autodirigé est une personne qui a déjà des aptitudes et des compétences pour maîtriser les tâches actives associées au contrôle et à la manipulation de l'environnement. Cet apprenant a conscience de l'existence de perspectives alternatives pour comprendre sa situation, pour donner une signification à sa vie. Il est en mesure d'identifier les contraintes et les efforts liés à l'apprentissage et des différents impacts de l'environnement. L'engagement dans une perspective de transformation suppose que l'apprenant s'implique dans un développement dynamique du soi à travers certaines conditions (Conf. figure 3).

On constate que ce processus de l'action émancipatoire suppose que l'adulte jouit des capacités cognitives et affectives pour avancer à travers ces étapes. D'ailleurs, lorsque Kasworm met en relation la dimension structurelle cognitive et le processus affectif, on s'aperçoit qu'effectivement un adulte émancipé ne peut s'engager de façon authentique dans ce changement affectif que si son développement cognitif présente au moins les caractères du sixième niveau. Ce n'est qu'à ce niveau que l'étudiant, dans une "perspective de transformation", sera en mesure d'analyser et de comparer les ensembles de connaissances et d'y rattacher les valeurs provenant du sens actuel de son identité.

Figure 3 Relations entre les niveaux du schéma de Perry/ les éléments de la perspective de la transformation de Mezirow

Schéma de développement intellectuel et éthique de Perry

Niveau 4	Réalisation d'un événement marquant, étrange, insolite, créant un sentiment d'incertitude, un éveil à une diversité de possibilité. Passage à un éveil du soi sans l'apport du contexte ni d'une autorité. Mouvement vers une réflexion introspective de son être propre.
Niveau 5	Développement d'une métapensée disciplinée, la capacité d'examiner plusieurs théories et vérités de la connaissance et des valeurs, y compris les siennes. L'habileté d'envisager et d'explorer des perspectives alternatives. A cette étape souvent, une profonde anxiété entraîne l'apprenant à réagir à la pensée relativiste. Comme le note Perry, "ils expérimentent en eux-mêmes les origines du sens, lesquelles ils prévoyaient provenir de l'extérieur d'eux-même (1981, p. 92).
Niveau 6	S'orienter vers une sélection personnelle et limiter la variété des théories et vérités au sujet du monde et du soi.
Niveau 7	Des engagements initiaux évoluant vers des actions engagées provenant d'une sélection couvrant un ensemble de connaissances, de valeurs et d'actions spécifiques.
Niveau 8	Résolution des implications des engagements spécifiques, personnels et exploration personnelle des risques, des gains et des pertes résultant des engagements.
Niveau 9	La foi dans ses engagements comme l'expression déployée de ses valeurs personnelles.

Perspective de la transformation de Mezirow

1. Un dilemne désorientant.
2. Une auto-analyse.
3. Une opinion critique vis-à-vis les postulats, des rôles personnels intériorisés et une conscience de l'aliénation des normes sociales et traditionnelles.
4. Rattacher sa propre expérience de mécontentement à celle de d'autres et même en lien avec des questions d'ordre public.
5. Explorer les options offertes pour de nouvelles façon d'agir.
6. Constituer ses compétences et la confiance en soi.
7. Planifier le cheminement de l'action.
8. Acquérir les connaissances et les aptitudes pour la mise en place de son plan.
9. Faire des efforts provisoires pour essayer de nouveaux rôles et évaluer les rétroactions.
10. Enclencher une réinsertion sociale à partir des conditions dictées par la nouvelle perspective.

Source: adaptation et trad. libre de Perry, 1981 et de Mezirow, 1981. Tels qu'utilisés par C. Kasworm.

2.2 Fonctionnement dynamique du cadre de Kasworm

Intégration des dimensions et des niveaux du développement humain

Kasworm identifie des causes qui peuvent influencer la progression du développement humain d'un niveau à un autre. Par exemple, certains changements sont liés aux interactions de la personne avec l'environnement et d'autres proviennent des limites et des tendances génétiques; il n'y a pas que des composantes personnelles qui interviennent dans le mouvement d'une étape à l'autre. Kasworm retrace au moins six autres causes susceptibles d'influencer plus fortement le processus du développement humain. Ces causes touchent trois aspects couramment identifiés comme le savoir, le savoir-faire et le savoir-être. Ici, Kasworm regroupe sous l'étiquette de "complexité cognitive" les causes qui traitent du développement initial et subséquent des manières de traiter l'information cognitive (savoir), puis des aptitudes et orientations pour définir, clarifier et résoudre un problème (savoir-faire). L'orientation affective et valorielle aborde la question de la conscience de soi et de ses valeurs, le contexte culturel et historique dans lequel l'individu manifeste sa maîtrise d'une définition utilitaire de ses valeurs et connaissances (savoir-être). Le niveau de la maîtrise des aptitudes/comportements porte plus spécifiquement la trace de l'influence de la compétence du langage, la connaissance des symboles numériques et l'application des aptitudes. Finalement, la situation même d'apprentissage influence le degré d'exploration de la personne et la facilité d'intégration dont elle fait preuve face à la complexité du développement de l'apprentissage autodirigé. Il faut garder à l'esprit que chaque personne aborde l'activité d'apprentissage autodirigé d'une manière qui lui est propre. De plus, on trouve à la fois un processus qui mène à l'évaluation des résultats et une évolution qualitative pour la personne de son potentiel d'apprentissage auto-initié. Le mouvement d'un niveau à l'autre se fait à travers les interactions des composantes affectives, cognitives et comportementales. Cela entraîne une mutation, une transformation de la vision. L'individu devient un créateur actif de nouveaux événements d'apprentissage, un fabricant de nouvelles significations de sa réalité d'apprenant. Il développe ainsi une nouvelle composante de connaissances et d'aptitudes. Ce cadre de pensée entraîne aussi à un développement continu de la conscience et des valeurs liées à l'auto-identification; un développement continu de la définition du monde (externe), de soi et des actions, et finalement un développement continu du concept de valeur et des usages des formes de connaissance abstraite, définie et conceptuelle.

Intégration de la structure cognitive et du processus affectif/valoriel du développement humain

Si l'on regarde les niveaux de la structure cognitive et la nature du processus de l'action émancipatoire, on constate qu'il y a une relation possible entre eux. Par exemple, si on place les éléments de Mezirow dans le schéma de Perry, on s'aperçoit que les niveaux 2,5 et 6 (Conf. figure 3) sont des niveaux complexes de jugements cognitifs et affectifs nécessaires à un apprentissage émancipé autonome et efficient. On peut faire le même exercice avec les niveaux 7 à 9 (Conf. figure 3) qui sont nécessaires à une réussite complète d'un processus de transformation. Cette perspective de transformation peut se faire selon deux voies. L'une est plus immédiate et elle présente un caractère brusque, soudain, une modification de regard porté sur les multiples structures des postulats personnels et environnementaux, sur leurs limites et sur les barrières qu'ils créent. L'autre est un chemin plus long, c'est un mouvement qui va dans la même direction tout en étant plus rationnel, systématique et même méthodique. Il est possible de participer à des activités autodirigées et de ne pas être rendu à ces niveaux de la structure cognitive. Ainsi, un apprenant, dont le développement cognitif se situe autour des niveaux 1 à 5, aura besoin d'une plus grande assistance ou, encore, il travaillera à un niveau où les résultats seront plus simples, présentant des lacunes dans la différenciation, dans la complexité ou dans la cohérence théorique. Il peut aussi avoir des lacunes au niveau de la congruence affective et comportementale.

Finalement, l'apport spécifique du cadre de Kasworm est de présenter l'apprentissage autodirigé comme un spectre de niveaux/étapes à travers lesquels un apprenant s'oriente pour de mieux en mieux maîtriser ses actions d'apprentissage. Cet aspect évolutif du cheminement de l'apprentissage autodirigé présente trois dimensions qui donnent la profondeur et les lignes de force du cheminement. Les actions d'apprentissages autodirigés nécessitent: un certain ensemble d'habiletés cognitives (savoir) propres à la nature des actes de l'apprentissage; un ensemble de comportements/aptitudes (savoir-faire) pour s'engager et compléter l'action de l'apprentissage; un ensemble d'orientation valorielle/affective (savoir-être) en relation avec la connaissance et des actions d'apprentissage. De plus, elle démontre que ce cheminement de l'apprentissage autodirigé se constitue en parallèle au développement humain dans ses différentes composantes.

Le cadre de Kasworm ouvre des pistes de recherches empiriques qualitatives intéressantes et pertinentes. Par exemple, on peut envisager de confirmer ou de modifier, par une analyse de contenu de récits d'autoformation, les relations qu'établit Kasworm entre les niveaux du schéma cognitif de Perry et les conditions de l'action émancipatoire de Mezirow. D'autres recherches qualitatives peuvent dégager les conditions optimales d'un apprentissage autodirigé ou encore d'autres recherches peuvent servir à comprendre et à mieux situer la place du processus valoriel/affectif dans les actions d'apprentissage.

3. Comparaison du modèle de Stahl et du cadre de Kasworm

L'analyse comparative de ces travaux qui traitent de la connaissance et de la démarche d'apprentissage à partir d'approches différentes permet de dégager des convergences, par exemple, par rapport à l'autonomie de l'apprenant. L'analyse permet également d'identifier des divergences qui semblent relever plutôt des objectifs poursuivis par les auteurs. En effet, Stahl présente une classification alors que Kasworm recherche l'élaboration d'un cadre commun à plusieurs théories de l'apprentissage autodirigé. Toutefois, il semble se dégager une complémentarité qui enrichit les deux démarches et ouvre pour les recherches en apprentissage de l'adulte la voie à des réflexions et à des applications ultérieures de ce que chacun a proposé séparément. L'analyse comparative vise ici à souligner les éléments de convergence, les éléments de divergence et finalement à dégager la complémentarité, l'apport de chacun au champ de l'apprentissage de l'adulte.

3.1 Les éléments de convergence

Tous les deux partagent une préoccupation commune portant sur la nature et sur les dimensions opératoires de la connaissance. On peut dire que leur intérêt central porte sur le fonctionnement de l'élaboration mentale de l'expérience et de sa signification personnelle, intériorisée chez l'apprenant en situation d'apprentissage.

La présence du tryptique de la connaissance et de l'apprentissage (savoir, savoir-faire, savoir-être) est le thème central de ces deux études. L'originalité du modèle de Stahl (1978) repose sur l'intégration du spectre complet des apprentissages et des comportements propres à l'acquisition d'un savoir en y incluant la dimension affective. Kasworm (1983) parle de ce tryptique lorsqu'elle présente le coeur de son cadre composé de trois dimensions: le complexe cognitif, les comportements/aptitudes et l'orientation valorielle/affective pour traiter du développement de l'apprentissage autodirigé (mathétique, conf. figure 2).

Il y a également des similitudes lorsqu'on aborde les éléments constitutifs et le fonctionnement dynamique du modèle et du cadre. Par exemple, les deux offrent une vision de la perception, de l'assimilation et de l'intégration des informations comme une structure globale et souple qui forme la connaissance. Cette connaissance a des directions et s'élabore à partir de niveaux, lesquels sont hiérarchisés et séquentiels, les niveaux les plus élevés englobant les niveaux inférieurs. Ainsi, le passage d'un niveau à l'autre suppose l'intégration du précédent. Dans les deux modèles, c'est par le biais d'interactions multiples au sein des composantes des modèles, au plan des niveaux entre eux ou encore dans les interactions environnement-apprenant que s'instaure la dynamique de la progression et de l'évolution à travers la hiérarchie des niveaux. Dans les deux modèles, les relations apprenant-environnement incluent l'ensemble des situations et expériences qui entourent l'individu, c'est-à-dire la matière elle-même, les pairs, les lieux et les ressources, y compris le professeur.

Chez Stahl, le rôle du professeur est plus directement relié aux opérations mentales à développer chez l'apprenant. En effet, les séquences des niveaux de l'acquisition du savoir servent à la planification des activités d'enseignement (Conf. figure 1), alors que, pour Kasworm, le professeur est l'une des ressources à la disposition de l'apprenant dans une démarche d'apprentissage autodirigé. Toutefois, les deux auteurs, arrivent à une même conclusion concernant ce qu'un professeur peut faire lorsqu'un apprenant atteint soit les niveaux du transfert/abstraction (5 et 6 conf. figure 1) ou le niveau de la sélection personnelle du complexe cognitif (6 Conf. figure 3).

Ce constat fournit les conditions de l'exercice de ces habiletés de transfert et d'abstraction. Pour les deux auteurs cette phase de la connaissance suppose l'existence d'une ouverture, d'une certaine confiance en soi qui favorise l'émergence d'une capacité interne d'autoréflexion, sans laquelle les autres niveaux supérieurs ne pourront être abordés et sans laquelle il ne peut se développer une autonomie de penser, d'apprendre et d'agir. La responsabilité du professeur consiste à prévoir des activités d'apprentissage qui favorisent l'éveil de cette ouverture, de cette confiance en soi et de cette curiosité de soi qui amorce l'autoréflexion.

L'autonomie est perçue dans ses dimensions de connaissance de soi, de capacité d'autoréflexion et d'apprentissage autodirigé. Stahl, fournit l'explication du processus de l'information et des étapes où celle-ci peut devenir signifiante. Il aborde comment, à partir de l'émergence du sens s'amorce la capacité de l'autoréflexion, de l'autoapprentissage. Pour Stahl, ces capacités sont essentielles dans le développement du niveau de génération, c'est-à-dire celui où l'apprenant crée de nouvelles structures cognitives. Kasworm va spécifiquement s'appuyer sur l'apprentissage émancipatoire, pour développer le processus de son cadre qui traite de l'orientation des valeurs et de la dimension affective du développement de la personne. Or, c'est à travers ce processus affectif/valoriel et à l'aide des habiletés du complexe cognitif des niveaux supérieurs, ceux où l'apprenant manifeste son relativisme, qu'émerge la capacité d'autoréflexion, assise du développement de l'apprentissage autodirigé.

3.2 Les éléments de divergence

Les éléments de divergence ont trait à la manière dont les auteurs abordent l'objet central de leurs études. Bien que tous les deux se penchent sur la nature et sur les dimensions opératoires de la connaissance, l'un présente une taxonomie et l'autre précise qu'il s'agit d'un paradigme.

Par exemple, le triptyque de la connaissance (savoir—savoir-faire—savoir-être), les relations apprenant-environnement et le développement de l'autonomie sont des points abordés par les deux auteurs, mais ils le font différemment. Stahl se centre sur une description de la démarche de l'information dans le but de faciliter la planification des apprentissages. Kasworm met l'accent sur le processus et les conditions d'un apprentissage autodirigé.

Chez Stahl, on voit à partir de quel niveau d'habileté l'apprenant amorce l'utilisation des balises, lesquelles sont les bases des étapes de transfert, de l'abstraction, de l'organisation et de la génération de la pensée et de l'apprentissage. Ces balises sont l'apport le plus important de Stahl pour comprendre comment un apprenant enclenche un apprentissage autodirigé et une autoréflexion qui sont nécessaires à la connaissance de soi. A partir des niveaux du complexe cognitif et du processus d'action émancipatoire, Kasworm aborde le même objet d'élaboration de la connaissance de soi mais elle le fait en décrivant les effets du processus et en nommant les différentes étapes et contenus de cette connaissance de soi. L'apport important de Kasworm est de démontrer la pertinence de réunir différents modèles pour constituer une appréhension plus juste d'un phénomène complexe comme celui de l'apprentissage autodirigé. Finalement Stahl se préoccupe de fournir des indices à l'éducateur pour mieux organiser ses activités d'enseignement, alors que Kasworm se préoccupe de faciliter la compréhension du développement de l'apprentissage autodirigé.

3.3 La complémentarité et l'apport au champ de l'apprentissage de l'adulte des travaux de Stahl et Kasworm

La complémentarité des travaux des auteurs se dessine autour de trois points. Le premier traite de l'émergence de l'apprentissage autonome par le biais de l'autoréflexion. Stahl explique comment un apprenant enclenche ce genre d'apprentissage, alors que Kasworm nomme les étapes de ce processus et ses effets.

Le second point de complémentarité aborde le traitement de l'information. En effet, le processus en grappe et la description de la connaissance comme une intégration de plusieurs processus chez Stahl fournit une explication du traitement de l'information fort utile pour comprendre le cheminement de l'information des trois derniers niveaux (7, 8, 9, conf. figure 3) de la structure du développement cognitif du cadre de Kasworm. Il en est de même pour éclairer le niveau (8, conf. figure 3) de l'examen des risques et des gains du processus d'orientation valoriel de Kasworm.

On se rappelle que les trois derniers niveaux de la structure traitent de l'évaluation interne affective, de la reconnaissance de l'individu et de son engagement initial; ils abordent la mise en place du changement. Or, le processus en grappe est l'une des réponses pour comprendre la diversité des actions et des résultats des apprenants. Tout le développement des balises et de leur importance à partir du cinquième niveau de Stahl (transfert) se trouve à soutenir la description du septième au dixième niveau du développement cognitif et du processus affectif de Kasworm. Stahl confirme les propos de Kasworm comme quoi il n'y a pas que les adultes qui s'engagent dans un processus autodirigé.

Il se dégage également que l'apprentissage autodirigé est intimement lié aux apprentissages de la vie. C'est dire que toute la vie est une occasion d'apprentissage autodirigé répété, que ce processus s'amorce aussi bien en salle de classe chez l'apprenant du secondaire, que chez l'apprenant participant à des activités d'auto-apprentissage. Cette dimension d'être capable de retour sur une connaissance, une habileté, ou une attitude, émerge si on lui en donne les conditions. Cependant, l'étincelle de cette capacité potentielle demeure entre les mains de l'apprenant. Ceci donne à la relation éducative toutes ses possibilités dynamiques créées par le professeur et par l'apprenant.

Le troisième point de complémentarité se retrouve dans leurs définitions de la dimension affective de la pensée et de l'apprentissage comme dans leur manière de les traiter. En effet, dans les deux modèles, l'affectivité est reliée au système de valeurs de la personne. Elle consiste beaucoup plus en la signification donnée par l'apprenant à ce qu'il apprend, que dans les aspects purement émotifs, sensitifs ou sentimentaux de l'affectivité. D'ailleurs, pour Stahl comme pour Kasworm, la capacité de nommer ses modes de pensée et d'apprentissage est la clé de l'autoréflexion, de l'auto-apprentissage, de l'autonomie de penser et d'apprendre.

Conclusion

Un des apports importants d'une étude comparative basée sur une démarche de double description (Brouillet, 1989) est de favoriser l'émergence de noyaux conceptuels communs malgré la différence apparente des approches et des travaux étudiés. Ces noyaux communs sont nécessaires et pertinents lorsqu'il s'agit de se préoccuper du développement théorique du champ de l'apprentissage de l'adulte (Merriam, 1987, de Winter Hebron, 1983). Par exemple, la complémentarité des travaux de Stahl et de Kasworm met en lumière:

- la dimension évolutive de l'acquisition du savoir et de la démarche d'apprentissage;
- la dimension du processus affectif comme un élément intégrateur de l'apprentissage;
- la dimension de l'habileté de l'autoréflexion comme un passage cognitivo-affectif essentiel à l'autonomie de l'apprentissage.

Finalement l'analyse comparative du modèle de Stahl et du cadre de référence de Kasworm participe aux efforts de compréhension, d'unification et d'intégration dont plusieurs auteurs se font depuis quelques années les porte-paroles (Merriam, 1987; Courtney, 1986; de Winter Hebron, 1983; Stubblefield, 1983; Chickering, 1980). En effet, il s'agit de donner une orientation souple mais rigoureuse aux recherches d'élaboration théorique du champ de l'apprentissage de l'adulte. Il s'agit également de créer des pôles de recherche qui dépassent les écoles de pensée pour mieux comprendre, analyser et décrire le phénomène de l'apprentissage. Finalement, ce modèle et ce cadre deviennent des assises conceptuelles provisoires qui ouvrent la porte à des recherches sur le terrain quantitatives et qualitatives lesquelles permettront de modifier, d'infirmer ou de confirmer les hypothèses des deux auteurs.

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104

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WOMEN'S LEARNING: IMPLICATIONS FOR ADULT EDUCATION RESEARCH AND PRACTICE[1]

Edith Smith[2]
Carleton University

Abstract

Women are actively engaged in becoming more educated, but does their demand for and participation in adult education ensure that it is not a gendered area of study? Applying a feminist critique to the production and dissemination of knowledge through research and publishing, this article examines historical and contemporary literature on adult education in Canada. It analyzes the contents of recent adult education journals and suggests possible reasons for, and solutions to, some of the gaps in the literature on women as subjects of adult education research.

Résumé

En dépit de la présence croissante des femmes dans le domaine de l'éducation des adultes, celui-ci continu de les exclure de la recherche et de l'enseignement. L'auteure de cet article propose une critique féministe de la production et de la dissémination du savoir historique et actuel dans le domaine de l'éducation des adultes au Canada. Elle se consacre à une analyse de contenu des revues récemment publiées en éducation des adultes et des raisons pour lesquelles les femmes n'y apparaissent pas comme sujet de recherche. Elle propose aussi quelques éléments de solutions afin de remédier à cette situation.

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104

> A feminist critique furthers the cause of excellence by requiring us to rethink the formulations most of us take for granted. (Minnich, 1989, p. 281)

> In breaking those silences, naming ourselves, uncovering the hidden, making ourselves present, we begin to define a reality which resonates to us, which affirms our being, which allows the woman teacher and the woman student alike to take ourselves, and each other, seriously. [emphasis added] (Rich, 1979, p. 245)

Introduction

Women need education. According to Brad Munroe (personal communication, November 1, 1990) of the Canadian Commission for UNESCO, women make up 67% of the world's illiterate population. When we look closer to home we find that in 1986, according to a study by the Canadian Congress for Learning Opportunities of Women, 20% of Canadian women could not read or write (cited in Warren, 1987, p. 24).

Women want education. In a case study of a group of females reentering universities (Smith, 1991), I asked each of them why they were returning to formal education. The majority of responses centred around a desire for intellectual growth and knowledge:

> [In my job] there was no room for any kind of intellectual growth and I needed that.
>
> I felt like my head was being shut down—I wasn't being stimulated.
>
> I started to notice that I didn't know about what was going on in the world. I did not feel knowledgeable. (p. 51)

Despite barriers and social costs, these women continued their education because, as one female reentry student stated:

> I want it too much and I've got too much invested. For my own self-esteem, my sense of accomplishment and for my family as well. I can't possibly quit—it wouldn't be fair to anyone. (p. 78)

105

Women are actively engaged in becoming more educated. In Devereaux's study of adult education in Canada, we learn that the majority (56%) of students in both formal and informal adult education courses are women (1985, p. 6). Women also participate in education through teaching and research. In Canadian universities, women represent the majority of all students in Education Departments—even at the graduate level. They constitute 68% of undergraduates, [illegible]4% of Masters and 54% of all Ph.D. students in Canadian Faculties of Education. At the undergraduate level this is the second highest female participation rate, just slightly behind the health professions. At the Ph.D. level, Education is the only faculty to have females make up more than 50% of students (Breslauer & Gordon, 1989, p. 37).

Does women's demand for and their participation in education (as students and as teachers) ensure that adult education is not a gendered area of study? Is there historical and contemporary research data specifically on Canadian adult women's learning? Since much of the current theory and ideology speaks of knowledge as power and education as empowerment leading to individual and social change (Darville, 1989; Merriam, 1987; Mezirow, 1981), can one assume that there will be much practical information on education as a means of improving the lives of women? Or are there silences in the literature?

This article will address the implications of women's learning on the research and practice of adult education. In outlining my search for material on women's learning, the article begins with an overview of feminist critiques of the production and dissemination of knowledge through research and publishing. This approach is then applied to a brief examination of historical research on adult education in Canada. From there, I critically examine the content of recent adult education journals and conference proceedings. The article concludes with a discussion of the findings and suggests possible reasons for and solutions to some of the analytical and empirical gaps in the literature on women as subjects of adult education research.

A Feminist Critique of Research and Publishing

For the past few decades, feminist writers have raised questions about the gendered research of many academic disciplines. Despite marked differences in their perspectives on the causes and political solutions to sexism in academe, feminist critiques overlap in their findings about inadequacies in published research on women. Ward and Grant (1985) identify four common feminist themes:

> research underrepresented women as subjects, concentrated on research topics more central to men's than to women's lives, used concepts, paradigms, methods, and theories better portraying men's than women's lives, and used men and male experience as norms against which all social experience was interpreted. (p. 139)

To the first theme, underrepresentation of women, could be added omission of women as subjects. When research is conducted on a sample of all male subjects, despite the use of the generic 'he' in the reporting, the findings are often implicitly (and sometimes explicitly) generalized to both sexes (Ward & Grant, 1985, p. 141). A common example of this is the use of the male's occupation to determine the social status of the entire family.

In terms of research topic, feminists claim that women are excluded here as well. Researchers tend to concentrate on areas in which men are the key players, or when women are present, they are considered "only in narrowly defined roles most relevant to men's lives" (Ward & Grant, 1985, p. 141). Studies of the political sphere are seldom conducted on local politics where women have concentrated due to their familial expectations and obligations. And studies of work and occupations usually focus on large corporations rather than on 'homework'.

Sexism in research can also be seen in the use of paradigms, methods and theories which distort women's experiences or better portray men's lives. Feminists have challenged the notion of "objectivity" in traditional quantitative methods, claiming techniques of a qualitative nature are more appropriate when exploring women's everyday worlds. As well, how a research question is defined determines what data are collected and what parts of life are explored. Ward and Grant (1985) offer an example of research on 'fear of success' among professional women which, by collecting data on individuals and ignoring structural barriers to women's experiences,

> failed to illuminate situationally embedded expectations on the part of coworkers which influenced

> interpretations of women's work behaviors and confined them to a narrow range of roles. (p. 142)

The final theme in feminist critiques of research is in the use of male experiences alone as the norm for what is appropriate, legitimate and important. In academe, since male dominated thought controls the 'conceptual currency', these male established norms judge not only what are relevant topics of study, but also "which interpretations are scholarly" (Ward & Grant, 1985, p. 143). The world defined through masculine blinders has led feminists to call for a scholarship which frees all research, analyses and reporting from dependence upon male norms.

The feminist critique focuses not only on the research process but also on the dissemination of its knowledge. Dale Spender (1981) has written a critique of academic publishing in which she states:

> It is important to make explicit the significance of publishing in the research community. In a very fundamental sense, research which is not in print does not exist. (p. 188)

And Dorothy Smith has pointed out that there are "gatekeepers" in the academic community, people who set the standards, produce the social knowledge, monitor what is admitted to the systems of distribution, and decree the innovations in thought, or knowledge, or values (1987, p. 18). And these gatekeepers are most often men.

Since feminist critiques have appeared, there have been increased efforts to monitor and eliminate the gendered nature of many disciplines. Has education, and more specifically adult education, benefited from this new knowledge? Are women's voices being heard; are the gaps being filled in? Has the feminist critique had an impact on adult education to ensure that research is conducted on women as subjects, that topics include those in which women are key players, that methods are applied which portray women's as well as men's lives, and that analyses used are not exclusively based on male norms? This article will address these questions by examining published research on adult education from a feminist perspective, thus contributing to the feminist gatewatching of research and publishing.

Abbreviated History of Canadian Adult Education

As male scholars search for a history of adult education in Canada, they discover something that feminist scholars have known for a long time. Despite shelves of library books on the subject, Michael Welton (1987, p. 12) claims that we are "suffering from a severe case of historical amnesia" on Canadian adult education. This applies even more in the case of women; as Terry Crowley discovered in his search: "women have been largely lost in the historical records of Canadian adult education" (Crowley, 1986, p. 78). He found that only male efforts in establishing educational programmes for adults were regarded as the "real" beginnings.

The blindness to women's participation in education is most evident when reviewing literature on the development of informal adult education in Canada. Whether the terminology used is continuing education, andragogy, education permanente or even lifelong learning, it usually refers to education of "citizens" and generic workers or adults. Seldom is there a reference to the specificity of women's experience; most of the historical accounts of education in the informal sector deal with the educational training of men.

Informal adult education in Canada, like that of formal education, has its roots in Britain, and it originally focussed on two areas: agriculture and citizenship. In *Learning and Society: Readings in Canadian Adult Education*, J.R. Kidd (1963) states:

> Paradoxically, adult education is the oldest, and the newest field of education. Organized activities by which adults taught each other long preceded the formal instruction of children; it all began even centuries before such practitioners as Socrates and Confucius. Yet the great changes, the most astonishing growth, has happened in this century. (p. xi)

This growth began in the mid 19th century when immigrants brought with them Mechanics Institutes (MI). These had been important vehicles for worker education in Britain, where the Workers' Educational Association had realized the importance of teaching working class citizens about social and political problems. "[I]f labor's aims were to be achieved, both leadership and membership would require more and better education" (Campbell, 1984, p. 6). Canada, however, was also influenced by the American system where education has been inspired by practical needs, and MIs were soon taken over and adopted by academics and professionals in the agricultural field (Campbell, 1984, p. 910).

Due to the large expanse of this country, traditional classroom learning was a major problem for many residents and universities were forced to develop special methods to deal with the needs and desires of a largely rural population which wanted practical knowledge for their everyday lives, rather than being concerned with their limited political sophistication, as was the case in Britain (Campbell, 1984). People in rural Canada were more conscious of their struggle with Nature than their struggle with Capital (MacInnes, 1925, p. 56).

Strongly influenced by various coop movements throughout the country, informal adult education was not only geared to teach farmers about new methods of crop rotation; it was also aimed at training new immigrants "in order to evolve right thinking, responsible citizens in the young democracy" (MacInnes, 1925, p. 8). This goal was reiterated in 1946 at the National Conference on Adult Education when the "Statement of Purposes" declared that the task of adult education was "the imaginative training for citizenship" (cited in Kidd, 1963, p. 109).

However, a review of the literature on adult education reveals that, while concerned with inequality, it has been largely confined to class inequality. As mentioned, the recorded history of adult education is one of educating "citizens" without dealing with the specificity of women's experience. Gaskell and McLaren (1987) find,

> adult educators have tended to ignore women students, or even to be embarrassed by them since, it is assumed, they are bourgeois housewives, not members of the working class. (p. 306)

The limitations placed on women's participation in adult education reflected the concept of women's place in society, and their roles in the private sphere, preset at birth.

> Few women could be concerned with educational deprivation. Their expectations did not include education beyond what was required to fulfill their

> prescribed duties in a hierarchical society. (Solomon, 1985, p. 3)

So if adult education was geared to workers and farmers, and women did not fit either category, one might conclude, therefore, that women were not candidates for informal learning.

Yet recent feminist research has led to a rediscovery of organizations such as Women's Institutes:

> the single most important idea developed in Canadian continuing education and exported to the rest of the world. In the history of rural women no other organization...has played such a formative role. (Crowley, 1986, p. 78).

While the agricultural revolution transformed Canadian farming into an industry geared for urban markets, this was done for the profit of men and at the expense of women. Women's role in agricultural production (especially in dairying) was seriously undermined by 'male initiated and government subsidized' agricultural institutions and factories which took over the local industries that had existed. New discoveries in the science of nutrition led to new forms of knowledge for human betterment, but there was no mechanism for the transmission of this information to women in the countryside (Crowley, 1986, p. 79).

No mechanism, that is, until 1897 when Adelaide Hoodless, a Hamilton housewife, conceived of and founded the first Women's Institute (WI) as a 'household science educational program' after her son died from drinking impure milk. By 1913 nine provinces had WIs (Collins, 1958, p. 209), and almost every town and city in those provinces had their own local branch, working to educate themselves and the public to find ways of improving the quality of community life.

Fifty years after Hoodless first began her work, Robert Collins (1958) attended a typical WI meeting in a small Manitoba town and described it in an article for *MacLean's Magazine*. All but ten of the town's eligible women were present as they began with the singing of folk songs and the recitation of their creed. There was a collection of cards and 24 handknitted sweaters to be sent to Korean orphans. After voting on money for prizes at a local bonspiel and handling requests for information, there was a discussion on a proposed educational tour to Winnipeg. The women then sat back as,

> Doris Pitura, a tall pinkcheeked farm wife (who was once "frightened stiff" of speaking in public) delivered a ten minute talk on oil in Manitoba. (p. 212)

The last item on the agenda was the district president's report on her trip to the 1957 Federated Women's Institute convention in Ottawa where she also visited the House of Commons:

> They were so rude! When Mr. St. Laurent spoke, Mr. Diefenbaker turned away. When Mr. Diefenbaker spoke, Mr. St. Laurent began to read a newspaper. They wouldn't last long in W.I. (p. 212).

At 5 p.m. the women closed the meeting and "hurried home to make supper and placate their husbands" (p. 213).

By 1958, 95,000 women had signed up as members, despite resistance from husbands and families (see Collins, 1958), in 5,300 Canadian communities where "the institute is everything: social circle, service club and rural women's university" where members "are dedicated to the betterment of home, country and points beyond" (Collins, 1958, p. 208).

The Women's Institutes are one example of women's participation in informal and largely self directed education. They reveal not only women's concerns with new modes of production, but also their struggle for equality in the new era of industrialization; they reveal women who are seeking not only a recognition and development of their skills and roles as women, but also a recognition of their equality and contributions as persons. This is an area of Canadian women's education that begs to be explored further.

This brief outline has shown that while adult women were actively involved in learning, their contribution is not recognized in historical accounts of the roots of adult education in Canada. They have seldom been the subjects of research; men are portrayed as the key players and male experiences have been the norms against which all experience has been interpreted. As feminist scholars work to uncover women's educational history, do they also ensure that the present forms of learning of adult women are specified? Or is contemporary adult education still dealing with "generic" students?

Current Research in Adult Education

My background in sociology led me to believe that there was a correspondence between the number of females in a discipline and the recognized legitimacy of feminist research which acknowledges women and their everyday lived experiences as important areas of research. While academically situated outside of an education faculty, I nonetheless began my search for current educational knowledge on adult women as learners fully expecting to find a substantial amount of research being done on women, by women (considering the female participation rates in this field).

As I began to read articles from the academic adult education journals, I found that they appeared more theoretically abstract than practical. Sharan Merriam (1986) states:

> Too often adult education research...look[s] at problems in isolation unconnected to sociopolitical and economic realities. (p. 4)

This separation between research and practical reality was also evident in the gaps in research on adult women as learners.

Keeping Ward and Grant's analysis of feminist critiques of research as well as the critiques of male dominated publishing by Spender and Smith in mind, I examined both practice and research oriented journals on adult education. I started with three hypotheses: first, that the journals with a more practice oriented format or approach would have more accounts of women as learners since they constitute the majority of students. Secondly, they would have more female authors, since the majority of practitioners are women. And, thirdly, due to the number of females in graduate education programmes, that research on women would likely be conducted by and written by women.

Data Sources and Methods

Being aware of the two orientations in adult education journals (research vs. practice), I chose one of each from two different countries. The difference in orientation is evident by the fact that research oriented journals contain abstracts and bibliographies and, in general, have an academic format. The practice oriented ones, on the other hand, have a more journalistic style.

The Canadian publications I analyzed were the 1990 issue of *Learning* and Volumes I-III (1987-1989) of *Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education* (CJSAE). The American journals examined were Volume 12 (1988-1989) of *LifeLong Learning* (LLL) and Volume 39 (1988-1989) of *Adult Education Quarterly* (AEQ).

My first step was to check the titles of all articles, forums, perspectives or special reports, including book reviews. I looked for any reference to women, gender, sex, or anything that could possibly include knowledge about adult women as learners and made a note of the total number of articles and how many dealt even slightly with women.

Secondly, I read the abstracts or browsed through the articles without abstracts. How many of them made reference to women? How many of them dealt entirely with women? Or with any issue possibly related to women?

My third step was to note the sex of all authors, including those written by more than one person. When the sex was not readily apparent (as in names like Pat or Dale) or when only initials were used, I checked biographical notes on authors, or I divided them equally between males and females. In total, how many of the single or first authors mentioned were male? How many were female? Then I did the same with secondary authors. How often, in the case of multiple authors with different sexes, was the first name a male? How often was the first name a female?

As well, I examined the bibliographic references to see who were considered the "authorities", those theorists most often quoted by researchers. Of the articles with a reference to women, I noted the degree to which they actually discussed an issue from a woman's perspective.

Interviews were conducted with two practitioners in the education field: Dr. Jeanine Roy-Poirier, the past president of the Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education and Dr. Ruth Dempsey, a professor at the Faculty of Education, University of Ottawa. These conversations led to a similar, but reduced, content analysis of proceedings from the 1990 Conference of the Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education and an examination of the titles of Canadian graduate theses on adult education.

Findings

Overall, I studied 19 journal issues published between 1987 and 1990. Ten issues were from research oriented journals (CJSAE and AEQ) and nine were from practice oriented ones (*Learning* and LLL). Out of a total of 141 articles, I found only five with any reference in the title to women. I moved on to step two, examining abstracts. Forty-nine of the articles had them, so for the other 92, I skimmed through the articles. This time I found another 12 that mentioned women (I was generous, they only had to mention the word or use a woman's name in an example). So, out of 141 articles, there were 17 or 12% that discussed, even remotely, women in adult education. (For details, see Table 1, Summary of Findings.)

Some examples of those that mentioned women included an article by Ralph Nader on "Strategies for Training Citizen Advocates" (*Learning*, Vol. V; No. 3) in which women were mentioned with blacks and disadvantaged people as possible groups trainable to become "active citizens". Another article in the same journal, entitled "Environmental Citizenship", discussed environmental education projects with most of the citizen based project examples being female initiated ones. Only two articles (both in CJSAE) mentioned the word "feminism", and both discussed its potential contribution to the development of theory and research in adult education (Miles, 1989; Warren, 1987).

Three of the four journals had a book review section. Out of a total of 39 books reviewed, only one had any reference to women in the title: *Women & Education: A Canadian Perspective* by Jane Gaskell and Arlene McLaren. This is an odd choice of a book to be reviewed for an adult education journal since only one section of the book is on adult women and education.

Step three, who is writing for the journals? Out of 141 main authors, 77 were men and 64 were women. There were an additional 36 secondary authors and of these, 20 were male and

16 were female. In total, 97 men and 80 women had articles published. While there is often an assumption that multiple authors will be listed alphabetically, this was seldom the case in the journals I examined.

Table 1: Summary of Findings

Adult Education Journals

Canadian:

Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education (research orientation), Vols. I-III, 1987-1989

Learning (practice orientation), Vol. V, 1990

American:

Adult Education Quarterly (research orientation), Vol. 39, 1988-1989

LifeLong Learning (practice orientation), Vol. 12, 1988-1989

	Research	Practice	Total	Canadian	American
Number of Articles	49	92	141	47	94
Total on Women	7	10	17	10	7
In Titles	4	1	5	3	2
In Content	3	9	12	7	5
Authors					
Female Main	18	46	64	19	45
Female Secondary	7	9	16	2	14
Female Main, Male Secondary	3	4	7	0	7
Books Reviewed	28	11	39	17	22
Women in Titles	1	0	1	1	0
Women Main Author	4	1	5	2	3
Women Reviewers	7	2	9	4	5
Research on Women by Women	5	9	14	8	5
Editorial Board	62	43	105	19	86
Female Members	20	20	40	5	35
Canadian Faculty of Education Graduate Theses/Major Papers			**1986**	**1988**	**1989**
Total Theses/Major Papers			69	107	122
Women in Title			20	27	7
CASAE Conference Proceedings			**1990**		
Total Papers			90		
Women in Title/Abstract			9		

Including books there were a total of 51 publications with more than one author. Only seven had a woman as the main author and a man as the secondary author. But in general, multiple authors were of the same sex, men write with men and women with women.

Of the 39 books reviewed, 34 were written by men, or had one as the main author. The reviewers were also overwhelmingly male: only 9 out of 39 books were reviewed by women.

And who writes about women? Of the 17 articles and one book mentioning women, 14 were written by females.

In my first hypothesis, I suggested that the journals with a more practice oriented format would have more accounts of women as learners. While there were more articles on women in them, they contained more articles in general. The practice oriented journals had a total of 92 articles, 10 or 11% of which mentioned women. The research oriented journals contained 49 articles and 7 or 14% mentioned women. There is a slight difference, leaning in favour of the research journals, but it is too small a difference to be significant. Overall, there is little being written on the specificity of women's experience within adult education. They continue to be underrepresented or omitted entirely as subjects of research and topics are still chosen which are more central to men's than to women's lives.

Secondly, I hypothesized that practice oriented journals would have more articles written by women. Of the 92 articles in them, 46 or 50% were by women. The research oriented journals had 18 female authors out of a total of 49, or 37%. These numbers show that women are being published but few of them are writing about adult women as learners. Instead, they are continuing the gendered practice of using male experiences as norms against which all experience is interpreted.

And, thirdly I hypothesized that research on women would likely be conducted by women, regardless of subject. Here the evidence is clear: 14 out of 17, or 78% of the material (articles and books) dealing with women was written by women.

Something I had not anticipated was a difference between countries. The American journals contained more articles in total but they were less likely to deal with women. They had 7% of their content on women, compared to 21% of the Canadian ones. Of the two articles that mentioned feminism, both were in the same Canadian journal which was edited by a woman.

If research is being done on women, perhaps it exists in graduate schools, I thought. So I looked at the listings (published in CJSAE) of Graduate Degrees in Canada on Adult Education and examined the titles of theses or major papers. In 1986 there were 69 theses listed and 20 or 29% of these were on women (11 of the 20 on nursing education). In 1988 there were more theses (107) but fewer on women (25% or 27, with nine on nurses). By 1989, the percentage on women had fallen to 6% (7 out of 122) and only two were on health education or nursing.

Maybe the research is being presented at the annual Learned Societies' Conference? I looked at the abstracts in the "Proceedings" of the 9th Annual Conference of the Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education, held in Victoria, British Columbia, in 1990. There were 90 papers presented and seven titles contained something about women. After reading abstracts and conclusions I found two more which dealt, even marginally, with women. In other words, of all the 462 pages of papers which were included in these proceedings, only 10% dealt with the majority of learners in adult education. And 62 out of 115 presenters were women. What is more than half of the participants.

Space does not allow a presentation of the detailed findings of the "authorities" or "experts" referred to, nor the actual degree of discussion on women's ways and forms of learning. But they were not encouraging. Clearly, male theorists are seen as authorities and women's issues are seldom discussed in any depth. As well, the approach used in my research does not adequately cover the third theme of Ward and Grant's feminist critiques, the use of models, paradigms and theories which distort women's experiences. Further research is needed in these areas, for example, to compare the differences in 'issues' covered in practice and research oriented journals. The gaps need to be addressed.

More Questions

As a sociologist I found myself asking why adult education continues to be a gendered field of study; gendered in content, in basic assumptions and in research practice. Why is there so little research being done on women in adult education departments filled with them? Why is there no examination of participation barriers or learning orientations which address the specificity of women's experiences? Why are the silences and gaps continuing to be reproduced? Why are traditional models not being challenged? For example, my research on adult women in universities (Smith, 1991) found that the major situational barrier for these women was not time or money (as has been traditionally theorized), but rather, that the lack of emotional support from family and friends was the biggest obstacle to participation.

In a conversation with Dr. Jeanine Roy-Poirier, the Past President of the Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education, we discussed the absence of women in adult education's recorded history, as well as the current situation. She began to name a few women who were doing research about adult women, but also admitted that there is a lack of available knowledge on women's learning and that there was a desperate need for research which could be both applied and published.

> There are women working on it but they are not being published. Only recently have we even had a vehicle for the dissemination of our knowledge. (Jeanine Roy-Poirier [personal communication, October 16, 1990]).

My findings, however, indicate that women are being published. They are just not researching women. It appears that few people work from the position of there being a specificity of women's experience with learning. Dr. Roy-Poirier added that while some of this research is being done at present, it is not getting published; the only way we know about it is by networking.

Dr. Ruth Dempsey, a professor in the Faculty of Education at the University of Ottawa, agreed with Dr. Roy-Poirier that education, in general, seldom speaks to adult learning methods and specifically, it never discusses the difference in women's ways of learning. Dempsey also agreed that there is a desperate need for research on women, but added another dimension the need to investigate the structures of power.

> In such a patriarchal system as education, changes are so slow. Until recently, there were few female professors in the Department of Education at Ottawa U. So only male models were available to students who were then socialized in male stream studies. And the women who do teach, were also trained in male studies and that is what they pass on to students. They reproduce a patriarchal system. Not only the content but the structures need to be investigated and criticized (Ruth Dempsey [personal communication, October 24, 1990]).

This statement led me to examine the gender composition of our educational structures. One of the first places I looked was at the editorial boards of the journals I had been examining. Who is deciding what gets published? How many people make up the total board? How many of these are women? What positions are they likely to hold?

Once again there was a difference between the practice oriented journals and the research oriented ones. In the two specialising in practice, there was almost an equal representation of women and men. But in the more academic, research journals, while they may have female editors, women constituted just under 30% of the total board. Overall, fewer than four out of every ten board members were women. Males continue to dominate as 'gatekeepers' in the publishing of academic journals.

Dale Spender (1981) concludes that publication is the means by which knowledge enters the public domain, acquires legitimacy, and influences the thinking, teaching, and writing of other scholars. Is this why most women are not 'doing' research on adult women as learners because it is not legitimate? Or is this research out there somewhere in the private domain, and just not getting past the publishing gatekeepers? Not only are the gaps being reproduced, but through the silences, the gendered forms of education and the research practices/assumptions are also being reproduced, continuing to leave gaps. It is a circular process.

In the Faculty of Education at the University of Ottawa the administrative personnel consisting of dean, directors, and secretary to council are all men. Of six contact professors in the graduate sector, only two are women. Of 75 professors in total (35 in Educational Studies and 40 in Teacher Education), only 16 are women, ten of whom are in Teacher Education. Ruth Dempsey is right; in terms of structural control of both research journals and teaching facilities, the control lies mostly in the hands of men. Since education as knowledge is power, women as "edupeasants" are especially vulnerable to control by the "educrats" (analogy to technopeasants in Menzies, 1982).

As long as men continue to control what is published, taught and considered significant to learning, will we only have access to what interests men? As Dorothy Smith states: "What men were doing was relevant to men, was written about men, by men, for men" (1987, p. 17). How much longer will this continue? Do women have to develop their own vehicles for publication? Do they want to?

Angela Miles calls for a partnership between adult educators and feminists who are committed to "empowering the disadvantaged and contributing to social change" (1989, p. 2). She argues that this would require a transformation and a redistribution of knowledge. While she acknowledges that this would also necessitate a "radical rethinking of curriculum, course content, and teaching and evaluation methods... and altering the power structures" (p. 10), she fails to address the resistance which is inherent in any partnership: resistance by men who will be required to "share" their present power; resistance by women, socialized in male stream studies, who consider it a "nonissue"; and resistance by more radical feminists who wish to create alternatives to, not partnerships with, the existing order. How can this be changed? How can a partnership be established?

While this article has addressed the gendered nature of adult education at the sites of learning, research and publishing, another area of silence which continues to be reproduced in educational settings is the 'how'—the gendered ways of learning.

Do women and men have different ways of learning? Are their educational needs different? And if so, should we attempt to integrate both ways of knowing into the content of adult education? Will women's knowledge and educational history only become legitimized by entering male stream institutions and the public domain? These are more questions which need to be addressed by both feminists and adult educators in general.

Conclusion

With the emergence of adult education as an institution and its subsequent professionalization came an erosion of women's knowledge, as is evidenced by the absence of material on the Women's Institutes in the recorded history of adult education and its focus on agriculture and generic citizens. This professionalization has also resulted in a diminishing of women's power in a gendered educational institution and a lack of access to knowledge about women's educational experiences.

A feminist critique reveals that historical and contemporary research continues the underrepresentation of women as subjects, the centrality of topics relevant to men's lives, and the analysis of male experiences as the norm against which all experiences are known. Further, male control of what is legitimate and scholarly ensures that the specificity of women's experiences with adult education does not enter the public domain of published knowledge.

How can we ensure that the silences will not continue to be reproduced; that the new knowledge being developed on adult women as learners appears in the public domain (both journals and curricula) and that women's ways of learning and doing research aids the transformative process that Miles (1989) calls for?

One of the articles in the CASAE conference proceedings (Butterwick et al., 1990) offers a suggestion. The authors advise that we ask ourselves some questions about our own research and about that which we read:

1) Who is not accounted for in this research?
2) Who is not in the picture?

3) Whose voice is not being heard?
4) Are our methods providing ways to illuminate and include the experiences and understandings of those often excluded from research?
5) For whom is the knowledge being constructed?

By applying a feminist critique to adult education, this article is a step in the direction of answering the first three questions. Addressing all of the questions would ensure that the majority of students, that is, women would be included, accounted for and given a voice. Addressing the questions also implies that our research and knowledge would be constructed in a nongendered way, not only for other researchers or academics, but also for the women being educated and the practitioners who experience, on a daily basis, the actual process of educating adults. The gap between research and practice would be reduced; the silence of women's learning would be eliminated.

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1068

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PERSPECTIVES

STUDENT-CENTRED COURSES AND SOCIAL AWARENESS: CONTRARY EVIDENCE FROM UK WORKERS' EDUCATION[1]

Bruce Spencer
Athabasca University

Abstract

Can student-centred courses utilising experiential learning techniques automatically lead to students' greater social awareness or are students locked in to narrow immediate experiences and, in some cases, conditioned by external course structures outside of their control? This article explores these issues by means of an examination of recent developments in UK workers' education.

It argues for a pluralistic provision of experiential and structured courses to meet union training and educational requirements of workers. Broadly applied, this argument defends the use of traditional liberal adult education to support social awareness and social action.

Résumé

Est-ce que des cours centrés sur l'étudiant, ou sont employées des techniques d'apprentissage expérientielles, conduisent automatiquement à une plus large conscience sociale, ou est-ce que les étudiants se trouvent enfermés à l'intérieur de leurs expériences personnelles immédiates? Et ne seraient-ils pas, dans certains cas, conditionnés par des structures pédagogiques qui échappent à leur contrôle? Nous analysons ici ces dilemmes à la lumière des développements récents en études ouvrieres au Royaume-Uni.

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Notre argument favorise, pour satisfaire aux exigences pédagogiques, un mode pluraliste de cours, à la fois expérientiel et structuré. Sur un plan plus global, il favorise une pratique d'éducation permanente traditionnelle et libérale pour promouvoir la conscience et l'action sociales.

Student-centred courses with a student-determined content are often considered, following Freire, as the way to increased social awareness and social action.[1] Democratic participation in the classroom is held to lead to participatory democracy in society at large. But is this true in complex western society; will broader social awareness grow in an unstructured way from experiential learning? What happens if the course framework is determined institutionally and is state influenced, outside of student control; can student-centredness in the classroom overcome external control? Whatever the situation, can the student-centred curriculum act as a partition preventing students moving beyond basic education and training towards broader educational insights and greater social awareness?

These are complex issues which impact on adult, community and workers' education wherever it is practised. This article will explore these themes via an examination of UK provision of industrial studies for trade unionists. We shall look at what kind of educational support is available to workplace trade union representatives, in particular concentrating on the issues and arguments surrounding the Trades Union Congress (TUC) scheme of courses and will attempt to discover whether or not it meets the educational needs of these representatives and their organizations in the 1990s. This will lead into a debate around the organization and control, education and training, and the methods and content of TUC and other union courses before drawing some conclusions and comparisons with Canadian provision.

"Tool" or "awareness" courses?

Debates about the structure, content, objectives and impact of the TUC courses broke out after 1979 when a change in government coincided with a change in approach by the TUC Education Department. A number of worker educators, particularly within the Society of Industrial Tutors, whilst recognising the importance of the more technical aspects of skills training for working class organization and for the importance of issues of immediate and practical relevance to workers, also argued for a wider curriculum.[2] They felt that workers' education should address some of the broader issues raised in previous debates about the purpose of workers' education and that the prevailing political conditions warranted a rethink of TUC education beyond the focus on workplace problems or "tool" courses (the phrase is used in Canada to describe training courses for negotiators and representatives in union locals; in the UK context it can be applied to TUC shop steward and safety representative training courses). This is not to deny the need for skills-based or worker-centred education but to argue for a recognition that if this was all that was on offer it would be a limited education not directly encompassing a broader framework of social understanding. Obviously, there was much valuable work being undertaken and, within limitations, regardless of the formal content of the TUC programmes, the classroom provided opportunities for a variety of educational initiatives. However, it would be wrong to argue that all trade union education is necessarily achieving its objectives. Each segment of educational provision needs to be considered alongside other segments to see if the whole of what is being provided is actually matching the overall needs and requirements of the workers involved.

A number of tutors involved in the TUC scheme saw the changes, outlined below, as a further retreat by the TUC into skills and workplace based courses and away from a graded scheme beginning in the workplace and focused on skills development, but leading into more sustained study of the legal, political and economic context of trade unionism. Few examples exist of TUC Education Department staff engaging in extensive defence of these developments—indeed, many chose administrative means deliberately to close down debate about these changes.[3] But a model and defence of the TUC scheme has been presented in an unpublished Ph.D. dissertation by Glynn Powell.[4]

Although the TUC scheme is not the only industrial studies programme arranged for trade union students, it is the most extensive, and the TUC Education Department Reports and Powell's thesis concentrate on these ten/twelve day (and shorter) release courses. Firstly, Powell argues that TUC courses are independently organized by the trade union movement, and that in spite of being located with various educational providers the TUC has largely succeeded in establishing them as union courses addressing industrial relations issues from a trade union viewpoint.

Secondly, there is, the TUC would claim, no meaningful distinction between education and training and therefore the TUC skills-based scheme is simply regarded as an educational programme. This contention is supported by two further assertions, firstly, that the distinction between training and education is an academic debate of little value to a body such as the TUC and secondly, that in practice, the TUC courses are educational.[5]

Thirdly, Powell argues, the TUC model, including the delivery through educational providers, led the TUC Education Department on to organize a team of "TUC-briefed" tutors employed by these providers, and to prepare packs of TUC core material for use on TUC courses run by these tutors. This was deemed necessary to ensure a concentration on an independent "union" curriculum. This was needed, as it had already been well argued, in face of opposition to union courses from the more "incorporatist" (workers and employers should have the same goals) and "managerialist" (workers should support management in solving company problems) models of industrial education prevalent in many local colleges.

Fourthly, having established this base, in 1979 the TUC was ready for the next stage. This was to be away from the "follow-on course" model previously established, towards two-stage basic courses and a further extension of student-centred methods.[6] TUC courses were to be seen primarily as meetings of workers, with educationalists as facilitators, with the tutor as a member of the course, and with the classroom as a kind of campaign room-cum-workshop. This would mean the tutor would not have a "separate desk" and would not be seen as a "fountain of knowledge". More importantly, the course would set its own agenda and there would be no specific course content.[7]

This model, it was argued, would allow for real organizational problems and issues to be addressed and for industrial and political conclusions to be made from shared student experience and shared activity on the course. Workers would thus determine for themselves the social, political and economic solutions to problems collectively and democratically. This would counter passivity and the cult of leadership, so prevalent in labour movement organizations. Thus the model comes full circle to be a model of independent worker organization and independent worker education—judged by Powell to be the most suitable to support workplace trade unionism.[8]

Unfortunately, the Powell thesis is flawed by selective use and quotation of TUC documents both leading up to the establishment of the TUC scheme in 1964 and after. The origins of the scheme were at best contradictory with limited aims and a cramping, top-down structure for delivery.[9] Therefore, it is necessary to strengthen the model presented. In 1964 the TUC did reject arguments for a more open educational programme, based on greater regional autonomy and under closer lay scrutiny—via, for example, a national education conference. But nonetheless it can be argued that the 1964 scheme and subsequent developments did provide scope for TUC radicals. Some of those employed in the Education Department were able to fashion a scheme not only largely independent of employer influence but supportive of independent worker organization. This can be supported by the fact that some of the organizers for the National Council of Labour Colleges (NCLC) were employed as the new Regional Education Officers (REO's) and by recognising that those attracted to work in the TUC Educational Department were likely to include those who felt education and activity were linked.

Those supporting this TUC model would claim that it does deal with a number of key threats to an independent workers' education, one of which would be a managerialist perspective which would undermine independent separate trade union education. It would also be seen as dealing with the threat of a neutral, independent, professional expertise which could, it is argued by Powell, undermine workers' confidence by highlighting the importance of knowledge and also present issues in a "neutral" fashion but which actually can reflect the dominant ideology of the time.[10] Using this line of argument it can also be seen that the defence of academic freedom can also be seen as a threat to the development of worker controlled education, assuming worker control can be equated with TUC control. The supporters of this view would also claim that there is not a body of knowledge "out there" which is useful and desirable for trade unionists to study.[11] Traditional areas of knowledge and traditional methods of delivery of that knowledge are assumed to be a threat to the development of independent worker education and activity.

In order to look at some of these issues and arguments, particularly as they apply to the TUC scheme, I will consider a number of headings: organization, scope and content, and learning methods.

Organization

Outside individual trade union provision, the majority of courses targeted at workplace representatives have been organized through the TUC scheme. This scheme, still backed by a statutory right to paid release for training although for limited industrial relations purposes, is centrally determined both in terms of the range of courses available and course curriculum. It is essentially organized through a regional educational structure including an advisory body largely under the control of the TUC Regional Education Officer. The provision of courses is via the local colleges, polytechnics, Workers' Educational Association (WEA) or university departments involved in the scheme.[12] The overwhelming majority of the courses are provided in local education authority colleges, a number of which have been designated Trade Union Studies Centres (the TUC insists on at least two "full-time TUC-briefed tutors" and on designated rooms and resources, and in return the college is treated as the local centre with priority for running whatever courses are available). The TUC attempts to influence the teaching of courses by insisting on "one tutor per course", and by encouraging local authority college to develop "full-time TUC tutor" facilities within their college. It is understandable that the TUC should use publicly provided education; indeed, since it is the mass of working people who pay for these facilities the TUC has a right to claim some of these resources. But it remains the case that by financing its courses from a State grant—with conditions attached—and by providing the courses through local education authorities, some of which may not be sympathetic, it is jeopardising the independence of its education.[13]

Further it could be argued that employers and the State, particularly from 1963, have deliberately intervened via the TUC to use education to weaken the independence of shop steward organization. It also raises the question of how this provision can be regarded as independent in the old NCLC (or Powell) sense when it is mounted as part of State provision and financed uniquely by a direct State subsidy. Further evidence is provided by the TUC Education Committee's withdrawal, in the summer of 1991, of the new TUC "Working Women" booklet. A few passages offended the government and the TUC meekly complied with the government's insistence that it could not be used on government funded training courses.

The TUC and many providers appeared happy to accept the limiting nature of the release with its focus on courses directly relevant to the shop stewards' role in the bargaining structure and were prepared to justify this concentration in terms of directly meeting workers' felt needs. However, it is clear that, if anything, the Conservative government will seek to limit further unions' role in society and shop steward and workers' rights at work. The 1989 Employment Act included even more restrictions upon time off for workplace representatives—limiting it to the issues for which recognition has been granted.

Organizationally there are few links between the different sectors of trade union education. Few educational relationships exist between the TUC and the work of residential colleges for example. There is much duplication of the work between the TUC and its affiliates, particularly over introductory courses. Educators involved in the TUC scheme have no formal means of discussing with the TUC the shape and format of its education. Inevitably, in this situation the TUC is able to play off one educational body against another, which leads to insecurity within the providing organizations. The TUC Regional Committee—which might be seen as accountable to local trade unionists and local trades councils (labour councils)—has no decision-making role within TUC education. The TUC Regional Education Advisory Committee (REAC)—a less representative and accountable body than the TUC Regional Committee—may have some influence on regional developments but cannot determine the policy of the Regional Education Officer who is directly answerable to Congress House. The TUC has, of course, argued that it is answerable to its constituent unions but in reality there is very little critical and open discussion within the TUC education committee of the provision of the TUC nor indeed of what its relationship with the providers and individual unions should be. The Education Report is received at Annual Congress without controversy. All this should be contrasted with the original proposals for a unified education scheme put forward in 1925 and endorsed right up to 1963 by successive TUC Congresses for local committees and annual education conferences.[14]

Scope and content

Industrial studies for trade unionists is, in today's climate, essentially limited to trade union representatives—shop stewards, staff representatives, health and safety representatives and branch officers. There have been a number of attempts to develop membership education and attempts to target specific groups of workers who may or may not be representatives—for example, women members or black workers. The TUC has provided a number of limited campaign workshops addressing political and economic questions, but the large bulk of its provision derives directly from its restricted conception of the role of the union representative (discussed more fully below). The potential role that shop stewards could play as representatives on higher union bodies or inter-union bodies and delegates to political organizations is largely ignored in favour of the workplace representative role with a concentration on limited negotiation and bargaining. Whilst many engaged in the TUC scheme would argue that they do introduce historical, political, and economic perspectives within their work, it really is stretching the point to argue that the current focus on workplace problem-solving automatically leads to a serious consideration of broader conceptions. A focus on these other issues would require some serious and sustained study of the kind undertaken in the university extramural and adult residential college courses.

From case studies of the experience of trade unionists at work, it is clear that trade union education does need to address issues of organization and bargaining in the workplace. But it is also clear that if such issues are to be successfully contested, in the end those workplace organizations need to link up both horizontally and vertically, externally and within their own union to address broader economic and political issues. Therefore, leaving aside the compelling argument for a liberal educational approach, trade union education needs to deal with the immediate needs of workers and also with the broader political and economic context within which workers are operating. To argue that trade union education is only giving workers what they want is to accept the very limiting nature of what has been identified as being a weakness within British trade unionism—its limiting focus of a union consciousness within the workplace.

Most British workers' education, therefore, reflects the majority politics of the British Labour Party and trade union movement. It does not set out to challenge the hegemony of capitalist society to replace it by an alternative socialist hegemony. This is not surprising: but it could perhaps be expected to endorse a liberal adult education approach which would offer diverse solutions and a broader analytical context to political and economic problems. Of course, the dynamic interaction of students and tutors in the classroom can lead to a wider content than that embodied in the formal curriculum, but the TUC has tended to police provision to ensure that tutors and courses stick to the established TUC programme.[15] The position has been commented on by Frank Cosgrove, the education officer of Britain's largest union, the Transport and General Workers (TGWU):

> Subject matter has tended to be limited to what can be called the non-political or non-controversial aspects of trade unionism. By far the greatest amount of TUC and individual trade union courses concern themselves with what is essential training. Although the principles of trade unionism and their wider questions of trade unionism are more often than not included in such courses, this is a secondary aspect, often slipped in by the tutor.[16]

Learning methods

The TUC model dismisses the idea that there may be a tradition of liberal adult educational approaches for dealing with the problem of the interface of experience and knowledge and simply passes over the discussion in liberal adult education of how this can be achieved. It therefore also tends to be exclusive in the sense that it does not acknowledge that there could be a variety of methods and approaches that could achieve both workplace problem-solving in parts of the curriculum with explorations of knowledge in other areas. The Freirian concept argued in "Pedagogy of the Oppressed",[17] for an education based on experience as a way of liberating people educationally and politically, is asserted at the expense of any other alternatives, which are all seen as contributing to oppression. One example of an alternative would be to explore the parameters of a particular problem and, having done that, perhaps in a more traditional pedagogical manner, to then stop a tutor-led delivery and break into groups to explore the implications of the argument and maybe also to look at steps to be taken to deal with it.[18] The present TUC programme also locks students into a perpetual round of basic workplace problem-solving courses, not opening out into sustained study of areas of knowledge which could deepen insights and extend understandings.[19]

The proponents of the TUC/Powell model argue against the usefulness of expertise and/or having experts brought in to courses to discuss their interpretation of events or of an area of knowledge. This is held not to be "learning" but passively and disarmingly confronting students with "their betters".[20] It is not acknowledged that it could be useful especially to have (in some cases openly hostile) views to test against those of the students. The idea that nothing can be learned and acted on in these situations is constantly contradicted by experience. An interesting example was recently provided by Alan Grant, the TUC National Education Director. He was discussing a seminar organized for full-time officers on changes at work, particularly of management approaches to organizational problems. One railway official came up to him afterwards and said, "I have just realised we have not really been addressing any of these questions...we are not prepared at all for the shift to local bargaining etc."[21] What this anecdote illustrated—apart from Alan Grant's point about how officials can sometimes be out of touch—was that unless insights, understandings and opinion outside people's direct experience are brought into the classroom then the students are missing areas of useful knowledge which may help them look again at their experience and force them to re-evaluate.

At this point it might be useful to summarize my conclusions in relation to the "TUC/Powell model". A questioning of the arguments that the TUC courses do in fact provide independent workers' education, which was overlooked in Powell's thesis, has been provided in a detailed article by John McIlroy.[22] In his closely argued account of post-war TUC provision McIlroy points out that although TUC courses are held to be accountable to the TUC at Congress House, the use of the State grant and the legal limitation to release and use of local authority educational facilities have all ensured that the TUC scheme operates within these constraints. The range and scope of the courses has had to be compatible with these legal, financial and organizational limitations. Whilst the courses may well be correctly regarded as trade union courses addressing collective bargaining issues primarily from a trade union viewpoint, very rarely do they broaden out consciously to explore the social and economic contexts within which trade unions exist and operate.[23]

Secondly, he establishes that the TUC quite openly and deliberately set out to provide a training focus for its courses. The TUC is shown to have been under no illusion about the distinction between education and training—and the TUC consciously chose training and not education. The objective was clearly to provide a skills-based training focus for TUC courses, intended to provide better lay trade union functionaries and more effective and responsible workplace bargaining.

Thirdly, although it was understandable that the TUC should wish to create a team of "TUC-briefed" tutors and a pack of core TUC material in order to counter the managerialist perspectives of many of the educational providers it must be recognised that these measures also provided the TUC with control. The insistence that only "briefed tutors" could teach the courses, and the provision of well produced core material, helped to ensure a greater influence over what was happening in the classroom. The TUC, by concentrating provision in local colleges, also attempted to ensure a technical skills approach to training rather than the more open critical perspectives that may have been found in University extra-mural departments or the Workers Educational Association.[24]

Fourthly, McIlroy has documented how in 1979 the TUC deliberately chose to move away from the introductory course/follow-on course model towards a two-stage introductory course with a focus only on workplace issues. The TUC had a choice: it could have tried to establish a broader curriculum for second stage courses but in pursuing a workplace, problem-solving, approach it avoided both a conflict with government over the uses of State grant, and avoided a debate within the TUC General Council over any conflict between TUC education provision and "new realist" perspectives of the Council. The shift to seeing courses primarily as meetings of workers, and educators as primarily facilitators, provided a useful cover, a veneer of workers' choice, which avoided having to use the TUC education service directly to confront the political and economic issues raised by Thatcherism.

In conclusion, then, rather than seeing TUC education—as Powell does—as primarily concerned with actively supporting workplace representatives and workplace democracy aimed at simply increasing activity amongst the membership, McIlroy recognises that the TUC programme could be characterised as consciously limiting those stewards to workplace perspectives and collective bargaining procedures. He comments:

> ...[the TUC] has, as we have shown, evolved its own hard educational philosophy and organization. Unable or unwilling to employ its own tutorial staff, faced with a situation where it felt unable or unwilling to develop sufficient resources and mobilise public opinion to establish schools of trade union studies, yet lacking faith in the orientations and philosophy of the education institutions in which it has lodged courses, it embarked on a process of neo-colonialisation attempting to turn areas of those institutions to its own ends.[25]

Another problem with the TUC/Powell approach is that there have been no serious attempts to research the impact of trade union education. If, as Powell insists, the value of these courses is that they support democratic activity in workers' organizations then the test of how useful the education is, is empirical not theoretical. His own study did not evaluate critically his own experience nor did it include any survey of his own or look seriously at what surveys had been done. Admittedly, surveys of the impact of education are bound to be problematic with many undertaken as evaluative exercises by tutors involved. They can be self-fulfilling to a large extent. Those who have tried to draw conclusions from survey material have not always taken account of the more contradictory evidence that is available.[26] But there is survey material available from which some tentative judgement can be made and this evidence casts doubt on TUC claims for the efficacy of their model above all others. This survey material points to the need for a layered provision to be made available for trade union students, beginning with trade unionists' experience, but also going beyond the workplace to directly address the political, legal, economic and social context of trade unionism.[27]

Comparison with Canadian Provision

There are a number of significant differences between the provision offered by the TUC and that offered by the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) reflecting the different political and organizational context of Canadian union education. The grant received by the CLC from the Federal government is for the promotion of labour education. The assumption that it will result in "improved" labour relations is much the same as the origins of the UK grant but it has not been restricted to "labour relations" purposes, that is relations with the employer, but has also been used to fund courses aimed at improving union organization per se. The grant can also be used to support labour history or social and political change courses, in which a variety of perspectives are addressed. In many cases it is the provincial federations of labour which promote the courses and then seek CLC support, a structure which reflects the political geography of Canada and provides opportunities for worker educators to build trust provincially. In the past there have been some disagreements between worker educators and the Canadian labour movement, for example, in the 1970's in Nova Scotia, particularly over the programmes at the Atlantic Region Labour Education College, but these have left few scars and are minor by comparison with disagreements in the UK.[28]

The CLC has to account for the monies spent and bid for new money; it could face political interference and strings could be attached. To date there have been few examples of state interference, and the grant given is more akin to the situation in Sweden (no strings attached) than the UK, although the Canadian labour movement should not become complacent. There are some at the CLC who see the TUC programme as a model and would like to see a shift of resources to more workplace, problem-based, courses and a break with broader "awareness" courses. However, the continuation of the CLC's own educationally demanding eight week residential Labour College ensures that will not happen easily.

Notes

1. For a well-argued case along similar lines see T. Pyrch, "Participatory Action Research as a Way of Life: A Personal Account," *The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education* IV, 2 (November 1990):47-62.

2. C. Edwards et al., "Student-Centred Learning and Trade Union Education: A Preliminary Examination," *The Industrial Tutor* 3, 8 (1983):45-54; J. Brown et al., "Fundamental Questions About Student-Centred Learning," *Trade Union Studies Journal*

(Spring 1983):4-6; J. McIlroy, "TUC Stage 2: An Opportunity to Change Course," *The Industrial Tutor* 3, 6 (1982):67-71.

3. D. Gowan, "TUC Course Development: The Tasks Ahead," *Trade Union Studies Journal* (Spring 1980):10-12; "Student-Centred Learning Revisited," *Trade Union Studies Journal* (Winter 1982):3-5. These articles did not debate the issues but stated the TUC position.

4. G. Powell, "Ideology, Industrial Relations and Trade Union Organisation." Ph.D. diss., University of Manchester, 1987. This is largely written as a reassertion of the TUC position which ignores much of the literature critical of the case put forward. The most thorough discussion of the development of the TUC scheme was in J. McIlroy, "Adult Education and the Role of the Client—The TUC Education Scheme 1929-80," *Studies in the Education of Adults*, 17, 1 (1985):35-58.

Powell was not the only commentator to refuse to engage with McIlroy's analysis; an article in the same journal (edited by J.S. Marriott) just a year later completely ignored McIlroy's carefully referenced discourse: K. Mackie, "Trade Union Education in the United Kingdom: The Background to the Current System of Provision," *Studies in the Education of Adults* 18, 2 (1986):91-109.

5. TUC, *Review of the TUC's Education Service, General Council Report*, 1987.

6. Powell, "Ideology, Industrial Relations and Trade Union Organisation." Ph.D. diss., University of Manchester, 1987, 343-344; Gowan, "TUC Course Development" *Trade Union Studies Journal* (Spring 1980):10-12.

7. Powell, "Ideology, Industrial Relations" (1987):347-349.

8. *Ibid.*, 349. "...the students' course work would spill over into trade union activity because the course would be dealing with the real problems found in the workplace; as identified by the members of the course in conjunction with discussions with union members." And *Ibid.*, 35, "The importance of the transferability of the individual skills, learned in such discussions; and the possibility of transferring such methods to other areas of collective activity—working class meetings of all kinds—is yet to be developed but the potential is clearly obvious."

9. T. Smith, "Trade Union Education: Its Past and Future," *Industrial Relations Journal* 15, 2 (1984):20-33. McIlroy, "Adult Education and the Role of the Client." It could be argued this point was accepted by Powell, "Ideology, Industrial Relations," 327, "the TUC had little choice but to take the academics and the professionals on in ideological battle."

10. Powell, *Ibid.*, 302-317, characterises trade union education as being against professionalism, and against academic independence, *Ibid.*, 317-345, without recognising the value of academic independence from the TUC or how a committed "professional" tutor could be valuable to workers' representatives and their organization.

11. His view that knowledge could undermine workers' confidence was shared by other TUC tutors, for example C. Baker, "Health and Safety: Agenda for Change," *Trade Union Studies Journal*. (Winter 1984):6-8.

12. The UK adult education framework is outlined in B. Spencer and J. McIlroy, "British University Adult Education in Context: Lessons for Canada?" *Canadian Journal of University Continuing Education* 17, 2 (1991):21-40.

13. An alternative would be to provide the courses directly using the union's own resources. However, British unions depend upon their members' dues which, as a proportion of the average earnings, have been static or declining for decades and are amongst the lowest in Europe. Therefore, if unions regard a fully independent education service as crucial they need to address the problem of very low fee income. At the moment, given the problems of declining membership and inter-union rivalry, there is certainly no political will amongst unions to tackle this issue.

14. These early debates were ignored in Powell's thesis—for a discussion see McIlroy, "Adult Education and the Role of the Client," (1985).
15. *Ibid.*
16. F. Cosgrove, "Re-Shaping Trade Union Education: TGWU Proposals for Government Support," *The Industrial Tutor* 3, 8 (1983):62-67.
17. P. Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (London: Penguin, 1972). For an interesting assessment of Freire's pedagogy see F. Youngman, *Adult Education and Socialist Pedagogy* (London: Croom Helm, 1986):Chapter 5, 123-145.
18. B. Spencer, "Collective Bargaining and the Rights at Work Courses," *Industrial Tutor* 3, 9 (1984):52-57.
19. See note 10 above. This argument is supported by Freire *Pedagogy* (1972) "banking education minimises students creative powers," 47.
20. The TUC has campaigned against longer "certificate" courses—questioning the distribution of leaflets on TUC courses explaining these courses, and questioning tutors who set them up and run them. This position should change under Alan Grant's leadership. It should also be noted that some TUC REO's took an independent stance on this issue—John Connell and Jim Mowatt.
21. A. Grant speaking at the SIT Annual Conference, September 1989. A. Grant, "Trade Union Education: A TUC Perspective," *Industrial Tutor* 5, 1 (1990):9-21.
22. McIlroy, "Adult Education and the Role of the Client," (1985).
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.* The TUC used briefings to control who would teach what and where, putting briefed tutors forward for part-time work and full-time posts and refusing briefings to tutors who would not toe the TUC line. See M. Turnbull, Letter to *Times Higher Education Supplement*, 5 July 1984, p. 16.
25. McIlroy, "Adult Education and the Role of the Client," (1985).
26. P. Mahon and J. Sterling, "I Can Do That: The Impact of Trade Union Education," *Industrial Tutor* 4, 7 (1988):54-60 and TUC, *Review of the TUC's Education Service* (1987) are examples of selective review of the evidence—the TUC did not discuss the implications of their finding that stewards wanted to know more about the law, instead they reiterated their commitment to methods as content.
27. G. Keithley, "Industrial Relations Training for Shop Stewards—Workplace Perceptions of its Objectives, Impact and Consequences," Ph.D. diss., University of Durham, 1983. T. Smith, "Trade Union Education: Its Past and Future," *Industrial Relations Journal* 5, 2 (1984):20-33. J. Kelly and C. Grooms, "TUC Basic Courses: Participants' Views," *Industrial Tutor* 4, 3 (1986):49-56. B. Spencer, "Educational Methods and Student Needs," *Industrial Tutor* 4, 5 (1987)67-73:. See also the published reports on the *Transport and General Workers' Union Distance Learning Courses*. J. Fisher and B. Camfield, "Missing Link in Trade Union Education?" *Industrial Tutor* 4, 4 (1986):30-36. J. Sterling, T. Nesbit, and D. Miller, "Developing Distance Learning—the TGWU Region 8 Experience," *Industrial Tutor* 4, 4 (1986):37-43. J. McIlroy, "Back to the Future," *Adults Learning* 1, 3 (1989):73-75. B. Spencer, "Distance Education in British Trade Unions: Some Preliminary Results," *Research in Distance Education* (January 1991):6-7.
28. Comments based on author's conversations with Rick Williams and Anne Bishop, Halifax (November 1991).

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BOOK REVIEWS/RECENSIONS

THE MAKING OF AN ADULT EDUCATOR

Malcolm Knowles. 1989. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass

> And there goes Channing
> With his bland, superior look,
> Cold as a moonbeam
> On a frozen brook.

This is the stereotype that adherents of Unitarianism like William Ellery Channing caused to be pinned on their fellow parishioners. Malcolm Knowles, a kinder, more gentle Unitarian, wants to be remembered as breaking that stereotype. In his autobiography, *The Making of an Adult Educator*, Knowles describes how he spent his life as a warm and human practitioner and exponent of adult education who made friends of his graduate students in institutions of higher education, institutions that frowned on such expressions of humanity. He also uses his autobiography to continue his long-standing advocacy of a prescribed adult education technology (andragogy) and his more recent promotion of an institutionalization of what has historically been a pluralistic adult education. In so doing, Knowles reverts to the colder Channing stereotype, pointing up the mixed legacy he will be bequeathing the field of adult education.

Malcolm Knowles wants people to remember him as an authentic person in his human relationships. This is probably the most important of his contributions to adult education everywhere, including academe. It is with some pride that he proclaims, "...I have not fallen off the authenticity wagon many times since" (p. 35) fighting off a backsliding early in his professional career. Clearly, his work with graduate students of adult education has been important. All things considered, Malcolm judges that:

> ...my most satisfying contribution has been in facilitating the development of several hundred students who worked

> with me on their degrees in adult education at Boston University, North Carolina State University, Nova University, the Union Graduate School, and the Fielding Institute (p. 100).

These are the people who will want this book in their libraries. It will occupy a respected place next to the several other Knowlesian tomes they relied on during their post-graduate experience with the charismatic Malcolm. This will be another of his books published after mandatory retirement that these people will want on their shelves. The books written after retirement already outnumber those written before retirement. In this most recent effort, they will discover that Knowles, the former YMCA secretary, had to struggle to maintain his student-centeredness in the university.

Advice: Don't Be Yourself; Be a Professor

When Knowles received his doctorate from the University of Chicago in 1960 and accepted an appointment to head the new graduate program at Boston University, he also received some advice on how to comport himself. One of his University of Chicago mentors urged him "to become dignified, formal, reserved, and authoritative" (p. 33) as a university professor and program administrator. "You can't go around with your arms around students and hugging them like YMCA secretaries and association executives do" (p. 18), Malcolm was told. Knowles confesses that:

> ...during my first year at Boston University I tried playing this role, and I was miserable. I felt phony. My self-concept was that of a warm, tender, loving, student-centered person rather than a stuffy professor. At the end of the year I toyed with the idea of resigning and going back into voluntary association administration, where I could be natural. But I decided to stay a second year and see what I could get away with by being myself (p. 33).

Knowles could have written much about what he was able to "get away with" and what he was not able to "get away with". But he doesn't consider angst and struggle, *Sturm und Drang*, as important. It's just too negative for a positive and loving fellow like Malcolm. So we hear nothing of his fight to remain at Boston University despite an administration that believed he was "getting away with" far too much.

Not a word about giving up that fight, deserting his supporters, and fleeing to what seemed like a more harmonious, more positive situation at North Carolina State University.

It could be helpful to prospective professors of adult education to hear his view of the cost of maintaining his authenticity in so alien and alienating an environment as a university where arrogance, bullying, and political gamesmanship are as indigenous as on the grade school playground. The only other institution so similar to the university as the playground, where fraternal collusion is provided the lackeys and mouse farts and eternal enmity is accorded the authentic independent, is organized crime.

But we hear nothing about politics, about struggle, about "the negative" from Malcolm. Except he admits, and this is remarkable for the positive thinking Malcolm Knowles, "...I am just not good at political action" (p. 146).

The Other Side of Malcolm Knowles

Society should be grateful that he is not, for political action would be necessary to implement the ideas emanating from the cold, superior, moonbeam side of the dual-faceted Malcolm Knowles. Knowles the intellectual tends to negate Knowles the warm and human practitioner and advocate of adult education. Knowles the intellectual lacks the depth and sensitivity of Knowles the believer in good human relations.

Knowles looks forward with excitement, as is his wont in all areas, to "the not-too-distant future" when "we will have chemicals available to enhance memory, speed up the learning process, induce self-directedness, increase motivation, and heavens knows what else" (p. 129). He is positive and uncritical of this possibility, even apparently unsuspecting of any dangers in such thinking. He just rubs his hands in anticipation, seeing no contradiction in the concept of chemically-induced "self-directedness".

Malcolm joyously pronounces he has become convinced "that most educational services will be delivered electronically within another couple of decades." Of course, they will be "congruent with the andragogical model" (p. 129). How so? How can moonbeam distance education be congruent with warm and fuzzy andragogy? Not to worry. Think positively. It will work out in practice however intellectually incompatible distance education may be with the kind of in-person adult education professed by Knowles.

These examples of intellectual superficiality are merely brief predictions he makes for the future, but they indicate the non-reflective nature of the man. How can he wax rhapsodic about potential for "chemicals for learning" in a drug abusing culture? How can he promote distance education without reflecting on the importance of direct person-to-person contact? How can he advocate either of these concepts without reflecting on who will control the situation? Who decides that self-directed learning will be "induced"? Who will control and provide access to knowledge through distance education? Will the potential for profits result in a phasing out of the public library, as that same potential has resulted in the phasing out of the small farmer in favor of big monopolistic enterprises? Not to worry. Be positive. It will all work out.

Exponent of the Gimmick

Knowles is a pursuer and promoter of the gimmick. Drug-assisted learning, distance education, and competency-based adult education are among the latest fads, so Malcolm's positive thinking salivates over them. Two gimmicks Knowles claims as his own, however, he promotes extensively in this autobiography. They are his technology of andragogy, for which his advocacy is well known, and a systematized structuring of adult education into something he terms a Lifelong Learning Resource System (LLRS).

Both his andragogy and his LLRS are gimmicks of considerable proportions. Elsewhere I have critiqued andragogy (see *Vitae Scholasticae*, 8(1) Spring 1989: 217-233). Suffice it to say that advocacy of a one-size-fits-all "technology of adult education" is a somewhat incongruous act for one claiming his place in history as a warm, human practitioner-theorist. Perhaps the ultimate irony is his positioning of himself as a proponent of replacing the rigidity of schools with a more systematized, thus more rigid, adult education. Knowles continues on, impervious to any recognition of intellectual inconsistency. His practice is like the hot springs, but his theory is reminiscent of Channing's frozen brook.

Malcolm would have us charge forward into the 21st century like the Light Brigade of the 19th, trading lance and sabre for his andragogy and his Lifelong Learning Resource System. He sees them as weapons to deal with what he calls the "accelerating pace of change" and the "quickening rate of obsolescence of human beings" (p. 131). His technology of andragogy and his resource system are to be the means by which the person of the future will become competent to adjust to this change. And Malcolm clearly means for people to adjust to the change, not resist it or seek to redirect it.

Knowlesian or Orwellian?

The Lifelong Learning Resource System, managed by professional adult educators steeped in andragogy, would provide satellite centers "within walking distance of every citizen...who would enter the satellite center nearest...home, starting perhaps at age four or five and returning periodically for the rest of...life" (p. 133). The life of Knowles's lucky citizen of the future would be developed by the "educational diagnostician" who would help determine competencies needed at various stages of such life roles as learner, self, friend, global citizen, family member, worker, leisure time user, etc. (This from a person who doesn't like to play roles because he wants to be authentic.) Then, it's on to the "educational planning consultant" who will help work out plans for meeting the diagnosed needs for competencies. Once these competencies are achieved, it's back to the diagnostician for determining the next level of required role competencies.

Knowles calls this a "spiral" of learning projects (p. 135). Analysts like Ivan Illich would interpret the logical outcome of Knowles's vision as "Imprisoned in the Global Classroom". But Knowles is unimpressed with Illich whom he considers, at best, negative. Knowles is so "positive" and upbeat that he can allow his advocacy to degenerate into Babbitt-like tub-thumping for a potentially dehumanizing form of adult education and be totally blind to what he is doing.

His autobiography reprises his current thinking and provides a 36 page chronological list with personal annotations of his 197 articles written over 60 years. A reading of a judiciously selected set of these articles, combined with a review of his books, could prove instructive to students of the history of adult education. Such a reading could show the level of quality of thought sufficient to propel one to the forefront of academic leadership in adult education in the latter half of the 20th century.

Knowles certainly reflected his times. He has been to adult education what the TV evangelists have been to Christianity during the same period. Knowles is a marvellous enthusiast. His charisma can bring joy and understanding and a sense of purpose to people's lives. But when he tackles things intellectual and philosophical, he becomes as dangerous to adult education as the TV preachers are to Christianity. To the extent that he can convince people to adopt his over-simplifications, his gimmicks, and his uncritical recommendations for "improving" adult education, to that extent will he have negated all his committed work as a practitioner and tarnished the warm, humane image he seeks to portray for himself in his autobiography. Instead of accepting his vision of himself as the kinder, gentler Unitarian, it will have to be said:

And there went Knowles
Being warm but promoting chill,
Another moonbeam
Cast from Beacon Hill.

Robert A. Carlson
University of Saskatchewan

FOSTERING CRITICAL REFLECTION IN ADULTHOOD: A GUIDE TO TRANSFORMATIVE AND EMANCIPATORY LEARNING

Jack Mezirow. 1990. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass

At the publishers' exhibit at a national adult education conference in 1990 (the year this book was published), a long-time Canadian adult educator told me this was the most worthwhile book there. When asked why, this adult educator agreed with several U.S. graduate students who are neophytes to the field of adult education: the book was both useful to them as practitioners interested in enlarging their repertoire of approaches to use with adults and conceptually provocative to them in its call for dialogue about the centrality of critical reflection and the need for transformative learning.

In the "Preface", Mezirow states the book was "meant to be a resource for educators, counselors, advisors, psychologists, and trainers who are interested in helping adults identify the frames of reference and structures of assumptions that influence the way they think, decide, feel, and act on their experience" (p. xiv). He adds that many chapters will be useful to "adult learners who want to gain greater insight into themselves" (p. xv).

The reader not familiar with Mezirow's previous work and/or not particularly interested in the grounding theoretical framework could skip the introductory chapter, scan the table of contents, and benefit from delving into a rich sample of the 16 approaches toward transformative learning contributed by the 17 authors who work in education, religion, philosophy, psychoanalysis, developmental psychology, and psychiatry. Approaches offered range from problem reformulation models such as Victoria Marsick's account of the Management Institute (MiL) of Sweden's action learning program and John Peters' use of Action-Reason-Thematic Technique (ARTT) with underschooled adults to biographical tools such as journals as contributed by Joseph Lukinsky and educational biographies as contributed by Pierre Dominice.

Readers familiar with Mezirow's longterm interest in the meanings adults give to their experiences will recognize his use of the epistemological and phenomenological traditions, his continued preoccupation with the psychological domain, as well as his reintegration of Habermas with a more central focus on communication theory. Especially in the introductory chapter, Mezirow shares his evolving sense of the connections between perspective transformation and critical reflection and their relationships with concepts such as emancipatory education and transformative learning.

Based on Mezirow's interest in communicative competence, the reader might expect clear communication so this book can be the practical and useful collection of approaches (p. xx) it is meant to be. Mezirow's style, though, is reminiscent of Carol Gilligan's *In a Different Voice*. The reader enters into an evolving dialogue with the author which is at points exhilarating and at other points repetitious and circular. Too little attention is given to the relationships between concepts. For example, in the "Preface" Mezirow first defines transformative learning as the "process of learning through critical self-reflection" (p. xvi) and then later in the concluding chapter states "Transcendent learning is learned through critical reflection" (p. 370). The reader is given little help in making sense of the relationships between these types of learning.

There is ambiguity in the way terms such as learning are conceptualized. At one point Mezirow states that the use of the approaches is context dependent (p. xviii). Mezirow later seems to contradict this need to contextualize with his use of generalizations such as "Transformative learning for emancipatory education is the business of all adult educators" (p. 357) and "...we [adult educators] do all have a professional obligation to become skilled in the strategies and tactics of social action education and to share this expertise where we can with those with whom we have a sense of solidarity" (p. 358). While Mezirow might like to prescribe these roles as suitable ones for adult educators, clearly, all adult educators, especially those in training for business and industry, do not currently view transformative learning for emancipatory education or social action skills and strategies as part of their business. Further, these generalizations do little to substantiate his argument for a focus on transformative learning and emancipatory education.

Throughout the book, the contributors accomplish their assigned task—to present and analyze approaches which could build critical reflection toward transformative learning—with various degrees of success. Some of the contributors such as David Deshler with metaphor analysis and conceptual mapping; Stephen Brookfield with critical incident analysis and television analysis; and Philip Candy with repertory grids clearly state their underlying assumptions as well as their views of the relationships with Mezirow's theoretical framework.

Brookfield, for example, suggests that educators become "phenomenological detectives" (p. 180) and trained, sensitive "psychological and cultural demolition experts" (p. 178) who help students develop critical thinking skills by modeling the approach. He urges caution to educators who "present themselves as critically sophisticated gurus who have come to release learners from the chains of their distorted meaning perspectives" (p. 181).

Other authors such as Thomas Heaney and Aimee Horton with reflective engagement resulting from the conscientization of Chicago Housing Authority development residents; Mechthild Hart with consciousness raising and feminist education; and William Bean Kennedy with ideology analysis of breakthrough incidents with special focus on racism, sexism and classism offer ways to address underlying dynamics of power imbalances resulting from hierarchical social structures such as schools. These authors contribute much needed access to sociocultural and social change perspectives.

While Mezirow is clearly supportive of what he calls social action education, he seems unable to recognize the very real constraints and dilemmas experienced both by students and facilitators of transformative learning attempts. In the concluding chapter, he states "It [the classroom] allows adults a temporary respite from the pressures of action and convention to experiment with reflection on all aspects of their lives" (p. 369). The reader who has experienced a very different reality in schooling can look to contributors such as Hart to draw out the very real barriers to critical reflection toward transformative learning and emancipatory education.

In the concluding chapter, Mezirow acknowledges the contributors' potential disagreement with his approach but focuses on his own ideas in relating the diverse collection of approaches and ideologies. Also in this chapter, he highlights other approaches toward emancipatory education—Argyris and Schon's model of interpersonal communication, Shor and Freire's "dialogic method of teaching", and Brookfield's discussion of strategies such as assumptions analysis and options thinking.

A desirable addition to this book would have been an expansion of the diversity of perspectives with colleagues from other cultures with foci such as the somatic and the spiritual. Also useful would have been a dialogue among the contributors regarding issues such as the appropriate ways to address tensions between the private and the public, the personal and the professional; the ethics of helpers and experts provoking an unease (p. 266) as a catalyst toward transformative learning; and the need for interaction with others and as yet unknown parts of the self as a balancing tool against distorted meaning perspectives. As it is, the book provokes critical reflection on previous ways of viewing learning and education.

L.N. Karlovic
Western Washington University

SOMETHING IN MY MIND BESIDES THE EVERYDAY: WOMEN AND LITERACY

Jenny Horsman. 1991. Toronto: Women's Press

This book is the first full-length study of women and literacy in Canada. The author focuses on the everyday lives of women—and the ways in which women yearn to move beyond the constraints inherent in those lives. She demonstrates how the social construction of "illiteracy" has particular meaning and implications for women who work in literacy as students and for women who work in literacy as volunteers and paid program staff:

> If we are to challenge the myths of illiteracy, we need studies which start from the standpoint of the women who are labelled "illiterate" or "silent". We need to listen to women's own account of their lives. Only in this way can we hope to create programs for women that will meet their needs and enable them to challenge the status quo. (p. 15)

Horsman's critique of the labels "illiterate" and "silent" allows us to focus on current academic theorizing around "women's ways of knowing" that accepts and builds on the construction of "silent" women as passive, isolated and unable to understand their own reality.

Instead of unquestioningly accepting an account of women written by privileged men and women, Horsman insists that researchers listen to women from a perspective that includes in its sightlines the material circumstances of their everyday lives. Women who do not have access to "the power of voice" within the research context must be allowed to speak from within their own context. Instead of being constructed as "stupid", because of their failure to "know" and articulate answers to research questions, they can be discovered as survivors who have an acute, sometimes contradictory, insight into the social organization of their lives.

In 1986, Horsman talked with 23 women in a rural county of Nova Scotia about their experience as students in adult literacy, academic upgrading and training programs. She also talked with ten women who worked as volunteer one-to-one tutors, paid upgrading and training instructors, and social service agency counsellors. Women with limited formal education (there are 44,000 in Nova Scotia) are restricted to a narrow range of low-paid, often part-time, physically demanding work in factories, restaurants and motels. In 1981, there were 1,215 single-parent families in this county with an average income of $11,000. Provincial family benefits for a single mother came to $8,100., municipal welfare was $5,220. There was subsidized childcare space for 24 children.

Government data show that 98 percent of the county population identify English as their first language. Primarily of British origin, the residents of the county also include three small Black communities within the county town and one Micmac community with approximately 500 residents. Of the 23 program participants Horsman interviewed, however, 22 were white:

> The separation of the Black and Micmac communities from the white community meant that few Black or Native students were involved in the education programs I located, so I was only able to identify the one mixed-race participant whom I interviewed. Although it was not my intention, it is clear that I have carried out a study of white women in the county with limited literacy skills. (p. 20)

All the direct service workers that she interviewed were also white, many of them older women who had been divorced and who had entered the paid workforce as single mothers. In her work, Horsman identifies the social location of students and direct service workers. She also explores the social location of tutors and trainers, and her own social location as researcher. Each woman is seen to be both constructed by and actively constructing her own reality—often in contradictory, always in complex, ways.

Horsman refuses two assumptions she could use to explore women's lives. First, she rejects the perspective that women re-act solely as victims of either institutional power relations and subjective false consciousness. Second, she rejects the perspective that women who have limited literacy skills are "other" than those who function through literacy. She insists that we consider the ways in which both women students and women volunteers or paid staff enter into and resist dominant discourse that constructs some women as "functional" and others as "dysfunctional".

> These women have endured many oppressions and yet continue to be strong, functioning competently in the midst of problems that would perhaps defeat many of those who judge them incompetent and unable to function. They face the world with a self-deprecating humour and an enduring hope that they can improve their lives or their children's lives. Listening to their words forces us to question many of the persistent myths about the "illiterate" and the education programs they "need" (p. 24).

Understanding that her critical feminist perspective is as contextualized as the often idealized liberal humanist perspective of the women students, Horsman acknowledges their interpretations of their lives and opportunities as equally complex as her own. She recognizes that "...dreams of change can tie women firmly into the dominant discourse, but they also have the potential to be subversive, a site of resistance" (p. 217). More unusually, perhaps, Horsman demonstrates her respect for the position of women volunteers and paid staff whose work is often accomplished through a charity or social work model that embeds conservative functionalist perspectives of literacy within standardized curriculums and government-defined training programs.

She also challenges these women's understanding of literacy, distinguishing between the functional approach that sees literacy training as allowing women to complete particular tasks, the humanistic approach that sees literacy education as the opportunity for individual woman to create a better life and the social context approach to literacy education that "views illiteracy as a reflection of structural and political realities" (p. 127) often reflected in institutionalized racism and poverty.

Horsman shows how most of the women who carry the label of "illiterate" left school because of their perceived responsibility for others. After the age of 12, they had to care for their parents or siblings. After becoming pregnant, they had to care for their child. After marriage they had to care for their husband. After going on welfare, they had to care for the concerns of the state. They had to struggle with conventional beliefs around being a good daughter and sister, a good mother, a good wife, a good citizen. They had to confront the contradiction that they needed more education in order to fulfill both social and state requirements for these roles. Yet by getting more education, they threatened the balance of power in the family and began to question the role of the state in their lives.

The tension between their responsibility for others and their responsibility towards themselves is a material, not an ideological, issue for the women. Their inability to act independently leaves them open to abuse. Yet, despite all the odds, the women fight the isolation by resisting their tutors and teachers and insisting on a social context for their literacy work. They resist the passive and active violence of their partners' responses and insist on their right to learn. They resist the drudgery of minimum wage labour and insist that their dream of a middle class career will come true if they increase their academic skills. They resist the professional understanding of "family il/literacy" and insist on continuing their upgrading so their children might have a better chance than they have had. As Frieda, one of the women interviewed said:

> Well, you're doing something for yourself, after you quit school at fifteen and you're forty years old. It's a big thing to have a grade twelve education. And you earned it, you didn't just say "I can do that, I can do that and give me my certificate". You earned it, you worked to get it, and it's satisfaction and everybody needs a little bit of satisfaction in their life. That's the way I look at it (p. 219).

Using Horsman's book, those of us involved in adult literacy, basic education and academic upgrading can better understand why women both resist and take part in the programming available for them. We can better understand the way in which their dreams intersect with the often disheartening realities of their day-to-day lives as individuals, family members, community members and workers. As Judy says: "I'm even feeling better just learning, having something else in my mind besides the everyday" (p. 218).

Betty-Ann Lloyd
Dalhousie University

THE POLITICS OF NONFORMAL EDUCATION IN LATIN AMERICA

Carlos Alberto Torres. 1990. New York: Praeger Publishers

In his introduction to a slim monograph on Antonio Gramsci and Brazil, Timothy Ireland makes the cryptic observation:

> Having worked in the field of Adult Education both at an academic and a practical level, in Britain and Brazil, I have become increasingly impatient of the lack of any really solid theoretical postulates capable of helping us to sustain...the study and practice of adult education.... We have a tendency to reduce the problems of adult education to the field of adult education and not to set education within the social context in which it takes place (p. 1).

The Politics of Nonformal Education in Latin America presents us with a mirror which forces us to look more critically at our practice and our lack of theoretical postulates. Much more than a mirror, however, Torres has provided the field a penetrating and, in my opinion, desperately needed political perspective rarely found in North American adult education literature. This perspective and its attendant theoretical frame is grounded in what Torres calls the "political sociology of education: an interdisciplinary hybrid" (p. xviii) of political science, anthropology, ethnographic study, political economy and history. While the book's focus is Latin America, its implications for research, theory, and critical analyses of the politics of North American adult education are a very welcome addition to the field.

Torres's book reflects his "interest in discussing theoretically and explaining the formulation of adult education policy in Latin America" (p. xviii). Latin America has been singled out time after time as the continent where truly promising approaches to adult education and social change are taking place. Many will be acquainted with the advances of popular education in parts of this continent and the legendary impact of Paulo Freire. But most may not be aware that, according to UNESCO, between 1960 and 1970 Latin America experienced the highest rate of educational expansion in the world. In a continent with some 280 million population where 112 million (40 percent) live below the poverty line, this is surely a remarkable achievement. Many will be aware that such educational advances stop short, however, when the topic turns to adult education—in fact adult illiteracy remains largely undented with an estimated 45 to 60 million absolute illiterate adults in Latin America. But few have discussed the question of why adult education did "not follow the same pattern of development as the schooling system" (p. 34) as authoritatively or as eloquently as has Carlos Torres.

The rift between child and adult education policy and resource allocation has its parallels with North America. Adult education is marginalized in practice and study in Latin America, says Torres, since it is consistently marginalized at the policy levels—could we in North America claim a different experience? With certain exceptions, Torres says the Latin American situation is one of marginalization because, "Adult education lacks correspondence to the specific demands derived from the model of capital accumulation...[and] has little utility in the model of political domination (p. 34). There is a "Pedagogy for the North" here if the book is read not only for its theoretical and research-based insights into the Latin American experience, but into our own.

Unfortunately it is a rather frustrating book to read. It suffers from two quite unnecessary problems. The first is a structural problem due, it seems, to indifferent editing. The other arises from Torres's use of

1098

language and reference. On the first point, it seems that individual chapters have little connection to each other. The reader slowly begins to wonder if certain points have not already been stated, and is finally impelled to ask if certain statements somehow repeat, even contradict something said earlier. Not always sure where one has been, the reader keeps wondering where the book is headed. Frustration builds until it becomes evident that the chapters that seemed like independent essays in fact are independent essays. Like the denouement of a dramatic plot, it is revealed only in the final scene that no attempt was made to give this book a logical structure in the first place.

Torres steps on stage to speak directly to the audience in the eighth and final chapter, saying:

> The strategy adopted is to give each chapter a life of its own instead of its being tied to the overall logical sequence and structure of the book.... In many respects, this strategy reflects the way this book has been written: as a series of progressive reports of my ongoing research (p. 145).

Of course there is a coherent argument, but is this really the best way the editors could think of to put this important book together?

On the second point, and this could be attributed in some degree to the compounding effect of the first problem, Torres uses a dense language overlaid with terminology from sociology, anthropology and political science. Within any given chapter, this is not an insuperable problem. Terms become defined when necessary within each of the shorter "essays-chapters". But, put into a book which does not explain itself early on creates a problem whereby definitions for terms such as "nonformal education"—used in the very title—do not appear until chapter Four. The reader is off balance, not always sure what Torres means by his terms, particularly since many terms are not defined and nuances of the terms appear to change through the time frame of the chapter essays, the "series of progressive reports of my ongoing research" (p. 145). Also troubling, one is not certain if Torres intends his observations to be generalized to industrialized countries, to the Northern hemisphere, strictly to Latin America, or to one or more of the countries of Latin America? This tendency to imprecision may be less the fault of the editors and more that Carlos Torres's work spans two hemispheres. He has analyzed Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Columbia, the Dominican Republic and the socialist environments of Nicaragua, Grenada and Cuba. His social political analyses challenge us to take a more critical macro-political look at our own world of adult education.

Torres' perspective arises from the driving belief that, as Carnoy states in the "Foreword": "Ultimately…it is the state that defines adult education and is the principal beneficiary of its effective implementation" (p. x). Early on Torres states his assumptions that education is comprised of "a complex set of theoretical-methodological controversies" (p. 1) caught in a "constant struggle between alternative rationalities" (p. 2) pivoting on the degree of participation of the citizenry. In chapter One, he situates the struggle in a four model typology beginning with the Modernization-Human Capital model. This model views adult education as a variable in socio-economic growth based on the creation and cultivation of supply and demand. This simplistic consumerism model does not universally apply, and one asks if it even applies across the multi-cultures of Canada and the U.S.A. as universally as politicians would have us believe. The Pedagogy of the Oppressed and Popular Education model is a second approach discussed. This experientially based learning process (the "principal problems of adult education…are political" [p. 8]) is analyzed by Torres across a spectrum from "cultural action" to "conscientization" for social change education. Torres sees a natural link between theory and practice in this model for Latin America and he discusses Freire's influence on literacy in this context. After the decades of liberatory efforts in North America, from Antigonish to Highlander Research and Education Center, one asks why this stream of adult education is not seen as a more viable alternative among educators. Like Ireland, one grows increasingly impatient with the romanticizing of such models and the lack of theoretical discussion and attendant social policy which could help address the painful needs of those in our own Third Worlds here in El Norte.

The third model, as advocated by Dewey and Furter and the international *Faure Report* (1972), has been presented, says Torres, as a cultural strategy for pragmatic renewal and permanent education for the Third World. However, it "presupposes an unlimited confidence in the possibilities of scientific-technical advance for adult education" and never questions "the form of the organization of production, the effects of social hierarchies, and the form of articulation of power and social domination" (p. 14). This is surely an apt description of the hegemony of andragogy, liberal/progressive adult education and, many would add, of continuing professional education and human resource development at work in our world. "Corporatism" or "Social Engineering" is discussed as model number four, one often imposed by military dictatorships in Latin America to accelerate development through bureaucratic rationality. It leads, typically, to highly structured education systems for the elite with "linkages" to suburban and rural audiences. Some in North America would argue that this is the institutionalization process which literacy and the wider field of adult education is evolving into. Clearly, each of these four Latin American models differs in quality, not in kind, from the North American experience.

In chapter Three, Torres discusses the political economy of Latin America, indicating where education and policy planning have worked together to conspire against the "structural location" of adult literacy—a world often comprised of "subordinate classes within the Latin American economies" (p. 38). As Torres says, "Latin American history is rich in valuable experiments in adult education" (p. 39) and he examines the literacy campaign experiences and levels of campaign success in Cuba, Brazil and Chile extrapolating principles of political economy from each in this chapter. These experiences are seen in contrast to those of capitalist Mexico which are analyzed in chapter Four. In a chapter (previously published in Mexico) Torres provides an intensive study of Mexican adult education policies from 1976-1988 and points to a number of significant achievements. He concludes with a research agenda which, he says, should be conducted through participatory research to resolve certain issues of literacy and policy in Mexico.

Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada are discussed in chapter Five as three examples of countries in transition to socialism. Like the preceding chapter, this one provides solid recapitulations of the literacy movements in each of these countries. Torres analyzes the remarkable successes in literacy advancement in each of the reformist countries and discusses both the educational changes as well as the implicit contradictions among each of the three socialist experiences. He also draws some concluding lessons for discussion—"lessons" which raise important points on the value of materialism, the impact of moral incentives, the role of centralization vs autonomy in literacy campaigns, the debate over issues of quality vs expansionism, and the limiting or facilitating role of bureaucratic power in the advancement of literacy education. Such points need to be discussed in light of the recent failure of Soviet communism, recalling, for instance, that the famous 1919 *Decree on Illiteracy* in Russia made it illegal to be illiterate and "a criminal offense to refuse to teach or study" after the revolution (Eklof, p. 131). "At what price literacy"? is one question; "At what cost a century of failed illiteracy initiatives"? is another. The value of this book is that it precipitates discussion based on carefully analyzed adult education experiences in a range of Latin American countries and does not miss the lessons to be learned from the pivotal importance of citizenry involvement in each of these countries.

Chapter Six is worth the price of the book. Torres takes on fundamental issues of our field asking if our plethora of terminology, for instance, arises from "confused theory" (p. 111). He asks, "Adult education for whom"? (p. 113) and challenges our assumptions of who should be served in Latin American countries—assumptions which have immediate relevance in the U.S. and Canada. He discusses the link between nonformal (literacy) education and development, raising the truly important point that the "contribution of [adult] education to growth is smaller than the early human capital theorists and development economists thought" (p. 116). This observation has recently been corroborated among Canadians and work place literacy as well (Blunt, 1990). Torres goes on to provide a brilliant discussion of the role of the capitalist state in adult literacy education: how it functions to legitimate and reproduce the state and why "the capitalist state addresses the needs of the masses by means of adult education programs, instead of simply leaving them alone" (p. 119)? He concludes the chapter with another previously published discussion, "Is the state a problem-solving agent"?

Chapter Seven examines theoretical and methodological perspectives as they apply both to Latin America and the Caribbean. Here, Torres more closely analyzes research—research agendas, approaches, theories and roles in the face of class conflict and social movements. It is one of the few thoroughly informed discussions of research and public policy which is available in the field today. Torres reviews the role of adult education within welfare policies, educational policies and areas such as illiteracy, workers' education and rural extension. The importance of understanding non-government and government policies is underscored by Torres throughout this chapter.

In his closing chapter, the author provides a summary and some conclusions, based on his conviction that "without a consistent theory of the state and politics, it will be impossible to understand the politics of nonformal education and nonformal education as politics in Latin America, and in the industrialized world as well" (p. 145). Torres ends with this sobering thought: "New research programs can produce a new, fresh look at all these conflicting scenarios. It may perhaps be too naive to hope that these new research agendas will be developed from, and be informed with, theoretical rigor, progressive politics, and human compassion" (p. 151).

Given that the language in this book is difficult, that the sequencing of chapters lacks editing logic, and that it focuses on countries which are discussed only rarely—and they typically only in international contexts—I find myself echoing Torres's comment: it is probably naive to hope that new research or practice will result from this book in literacy or mainstream adult education. However, if educators are to develop the theoretical postulates for the field which Ireland and so many others continue to ask for, we will need to look beyond our own borders for inspiration. This book, I would suggest, can take us a long way towards that goal.

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B. Allan Quigley
Penn State University

UNIVERSITY ADULT EDUCATION IN CRISIS

John McIlroy and Bruce Spencer. 1988. Leeds: Leeds Studies in Adult and Continuing Education

At first glance, Canadian adult educators might well question the relevance of a book which is clearly based in the British university adult education system. The richness of this book, however, lies in examining the similarities rather than the differences between those two contexts. Even the casual reader can draw numerous, disconcerting parallels between the bleak British scenarios and the current situation of adult and continuing education within Canadian universities. An in-depth examination of those similarities is instructive. It provides useful insights into the structures and political pressures, limitations and potentials which influence Canadian adult and continuing university education.

University Adult Education in Crisis is organized into five chapters. In each chapter, McIlroy and Spencer skilfully weave together three interrelated themes. The first theme provides the reader with details of the upheavals and transformations which are leading to the demise of university liberal adult education. This information is extensive, well-referenced and clearly presented. Although from time to time the exact nature of the British institutions may be unknown to the Canadian reader, the essence of the story remains intact.

The second theme locates the demise of university liberal adult education in the social, economic and political agendas of its time. This analysis is thoughtful, critical and straightforward. McIlroy and Spencer do not hesitate to argue forcefully that "government policies…are… leading to the gradual dismantling of the extramural departments and the erosion of liberal adult education for all except those sections of the middle class who can afford it" (p. 20). This argument is defended with both empirical and theoretical evidence. Although the empirical evidence tends to be specific to the English and Welsh situations, the theoretical evidence is well-referenced and provides the reader with a broad range of generic bibliographic material.

The third theme extends the discussion of the plight of university adult education. It relates the ideological shifts within university adult education to the ideological shifts within universities. Through the use of analogy and illustration, McIlroy and Spencer highlight the parallels between the crisis of purpose and function in extramural departments and the crisis of purpose and function in universities as a whole. In this way, they highlight the potential of extramural departments to be leaders within the university community.

Chapter One, entitled "The Great Tradition?" is based on the premise that present turmoil in university adult education are rooted in the past. Thus, it gives a brief but tidy overview of university adult education from the mid 1800s to the 1970s. Throughout this chapter, the argument is made that the "the great tradition" of turning "the excellence of the university to the social purposes of those excluded from it" (p. 16) is being replaced by newer purposes which are "soaked in vocationalism" (p. 16).

Chapter Two ("University Adult Education in the 1970s—Prelude to Crisis") and Three ("Years of Crisis") detail the changes in university adult education over the past twenty years and relate those changes to education in the wider university and to political pressures which influenced them. Throughout these chapters, McIlroy and Spencer further their argument that university adult education is indeed in crisis.

Chapter Three emphasizes the natural convergence of the notion of lifelong education with the advanced technical requirements of industry. It explores the political pressures which directed the development of adult and continuing education away from the provision of liberal adult education during an era of financial stringency. It focuses on the divisions between those who viewed the times as an opportunity to advance university adult education and those who saw it as the institution of elitist and vocational activities to the disadvantage of the working class. It explicates how these divisions of philosophy and interests eroded the status and power of university adult education within both the university and the state.

Chapter Four, "Issues and Arguments," examines the critiques made of liberal adult and continuing education both from internal and external sources. It explores the drive toward vocational and professional continuing education and the problems inherent in that trend. These analyses are particularly poignant ones for Canadian university adult education units which are under increasing pressure to consider this direction as a tactic to survive university budgetary restrictions. This chapter raises both philosophical and practical issues about the direction that such units may be tempted to adopt. It concludes by suggesting strategies and organizational forms of university adult education as a means to reverse its marginalization and return to its social purposes.

Chapter Five, "The Future of University Adult Education," concludes by offering suggestions for the protection and revitalization of "The great tradition." These suggestions are made within the context of the inevitable pressures of the market mechanisms and the needs of the economy—pressures which are mirrored in the Canadian scene. McIlroy and Spencer emphasize the importance of university linkages both with the community and within the university. In the first instance, they highlight the importance of recognizing the relevance of liberal education for the working class. In the second instance, they argue for an extended leadership role for adult and continuing education within the university.

On its back cover, *University Adult Education in Crisis* is described as "a history, a polemic and a prescription." For those Canadian adult educators who are involved with university continuing and adult education, it is more than that. This book provides Canadian readers with a handy heuristic device for assessing the past, present and future state of our university adult and continuing education. It offers us a mirror of our own ethical and philosophical dilemmas as we chart the future of university adult and continuing education in Canada.

Joyce Stalker
University of Waikato

1106

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I. Hunt
D. Ironside
P. Keane
N. Keating
W. Lamble
A. Lefebvre
M. Lévesque
D. Little
D. MacKeracher
L. Marchand
E. McClintock
E. Misanchuk
J. Morris
B. Nutter
H. Oliver
G. Painchaud
T. Pyrch
J. Roy-Poirier
K. Rubenson
C. Schick
G. Selman
T. Sork
L. Spector-Dunsky
B. Spronk
J. Stalker
M. Taylor
R. Taylor
A. Thomas
C. Touchette
A. Thibault
N. Tremblay
M. Waldron
C. Warren
J. Walters
J. Watters
M. Welton
R. Wickett
M. Zachariah
R. Zewman

The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education/
La Revue canadienne pour l'étude de l'éducation des adultes
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INDEX/RÉPERTOIRES

VOLUMES I - V, 1987-1991

Compiled by/compliés par Adrian Blunt, Madeleine Butschler and/et Claudia Danis

Author, Subject, and Book Review Indexes have been developed for the first five volumes of the Journal. The Author Index includes authors of the Journal's three main sections, "Articles", "Perspectives", and "Book Reviews". The Subject Index contains research articles, and essays from the "Perspectives" section. The Book Review Index is organized by book author.

Des répertoires d'auteurs, de sujets traités et de recensions ont été élaborés pour les cinq premiers volumes de la Revue. Le répertoire des auteurs contient les noms des auteurs des trois principales sections de la Revue, "Articles", "Perspectives" et "Recensions". Le répertoire des sujets traités présente les articles de recherche et les essais parus dans la section "Perspectives". Le répertoire des recensions est présenté des auteurs des livres analysés.

AUTHOR INDEX/RÉPERTOIRE DES AUTEURS ET DES TITRES

Alexander, Anne. Critical Social Theory: A Perspective For Critiquing Professionalization In Adult Education. V(Special Issue/numéro spécial) 120-132.

Arriola-Socol, Merardo. L'intervention éducative dans le développement de la conscience. III(1) 19-32.

Barer-Stein, Thelma. On the Meaning of Learning: Reflections with Dewey. I(1) 25-50.

Baxton-Brown, Greg and Kennan, Thomas P. Review of Brookfield, Stephen D. *The Skillful Teacher*. V(1) 70-72.

Bédard, René. Connaissance de soi et autonomie personnelle: deux importants préalables à l'autodidaxie. III(2) 21-31.

Bédard, René. Review of Lowy, L. and O'Connor, D. *Why Education in the Later Years*. IV(1) 58-59.

Brook, Paula Ann. The Effectiveness of Education Interventions in the Development of Non-traditional Occupational Role Identification. II(1) 25-42.

Brookfield, Stephen. Learning and Mind: A Response to Selman. III(1) 64-69.

Burge, Elizabeth J. Women as Learners: Issues for Visual and Virtual Classrooms. IV(2) 1-24.

Burstow, Bonnie. Toward A Freirian Approach to Counselling. V(1) 55-69.

Butterwick, Shauna. Review of Cowburn, Will. *Class Ideology and Community Education*. III(2) 61-63.

Chalom, M. L'insertion des Migrants: Les préalables à la formation. IV(1) 16-32.

Chambers, Carmel. Habermas and Welfare Capitalism: A Statement From the Excluded Gender Subtext. V(Special Issue/numéro spécial) 73-93.

Chené, Adèle. Les défis de l'éducation des adultes comme champ d'étude: commentaire. I(1) 59-61.

Chervin, Michael L. La théorie de Marcuse et l'éducation critique. V(Special Issue/numéro spécial) 43-72.

Chevrolet, Daniel. Instruire, enseigner, éduquer, former. I(2) 43-52.

Clapp, Patricia M. Review of Wlodkowski, Raymond. *Enhancing Adult Motivation to Learn*. I(1) 69.

111

Collard, Susan. Skirting the Issues? A Response to Angela Miles. IV(1) 45-52.

Darville, Richard. Review of Kozol, Jonathan: *Illiterate America*. Also Herman, David. *Illiteracy: A National Dilemma*. I(2) 66-72.

Deschênes, André-Jacques. Autonomie et enseignement à distance. V(1) 32-54.

Deschênes, André-Jacques; Bourdages, Louise; Lebel, Céline et Michaud, Bernard. Activités d'apprentissage en enseignement à distance. IV(2) 25-46.

Draper, James A. International Studies in Graduate Programs in Adult Education in Canada. III(2) 47-60.

Finger, Matthias. Can Critical Theory Save Adult Education from Post-Modernism? V(Special Issue/numéro spécial) 133-144.

Garrison, D.R. A Factor Structure of Variables Associated with Dropout: A Confirmatory Study. IV(1) 1-15.

Garrison, D.R. and Baskett, H.K. Survey of Adult Education Research in Canada. III(2) 32-46.

Gillen, Marie A. The Challenge of a New Journal. I(1) 1-4.

Griffin, Virginia R. Learning to Name Our Learning Processes. II(2) 1-16.

Guajardo, Luis. Review of Hirschman, Albert C. *Getting Ahead Collectively*. IV(2) 63-65.

Hartl, Pavel and Cisarova, Helena. Foreign Language Instruction for Adults: A Progressive Teaching Method. II(1) 53-59.

Hunt, Ian. Review of Nancy Joan Cochrane and Associates. *J.R. Kidd: An International Legacy of Learning*. I(2) 64-65.

Kastner, Andrea. Review of Molyneux, F. Low, G. and Fowler, G., eds. *Learning for Life: Politics and Progress in Recurrent Education*. III(2) 63-66.

Keane, Patrick. Adult Education and Public Funding Policies: The "Whiskey-Money" in Britain and its Implications for Adult Education in Canada. III(2) 1-20.

Kemmis, Stephen. Critical Educational Research. V(Special Issue/numéro spécial) 94-119.

Kulich, Jindra. Prospects of Folk High Schools: A Canadian Perspective. II(2) 53-55.

Kulich, Jindra. Access to Information on Adult Education Abroad. III(1) 46-63.

Law, Michael. Review of Livingstone, D.W., ed. *Critical Pedagogy and Cultural Power*. II(2) 56-60.

Legge, Derek. Review of Ward, K. and Taylor, R., eds. *Adult Education and the Working Class: Education for the Missing Millions.* II(1) 63-67.

Little, David. Critical Adult Education: A Response to Contemporary Social Crisis. V(Special Issue/numéro spécial) 1-20.

MacDonald, Grant. Review of Hopkins, Philip G.H. *Workers' Education: An International Perspective*. I(1) 64-66.

Mader, Wilhelm. Adult Education within the Network of Scientific Disciplines: A Roundabout Way Toward a Paradigm of Adult Education. II(1) 43-52.

McEachern, Bonnie. Review of Gaskell, Jane and McLaren, Arlene, eds. *Women and Education: A Canadian Perspective*. II(2) 61-62.

Miles, Angela. Women's Challenge to Adult Education. III(1) 1-18.

Minnis, John R. Letter to the Editor: A Response to Miles on The Limits of Feminism. IV(1) 53-57.

Minnis, John R. Review of Kowalski, Theodore J. *The Organization and Planning of Adult Education*. IV(2) 66-68.

Munro, Jane. Paradigm Apartments. I(2) 53-60.

Murray, Mary E. Foreign Language Instruction for Adults—A Canadian Perspective. II(1) 60-62.

Orton, Larry. Academic Adult Education: A Comment. I(1) 62-63.

Pantzar, Eero. Prospects of Folk High Schools in European Countries. II(2) 43-52.

Patoine, Louise et Dufresne-Tassé, Colette. Réaction des femmes à une perspective d'effort intellectuel pour effectuer un apprentissage. II(2) 17-27.

Phillips, Larry John. A Study of the Student Retention Effort in The New Brunswick Community College System. V(1) 1-31.

Poonwassie, Deo H. Review of Cassara, Beverly B., ed. *Adult Education in a Multicultural Society*. V(2) 63-65.

Portelli, John P. Review of Wain, Kenneth. *Philosophy of Lifelong Education*. II(1) 68-72.

Pyrch, Timothy. Participatory Action Research as a Way of Life: A Personal Account. IV(2) 47-62.

Pyrch, Timothy. Review of Fals-Borda, Orlando and Rahman, Mohammad Anisur, eds. *Action and Knowledge—Breaking the Monopoly with Participatory Action-Research*. V(2) 66-70.

Regnier, Robert. Nuclear Advocacy and Adult Education: A Case for Counter Hegemonic Struggle. V(2) 47-62.

Riverin-Simard, Danielle. Les quinquagénaires au travail selon les classes sociales. II(1) 1-24.

Riverin-Simard, Danielle et Arriola-Socol, Merardo. Éducation des adultes et personnalités vocationelles. V(2) 17-46.

Roberts, Hayden. Review of Thomas, Alan and Plowman, Edward W., eds. *Learning and Development: A Global Perspective*. I(2) 61-63.

Schick, Carol. Review of Stanage, S. *Adult Education and Phenomenology Research, Theory and Practice*. IV(1) 60-62.

Selman, Gordon. The Fifties: Pivotal Decade in Canadian Adult Education. I(1) 5-24.

Selman, Gordon. 1972-Year of Affirmation for Adult Education. III(1) 33-45.

Selman, Gordon. Review of Stabler, Ernest. *Founders: Innovators in Education 1830-1980*. III(1) 72-74.

Selman, Gordon. Foreword V(1) 1-4.

Selman, Mark. Learning and Philosophy of Mind. II(2) 28-42.

Selman, Mark. More on Learning: A Response to Brookfield. III(1) 70-71.

Sharpe, Jim. Review of Simerly, Robert G. and Associates. *Strategic Planning and Leadership in Continuing Education*. III(2) 66-70.

Spencer, Bruce. Review of Jarvis, Peter. *An International Dictionary of Adult and Continuing Education*. V(2) 71-72.

Spencer, Bruce. Review of Forrester, Keith, and Ward, Kevin, eds. *Unemployment, Education and Training: Case Studies from North America and Europe*. V(2) 73-76.

Stewart, David W. Review of Welton, Michael R., ed. *Knowledge for the People: The Struggle for Adult Learning in English Speaking Canada, 1828-1973*. III(1) 75-78.

Stewart, Miriam J. Preparation for Partnership: Reform of Professional Education. V(2) 1-16.

Taylor, Richard. Review of Youngman, Frank. *Adult Education and Socialist Pedagogy*. I(1) 67-68.

Taylor, Richard. Adult Education in a Cold Climate: British Adult Education to the Year 2000. IV(1) 33-44.

Thomas, Alan M. Academic Adult Education. I(1) 51-58.

Waldron, Mark. Review of Rivera, William M. and Schram, Susan G., eds. *Agricultural Extension Worldwide*. III(2) 71-72.

Warren, Catherine E. Feminist Discourse and the Research Enterprise: Implications for Adult Education Research. I(2) 23-42.

Warren, Catharine. E. Review of Belenky, M.F., Clinchy, B.M., Goldberger, N.R., and Tarule, J.M. *Women's Ways of Knowing: The Development of Self, Voice and Mind*. IV(1) 63-67.

Welton, Michael R. A Most Insistent Demand: The Pas Experiment in Community Education, 1938-1940. I(2) 1-22.

Welton, Michael. Shaking the Foundation: The Critical Turn in Adult Education Theory. V(Special Issue/numéro spécial) 21-42.

Young, Louise. Review of Westwood, Sallie. *All Day, Every Day: Factory and Family in the Making of Women's Lives*. IV(2) 69-74.

SUBJECT INDEX/RÉPERTOIRE DES SUJETS

Academic Adult Education/Enseignement supérieur aux adultes

Chené, Adèle. Les défis de l'éducation des adultes comme champ d'étude: Commentaire. I(1) 59-61.

Mader, Wilhelm. Adult Education within the Network of Scientific Disciplines: A Roundabout Way Toward a Paradigm of Adult Education. II(1) 43-52.

Orton, Larry. Academic Adult Education: A Comment. I(1) 62-63.

Thomas, Alan M. Academic Adult Education. I(1) 51-58.

Adult Development/Développement de l'adulte

Riverin-Simard, Danielle. Les quinquagénaires au travail selon les classes sociales. II(1) 1-24.

Community Colleges/Collèges communautaires

Phillips, Larry John. A Study of the Student Retention Effort in The New Brunswick Community College System. V(1) 1-31.

Professional Continuing Education/Formation professionnelle continue

Stewart, Miriam J. Preparation for Partnership: Reform of Professional Education. V(2) 1-16.

Counselling/Orientation

Burstow, Bonnie. Toward A Freirian Approach to Counselling. V(1) 55-69.

Critical Theory/Approche critique

Alexander, Anne. Critical Social Theory: A Perspective For Critiquing Professionalization In Adult Education. V(Special Issue/numéro spécial) 120-132.

Chambers, Carmel. Habermas and Welfare Capitalism: A Statement From the Excluded Gender Subtext. V(Special Issue/numéro spécial) 73-93.

Chervin, Michael L. La théorie de Marcuse et l'éducation critique V(Special Issue/numéro spécial) 43-72.

Finger, Matthias. Can Critical Theory Save Adult Education from Post-Modernism? V(Special Issue/numéro spécial) 133-144.

Kemmis, Stephen. Critical Educational Research. V(Special Issue/numéro spécial) 94-119.

Little, David. Critical Adult Education: A Response to Contemporary Social Crisis. V(Special Issue/numéro spécial) 1-20.

Welton, Michael. Shaking the Foundation: The Critical Turn in Adult Education Theory. V(Special Issue/numéro spécial) 21-42.

Distance Education/Éducation à distance

Deschênes, André-Jacques. Autonomie et enseignement à distance. V(1) 32-54.

Deschênes, André Jacques; Bourdages, Louise; Lebel, Céline et Michaud, Bernard. Activités d'apprentissage en enseignement à distance. IV(2) 25-46.

Editorial/Éditoriaux

Gillen, Marie A. The Challenge of a New Journal. I(1) 1-4.

Selman, Gordon. Foreword V(1) 1-4.

Feminist Issues and Research/Études féministes

Collard, Susan. Skirting the Issues? A Response to Angela Miles. IV(1) 45-52.

Minnis, John R. Letter to the Editor: A Response to Miles on The Limits of Feminism. IV(1) 53-57.

Folk Schools/Instituts populaires

Kulich, Jindra. Prospects of Folk High Schools: A Canadian Perspective. II(2) 53-55.

Pantzar, Eero. Prospects of Folk High Schools in European Countries. II(2) 43-52.

Graduate Degrees/Diplômes d'études supérieures

Graduate Degrees in Canada—Adult Education and Cognate Subjects/ Mémoires et thèses en éducation des adultes ou sur des sujets connexes dans les universités canadiennes:

1987	I(2) 73-79.	1989	III(2) 73-84.
1988	II(1) 73-74.	1990	IV(2) 75-90.
1988	II(2) 63-73.	1991	V(2) 77-98.

History/Histoire

Keane, Patrick. Adult Education and Public Funding Policies: The "Whiskey-Money" in Britain and its Implications for Adult Education in Canada. III(2) 1-20.

Selman, Gordon. The Fifties: Pivotal Decade in Canadian Adult Education. I(1) 5-24.

Selman, Gordon. 1972-Year of Affirmation for Adult Education. III(1) 33-45.

Selman, Gordon. Review of Stabler, Ernest. *Founders: Innovators in Education 1830-1980*. III(1) 72-74.

Welton, Michael R. A Most Insistent Demand: The Pas Experiment in Community Education, 1938-1940. I(2) 1-22.

Instructional Techniques/Méthodes d'enseignement

Chevrolet, Daniel. Instruire, enseigner, éduquer, former. I(2) 43-52.

International Adult Education/Éducation internationale des adultes

Draper, James A. International Studies in Graduate Programs in Adult Education in Canada. III(2) 47-60.

Kulich, Jindra. Access to Information on Adult Education Abroad. III(1) 46-63.

Taylor, Richard. Review of Youngman, Frank. *Adult Education and Socialist Pedagogy*. I(1) 67-68.

Language Teaching/Enseignement des langues

Chalom, M. L'insertion des migrants: Les préalables à la formation. IV(1) 16-32.

Hartl, Pavel and Cisarova, Helena. Foreign Language Instruction for Adults: A Progressive Teaching Method. II(1) 53-59.

Murray, Mary E. Foreign Language Instruction for Adults—A Canadian Perspective. II(1) 60-62.

Learning/Apprentissage

Brookfield, Stephen. Learning and Mind: A Response to Selman. III(1) 64-69.

Griffin, Virginia R. Learning to Name Our Learning Processes. II(2) 1-16.

Selman, Mark. Learning and Philosophy of Mind. II(2) 28-42.

Selman, Mark. More on Learning: A Response to Brookfield. III(1) 70-71.

Participation/Participation

Garrison, D.R. A Factor Structure of Variables Associated with Dropout: A Confirmatory Study. IV(1) 1-15.

Riverin-Simard, Danielle et Arriola-Socol, Merardo. Éducation des adultes et personnalités vocationelles. V(2) 17-46.

Participatory Research/Recherche participante

Arriola-Socol, Merardo. L'intervention éducative dans le développement de la conscience. III(1) 19-32.

Pyrch, Timothy. Participatory Action Research as a Way of Life: A Personal Account. IV(2) 47-62.

Philosophy/Philosophie

Barer-Stein, Thelma. On the Meaning of Learning: Reflections with Dewey. I(1) 25-50.

Research/Recherche en éducation des adultes

Garrison, D.R. and Baskett, H.K. Survey of Adult Education Research in Canada. III(2) 32-46.

Research Paradigms/Paradigmes de recherche

Munro, Jane. Paradigm Apartments. I(2) 53-60.

Self-Directed Learning/Autodidaxie

Bédard, René. Connaissance de soi et autonomie personnelle: deux importants préalables à l'autodidaxie. III(2) 21-31.

Social Action/Action sociale

Regnier, Robert. Nuclear Advocacy and Adult Education: A Case for Counter Hegemonic Struggle. V(2) 47-62.

Women's Education/Éducation des femmes

Brook, Paula Ann. The Effectiveness of Education Interventions in the Development of Non-traditional Occupational Role Identification. II(1) 25-42.

Burge, Elizabeth J. Women as Learners: Issues for Visual and Virtual Classrooms. IV(2) 1-24.

Miles, Angela. Women's Challenge to Adult Education. III(1) 1-18.

Patoine, Louise et Dufresne-Tassé, Colette. Réaction des femmes à une perspective d'effort intellectuel pour effectuer un apprentissage. II(2) 17-27.

BOOK REVIEW INDEX/RÉPERTOIRE DES RECENSIONS DE LIVRES

Belenky, M.F. Clinchy, B.M. Goldberger N.R. and Tarule, J.M. *Women's Ways of Knowing: The Development of Self, Voice and Mind.* Reviewed by Catherine E. Warren. IV(1) 63-67.

Brookfield, Stephen D. *The Skillful Teacher.* Reviewed by Greg Baxton-Brown and Thomas P. Kennan. V(1) 70-72.

Cassara, Beverly B., ed. *Adult Education in a Multicultural Society.* Reviewed by Deo H. Poonwassie. V(2) 63-65.

Cochrane, Nancy Joan and Associates. *J.R. Kidd: An International Legacy of Learning*. Reviewed by Ian Hunt. I(2) 64-65.

Cowburn, Will. *Class Ideology and Community Education*. Reviewed by Shauna Butterwick. III(2) 61-63.

Fals-Borda, Orlando and Rahman, Mohammad Anisur, eds. *Action and Knowledge—Breaking the Monopoly with Participatory Action Research*. Reviewed by Timothy Pyrch. V(2) 66-70.

Forrester, Keith, and Ward, Kevin, eds. *Unemployment, Education and Training: Case Studies from North America and Europe*. Reviewed by Bruce Spencer. V(2) 73-76.

Gaskell, Jane and McLaren, Arlene, eds. *Women and Education: A Canadian Perspective*. Reviewed by Bonnie McEachern. II(2) 61-62.

Harman, David. *Illiteracy: A National Dilemma*. Reviewed by Richard Darville. I(2) 66-72.

Hirschman, Albert C. *Getting Ahead Collectively*. Reviewed by Luis Guajardo. IV(2) 63-65.

Hopkins, Philip G.H. *Workers' Education: An International Perspective*. Reviewed by Grant MacDonald. I(1) 64-66.

Jarvis, Peter. *An International Dictionary of Adult and Continuing Education*. Reviewed by Bruce Spencer. V(2) 71-72.

Kowalski, Theodore J. *The Organization and Planning of Adult Education*. Reviewed by John R. Minnis. IV(2) 66-68.

Kozol, Jonathan. *Illiterate America*. Reviewed by Richard Darville. I(2) 66-72.

Livingstone, D.W., ed. *Critical Pedagogy and Cultural Power*. Reviewed by Michael Law. II(2) 56-60.

Lowy, L. and O'Connor, D. *Why Education in the Later Years*. Reviewed by René Bédard. IV(1) 58-59.

Molyneux, F., Low, G. and Fowler, G., eds. *Learning for Life: Politics and Progress in Recurrent Education.* Reviewed by Andrea Kastner. III(2) 63-66.

Rivera, William M. and Schram, Susan G., eds. *Agricultural Extension Worldwide.* Reviewed by Mark Waldron. III(2) 71-72.

Simerly, Robert G. and Associates. *Strategic Planning and Leadership in Continuing Education.* Reviewed by Jim Sharpe. III(2) 66-70.

Stabler, Ernest. *Founders: Innovators in Education 1830-1980.* Reviewed by Gordon Selman. III(1) 72-74.

Stanage, S. *Adult Education and Phenomenology Research, Theory and Practice.* Reviewed by Carol Schick. IV(1) 60-62.

Thomas, Alan and Plowman, Edward W., eds. *Learning and Development: A Global Perspective.* Reviewed by Hayden Roberts. I(2) 61-63.

Wain, Kenneth. *Philosophy of Lifelong Education.* Reviewed by John P. Portelli. II(1) 68-72.

Ward, K. and Taylor, R., eds. *Adult Education and the Working Class: Education for the Missing Millions.* Reviewed by Derek Legge. II(1) 63-67.

Welton, Michael R., ed. *Knowledge for the People: The Struggle for Adult Learning in English Speaking Canada, 1828-1973.* Reviewed by David W. Stewart. III(1) 75-78.

Westwood, Sallie. *All Day, Every Day: Factory and Family in the Making of Women's Lives.* Reviewed by Louise Young. IV(2) 69-74.

Wlodkowsky, Raymond. *Enhancing Adult Motivation to Learn.* Reviewed by Patricia M. Clapp. I(1) 69.

Youngman, Frank. *Adult Education and Socialist Pedagogy.* Reviewed by Richard Taylor. I(1) 67-68.

CALL FOR PAPERS

FEMINISM IN ADULT EDUCATION: CELEBRATION, CRITIQUE AND CHALLENGE

Submissions are invited to the Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education on the topic of "Feminism in Adult Education". This issue is intended to highlight the contributions to the advancement of women by adult educators, feminist contributions to adult education theory and practices, as well as the issues and problems faced by women in adult education. Papers will be considered for publication in the following areas:

- Accomplishments for women by adult educators
- Current models of feminist practice in adult education
- Critical analyses of adult education practice and theory from a feminist perspective
- Feminist contributions to adult education theory
- Feminist approaches and issues in the professional education of adult educators

Guest Editors for the issue are:

Dr. Marilyn Taylor, Concordia University, Montreal
Dr. Gaétanne Payeur, University of Quebec, Hull
Dr. Catherine Warren, University of Calgary

All submissions will be required to conform to the publication guidelines of the Journal (APA or Chicago Style).

Papers should be submitted no later than February 1, 1993 to:

The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education/
La Revue canadienne pour l'étude de l'éducation des adultes
College of Education, University of Saskatchewan
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan
S7N 0W0

PROPOSITION DE TEXTES

LE FÉMINISME DANS L'ÉDUCATION DES ADULTES: CÉLÉBRATION, CRITIQUE ET DÉFI

Vous êtes invitées à soumettre votre proposition à la Revue canadienne pour l'étude de l'éducation des adultes aura pour thème "Le féminisme dans l'éducation des adultes". Ce numéro vise à faire connaître les apports féministes des éducatrices d'adultes au développement des femmes, à la pratique et à la théorie en éducation des adultes. Ce numéro a également pour objectif de faire connaître la situation et les problèmes des femmes en éducation des adultes.

Les textes à publier porteront sur les champs d'intérêt suivants:

- des réalisations des éducatrices d'adultes au bénéfice de la clientèle.
- des modèles de pratique féministe en éducation des adultes.
- des analyses critiques féministes de pratiques et théories en éducation des adultes.
- des apports féministes à la théorie en éducation des adultes.
- des approches et préoccupations féministes dans la formation des intervenants-es en éducation des adultes.

Les éditrices invitées de cette publication sont:

Dr. Marilyn Taylor, Université Concordia, Montréal
Dr. Gaétanne Payeur, Université du Québec à Hull
Dr. Catherine Warren, Université de Calgary

Les textes proposés devront suivre les règles de présentation de la Revue (guide de Chicago ou APA).

On peut les soumettre d'ici le 1er février 1993 à l'addrese suivante:

La Revue canadienne pour l'étude de l'éducation des adultes/
The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education
College of Education, University of Saskatchewan
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan
S7N 0W0

ANNOUNCEMENT OF POSITION

ANGLOPHONE BOOK REVIEW EDITOR

The Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education wishes to receive applications for the position of Anglophone Book Review Editor of the *Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education*.

- The mandate of the Book Review Editor is to actively solicit reviews of appropriate adult education books.
- The term of appointment is for two years, renewable once.

Applications should be mailed by July 1, 1992 to:

Dr. Adrian Blunt
College of Education
University of Saskatchewan
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan S7N 0W0

GUIDELINES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

Types of articles to be considered for publication: Analytic examination of issues; Reports of empirical research; Theoretical formulations; Comparative studies; Interpretive reviews of the literature; Historical studies; New approaches to qualitative and quantitative research.

Editorial Style: Articles should conform to the Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association, 3rd ed. or to The Chicago Manual of Style. Citations and notes should be numbered in sequence in the text, and the relevant references be listed accordingly under *Reference Notes* at the end of the article (see articles in this issue).

Length of article: Normally articles should not exceed 30 pages of double spaced transcript.

Number of copies to be submitted: Three. Typed on standard bond or copy paper.

Language: Articles will be published in the language (English or French) in which they are submitted.

Abstract: Articles submitted to the Journal must be accompanied by an abstract of approximately 200 words in length in both English and French.

The title page: The title page should contain the following: title of the paper; full name(s) of the author(s); institutional affiliation(s) and position(s) held by the author(s); abstract; brief acknowledgement of the contribution of colleagues.

Publication schedule: Twice yearly.

Submissions address:
Dr. Adrian Blunt and
Dr. Robert A. Carlson
The Saskatchewan Editorial Collective
College of Education
University of Saskatchewan
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan S7N 0W0

DIRECTIVES POUR LES COLLABORATRICES ET COLLABORATEURS

Genres d'article considérés pour publication: étude analytique de problèmes; rapport de recherche empirique; énonciation de théories; étude comparative; commentaire interprétatif de la littérature; étude historique; approches innovatrices en recherches qualitatives et quantitatives.

Style d'édition: Les textes doivent être conformes aux normes prescrites dans *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association, 3rd ed.* ou dans *The Chicago Manual of Style*. Les citations et les notes doivent être numérotées selon leur séquence et apparaître dans cet ordre dans les références bibliographiques qui suivent le texte (voir articles dans ce numéro).

Longueur de l'article: Normalement les articles ne doivent pas excéder 30 pages de texte dactylographié à double interligne.

Nombre de copies à soumettre: Trois. Dactylographiées sur papier standard ou papier à photocopier.

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M. Benoît Charbonneau
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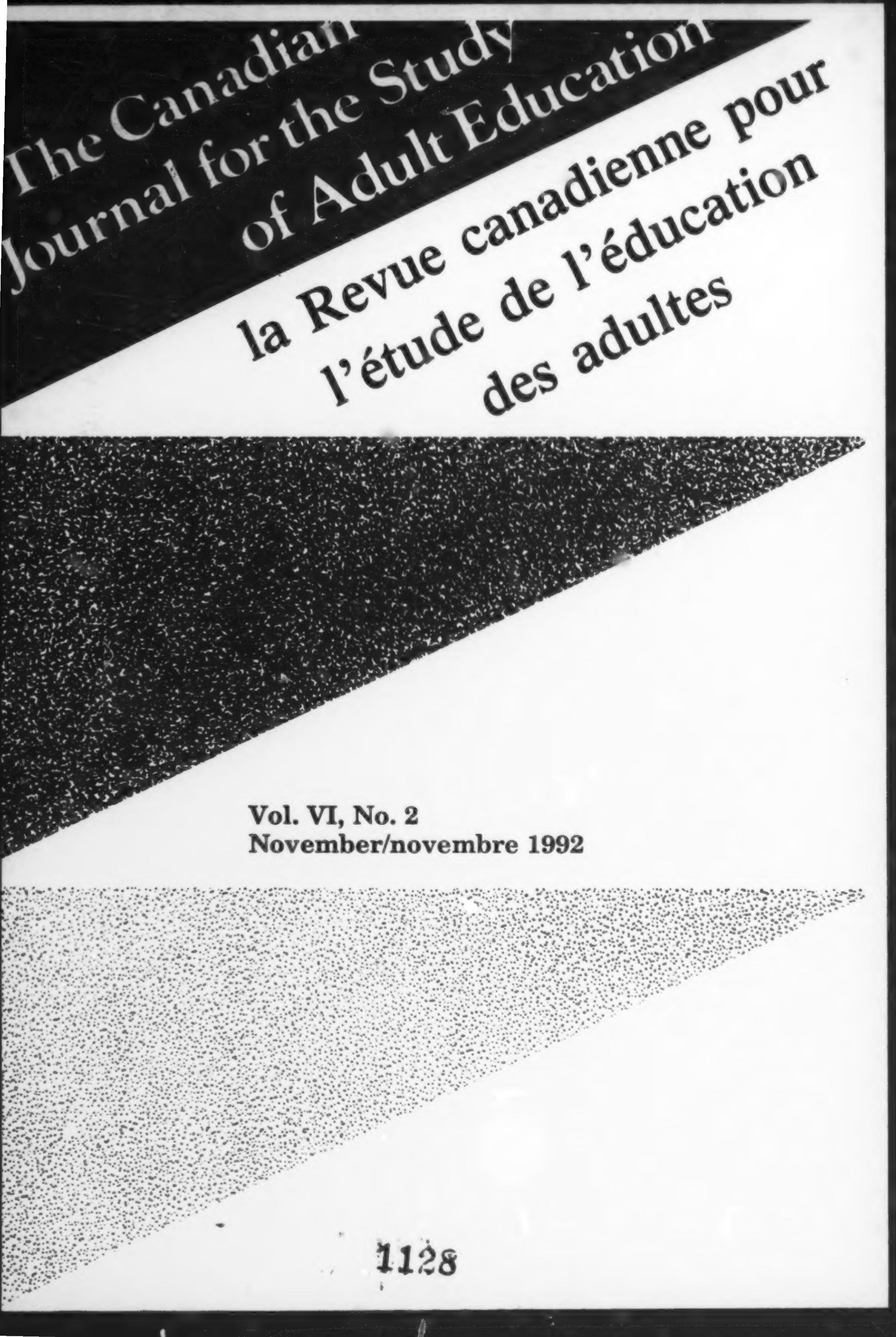

The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education

la Revue canadienne pour l'étude de l'éducation des adultes

Vol. VI, No. 2
November/novembre 1992

CANADIAN JOURNAL FOR THE STUDY OF ADULT EDUCATION

Editorial Policy

The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education is published by the Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education (CASAE). The Journal is committed to the dissemination of knowledge derived from disciplined inquiry in the field of adult and continuing education. It is a refereed journal, subject to the canons of review which determine the quality of the papers to be included for publication.

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November/novembre, 1992, Vol. VI., No. 2

Table of Contents/Table des Matières

Editorial i

A Case of Plagiarism v

Articles

Theoretical and Empirical Perspectives on Marine
Incidents and Their Prevention Through Education
Roger Boshier 1

Les caractéristiques de la contextualisation
chez des adultes visiteurs de musée
Estelle Chamberland et
Collete Dufresne-Tassé 17

Création et adaptation: Intégration dans le
développement vocationnel de l'adulte
Danielle Riverin-Simard 33

Personal Change Through Participation in Social Action:
A Case Study of Ten Social Activists
Sue M. Scott 47

Book Reviews/Recensions

Une formation accessible et adaptée, qu'en
pensent les adultes et le personnel?
Claire Turcotte avec la collaboration de Suzanne Fontaine
et Paul-Henri Lamontagne
Madeleine Blais 65

Challenging, Interesting and Important
Adult Education as Theory, Practice and Research:
The Captive Triangle
Robin Usher and Ian Bryant
Paul J. Edelson 67

Postmodern Times: Readings for Adult Educators
The Condition of Postmodernity
D. Harvey
Hiding the Light: On Images and Things
D. Hebdige
Postmodern Theory: Critical Interrogations
D. Kellner and S. Best
Feminism / Postmodernism
L. Nicholson (Ed.)
D.T. Plumb 70

Black and Blue All Over
Adult Education: Evolution and Achievements in a Developing Field of Study
John M. Peters, Peter Jarvis and Associates
Michael Welton 78

Graduate Degrees in Canada—Adult Education and Cognate Subjects/Diplôme d'études supérieures au Canada—éducation des adultes et sujets connexes 1992 85

Call for Papers/Proposition de textes 97

Announcement of Position 99

Guidelines for Contributors/Directives pour les collaboratrices et collaborateurs 100

The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education/
La Revue canadienne pour l'étude de l'éducation des adultes
November/novembre, 1992, Vol. VI, No. 2

EDITORIAL

A View From The Gates: Looking Inwards, Outwards and Onwards

This issue marks the close of the sixth year of publication of *The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education* and the last issue of the *Journal* to be published in the original format. Volume VII, issue number 1 (May 1993), will introduce a new format which will retain the current high quality of paper and print while introducing a new cover and some economies of space utilization, page size and printing costs. With the new format we will also introduce some editorial changes and increase the number of articles published per issue. The last year has presented several challenges to the *Journal* and has been a year of planning for the future. This issue presents an opportune time to discuss those challenges, review the past contributions made by the *Journal* to Canadian adult education and to present our plans for the future development of the *Journal*.

As a consequence of the Social Science and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) having insufficient funds to meet all of the requests made by scholarly journals in 1991, the request for support made by *The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education* was not approved. Among the reasons given by the SSHRC for its decision were concerns about the number of subscriptions for the *Journal* beyond the membership of CASAE, the lack of empirical research articles and the *Journal's* commitment to the use of electronic mail networks to disseminate articles. It is a goal of the *Journal* to expand its readership and to increase subscriptions from academic institutions. Work has begun to market the *Journal* more vigorously. Relatively few empirical studies have been published, largely because few have been submitted. As for the *Journal's* support for the use of electronic mail to disseminate articles accepted for publication and queued for printing (see the statement on the inside back cover of this issue), this innovative goal has never been implemented since a surfeit of accepted articles has not yet occurred. It is interesting to note that currently a committee of SSHRC and the Canadian Association of Learned Journals is exploring the possibilities for reducing journal costs through electronic dissemination methods. In this case we suffer from being a little ahead of our time.

It is our goal to resubmit for SSHRC funding support in 1994. We hope at that time to be able to respond positively to the concerns previously expressed by demonstrating that there has been an increase in the number of empirical studies published, that journal subscriptions have increased and that the use of electronic distribution methods remains a long term goal. We hope that the increase in the number of empirical articles will be achieved at the same time as we increase the total number of articles published. It has not been editorial policy in the past which has determined the number of empirical studies published, and it will not be in the future. It is our intention to increase the number of empirical studies submitted to the *Journal* by soliciting papers directly from empirical researchers and clearly indicating in *Journal* literature that we wish to receive more empirical work.

The *Journal* has become a member of The Canadian Association of Learned Journals to become actively involved in the broader discussion of SSHRC subsidies for journals and to develop our resources and personal skills on behalf of the *Journal*. Madeleine Butschler, Editorial Associate, attended the 1992 annual meeting of the CALJ in Charlottetown where, in addition to acting as a source of information concerning SSHRC funding policies and directions, the meeting offered a recasting of learned journals' roles for the future. We hope to have additional Editorial representation at the 1993 meeting in Ottawa.

In the fall of 1991 we conducted a survey of previous reviewers to ascertain their interest in continuing to serve as reviewers, to request their assistance in expanding our panel of reviewers and to solicit their opinions on future directions for the *Journal*. Shortly after we distributed the survey form a case of plagiarism was brought to our attention. This matter is reported elsewhere in this issue. Here we would like to point out that the survey was begun prior to the plagiarism case being brought to the Editors' attention and was not related to a concern about the work of the *Journal's* reviewers. It was clear from the files and correspondence that a large number of persons had contributed their time and expertise to the *Journal* during its five year history. In Volume VI, (1) we published a list of reviewers' names and an acknowledgement of their support for the *Journal*. Suggestions were received which proved helpful in our consideration of editorial policy and format changes. We intend to consult reviewers at regular intervals and to continue the practice of publishing their names in appreciation of their work and to ensure that, as "gatekeepers", we continue the practice of this journal—that is, keeping the gates open.

A major project that we have undertaken is to construct a data base to maintain a detailed historical record and to aid ongoing research into the epistemology of adult education. This project will also enable future *Journal* editors to be accountable to readers for their gatekeeping practices. We hope to share information on the database with CASAE members at the 1993 meeting.

Communications difficulties and changes in Editorial personnel have not allowed for the development work of the Anglophone Editors to be conducted in close cooperation with the Francophone Editors. Essentially we have been and remain today two solitudes. It is our wish that in the future we might become less solitary and explore possibilities for the *Journal* cooperatively. The annual meeting of the *Journal* Board at the CASAE conference June 10 - 12, 1993, in Ottawa may allow this commitment to become more of a reality.

Other activities we have undertaken in our first year include the development of a manuscript cover sheet which requires contributors to identify the origins of their research, acknowledge sources of financial and other assistance, advise the editors on institutional affiliations, confirm their willingness to provide a copy of their manuscript on a computer diskette, if possible, confirm their use of the APA or Chicago Style manual and declare their willingness to assign copyright of the published article to the *Journal*. In future issues we will amend the statement of accepted styles to include Turabian, a simplified version of the Chicago Style Manual.

To review the contribution of the *Journal* to Canadian adult education we developed an index for the first five volumes (CJSAE, VI, (1) 1992). The index shows that professors of adult education have made a major contribution towards establishing the *Journal* as a source of knowledge about Canadian adult education. However, the story of Canadian adult education can only be told and the experience shared when adult education practitioners, participants, volunteers and observers contribute their work. The democratization of knowledge production and dissemination is a goal of Canadian adult education practice which we would like to see reflected more strongly in the *Journal* in future. To ensure that the *Journal* does not become solely an instrument of the professoriate, or others seeking professional advancement, we promise that contributions from all adult educators will be treated with respect and that editorial support will be made available to contributors whose prior writing experience and work may not have prepared them to develop manuscripts to publishable standards.

We wish to encourage recent graduates of adult education programs to rewrite their theses and dissertations for publication. To this end we now write to each doctoral graduate, with a copy of the letter to the graduate's advisor, indicating our interest in receiving a manuscript. To encourage the submission of articles based on Master's theses we write to department heads asking them to consider their graduates' projects and theses and to inform those graduates whose work holds most promise for publication of our interest in receiving a report of their research.

The index also shows that the *Journal* is publishing material on the cutting edge of practice. Such material includes reports and studies on critical theory, feminist issues and research, international adult education and social action. Such topics reflect the activist tradition of Canadian adult education and demonstrate that the editors want this *Journal* to have a point of view and a soul. We want to continue publishing articles and research studies in these areas and in such other areas as:

> The story of Canadian adult education—herstory and history.
>
> The work of Canadian adult educators in broad social change movements such as the environmental movement and the work of "Friends of the Athabasca" and "The Old Man River Society"

in Alberta. Other counter hegemonic adult education work we would like to publish includes the work of Food Security Watch Groups, Foodbank organizers and anti poverty groups.

The contribution of Canadian adult education to the achievement of social equity and justice in the least developed countries.

Comparative adult education studies which highlight the differences and similarities in the practices of Canadian and other adult educators.

Biographies of Canadian adult educators. We must not wait for people to die before we examine their work and assess their contribution to Canadian adult education.

Studies which inform us about the changes occurring in our institutions. We need to be aware of the implications that these changes hold for adult education access, equity and practice.

The contributions to the advancement of women by adult educators, feminist contributions to adult education theory and practices, as well as the issues and problems faced by women in adult education. (See 'Call for Papers', page 97 of this issue.)

We ask for your help in this effort to continue to build the *Journal* and contribute towards the enhancement of knowledge of the field of adult education in Canada and worldwide.

For the Saskatchewan Editorial Collective,
Adri[illegible]nt, Madeleine Butschler and Robert A. Carlson.

The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education/
La Revue canadienne pour l'étude de l'éducation des adultes
November/novembre, 1992, Vol. VI, No. 2

A CASE OF PLAGARISM

The Special Issue of the Journal devoted to Critical Social Theory in Adult Education, Volume V, Winter, 1991, contained an article submitted by Carmel Chambers, "Habermas and Welfare Capitalism: A Statement from the Excluded Gender Subtext", (pp. 73-93). This article was largely the plagiarized work of Dr. Nancy Fraser of North Western University. We, the current Anglophone Editors, publish this statement concerning this case of plagiarism because it allows the Association and the Journal to offer some reparation to Dr. Fraser and her publisher, The University of Minnesota Press, and to fulfill the legal obligations of the Journal for the offence that has occurred. A letter from Ms Chambers acknowledging the plagiarism follows this statement from the current editors.

We publish this letter with a combination of regret, dismay and alarm.

We regret that Ms. Chambers placed herself, or found herself, in a position wherein her choice was to violate one of the most serious ethics of scholarship. Her act of plagiarism is substantial and cannot be condoned.

We are dismayed that the Journal should have been involved in damage to the original author, Professor Nancy Fraser, whose seminal work was stolen. In her initial letter to us, after she had been informed of the allegation of plagiarism, Dr. Fraser stated that all she wanted was credit for her work. There is no question that the majority of the work in the article submitted by Ms. Chambers was the unacknowledged work of Dr. Fraser: "What's Critical About Critical Theory?: The Case of Habermas and Gender", Benhabib, S. and Cornell, D. (Eds.), *Feminism as Critique*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987). We are equally dismayed at the damage done to the interests of The University of Minnesota Press, the original publisher, who has defended the author and the probity of academic publishing throughout the affair. They have both been patient and reasonable during the time required to sort out the affair.

On behalf of the Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education and its Journal, we apologize to Dr. Fraser and to The University of Minnesota Press.

We are alarmed because this event points to the fragility of the system of academic publishing and of the pursuit and dissemination of knowledge that it represents. The processes of editorial and peer review required by the Journal were followed by the then Anglophone Editor and the special issue's guest editor. Two independent blind reviews were obtained, but the reviewers and the editors failed to recognize that plagiarism had occurred. Our scholarly traditions require a commitment to ethical practices. We are citizens of a scholarly community where citizenship requires that we confront academic dishonesty should we observe it. Editors and reviewers are not intellectual police officers actively engaged in seeking out those who may contravene the ethical guidelines for scholarly work. It may be that this special issue, which involved cross-disciplinary work in a relatively new area of adult education research, made the reviewers vulnerable to the problem of recognizing a prominent text from another field. However comforting that excuse may be, it will not suffice as an argument to support the belief that we need not be more vigilant in the future. Tempered with that vigilance, we must also make a communal commitment to ongoing discourse of ethical practices and to support each other in the maintenance of them.

Our statement of regret, alarm and dismay, together with this published apology, are all that we believe we can do to rectify the damage done to Professor Fraser and her publisher. Ms. Chambers has apologized and will no doubt regret her mistake for many years to come. The incident, as part of our published record, will serve to remind us of the principles to which we all subscribe, and it will invite reflection on our work in building knowledge about adult education.

Adrian Blunt and
Robert A. Carlson,
for the Saskatchewan
Editorial Collective.

Alan Thomas,
Managing Editor.
Budd Hall,
President, CASAE/ACÉÉA.

---

6 October 1992

Dr. Alan M. Thomas, Managing Editor
The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education
252 Bloor Street West, Toronto, Ontario M5S 1V6

Dear Dr. Thomas,

In the Special Issue of the Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult education, (Vol. 5, Winter, 1991) devoted to "Critical Social theory and Adult Education," I published an article entitled "Habermas and welfare capitalism: A statement from the excluded gender subtext."

I regret to inform you, that because of a debilitating illness unexpectedly suffered during the time of preparation of the article, substantial portions of the text were taken, without acknowledgement, from an article by Nancy Fraser of Northwestern University, entitled "What's Critical About Critical Theory: The Case of Habermas and Gender" which appeared in *Feminism as Critique* published by the University of Minnesota Press, 1987.

I am conscious of the need for Ms. Fraser to receive full credit for her work. I regret any harm that may have inadvertently been done to her, to the original publisher, and to the Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education.

Sincerely,

C. Chambers

The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education/
La Revue canadienne pour l'étude de l'éducation des adultes
November/novembre, 1992, Vol. VI, No. 2

ARTICLES

THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL PERSPECTIVES ON MARINE INCIDENTS AND THEIR PREVENTION THROUGH EDUCATION[1]

Roger Boshier
University of British Columbia

Abstract

Each year the Government of Canada spends $220 million on Search and Rescue. The purpose of this paper was to analyze the 35,000 incidents logged by the Canadian Coastguard between 1985 and 1988, to present a model showing factors involved in the initiation and progress of marine incidents and to critically appraise prevention education. *Prevention* education occurs in formal, nonformal and informal settings but its effectiveness is impeded because it is largely preoccupied with technical matters and anchored in an ideology of individualism that does not have sufficient regard for sociocultural factors.

Résumé

Le gouvernement du Canada dépense chaque année $222 millions sur "Search and Rescue". Le but de l'article était d'analyser les 35,000 incidents inscrits au journal de bord par le "Canadian Coastguard" entre 1985 et 1988, de présenter un modèle qui indique des facteurs impliqués dans l'initiation et le progrès d'incidents marins, et d'évaluer de façon critique l'éducation préventive. L'éducation préventive se trouve dans des situations formelles, non-formelles, et informelles mais son efficacité est limitée car elle se préoccupe en grande mesure de questions techniques et est ancrée dans une idéologie d'individualisme qui fait peu de cas de facteurs socioculturels.

Introduction

A marine incident can be defined as an unexpected and unwelcome occurrence that involves a situation where one or more individuals on a boat—or other marine structure—are in (or are getting into) a situation where they require assistance so as to avoid death, injury, inconvenience or property damage. Search and rescue (SAR) incidents are of two types: *distress*, where the threat of death or serious physical harm exists if aid is not rendered, and *non-distress*,

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[1] (Manuscript received December 1991, revised manuscript received October 1992.)

where the direct threat of death or physical harm does not exist, but could develop if assistance was not rendered. These incidents cost lives (about 200 a year) and large amounts of money.

The expenditures on marine search and rescue occur because Canada has a long and isolated coastline and there are thousands of incidents every year. Between 1985 and 1988 about 35,000 "incidents" came to the attention of the Canadian Coastguard and nearly half involved vessels in the western region. In addition to the roughly 7000 incidents (groundings, broken down, person overboard, etc.) that come to the attention of the Coastguard each year, many more occur out of sight of the authorities or in places not serviced by the Coastguard. Many are rectified with help from friends, vessels of opportunity, commercial towboats, or salvors. There are also thousands of incidents reported to Coastguard personnel but not logged or forwarded to Rescue Coordination Centres (R.C.C). Nobody knows how many incidents occur in an average year but it could approximate 100,000. In British Columbia about 200 people drown each year and, according to the Red Cross (1988), boating accidents are the primary cause of drowning in the B.C./Yukon region. In 1987 the number of drownings in B.C. was 2.15 times greater than the national average.

In 1992 almost every Canadian became acutely aware that the Government of Canada spent about $135 million on a nonbinding referendum concerning the constitution. But in the same year, and in most years previously the Government of Canada spent nearly twice this amount—approximately $220 million—on (air, land and marine) search and rescue (SAR). Of the three (air, land, marine) marine incidents represent a considerable drain on public and private funds. For example, the 1990-91 federal estimates for marine SAR in Canada were as follows: National Defence $120 million; Transport Canada (Coastguard) $83 million; Fisheries and Oceans $889,000; RCMP $347,000. For every one hundred dollars that the Government of Canada spends on SAR *response* it spends only $1.50 on SAR *prevention* (National Search and Rescue—Part III of the Federal Estimates, 1990-91).

Although less than two percent of expenditures are devoted to *prevention* a 1983 evaluation of Search and Rescue in Canada, coupled with the Report of the **Ocean Ranger** (drilling rig) disaster, along with demands for reductions in public spending, have led to an acceleration of interest in the **prevention** of marine incidents. **Prevention** is normally construed as *regulation* (and enforcement of existing standards) and *education*.

Coastguard *prevention* efforts are mostly focused on courtesy examinations, liaising with and supporting the efforts of organizations like the Red Cross, giving "presentations" and mounting exhibits at boat shows. In 1978 the Coastguard in the Western region devoted seven person-years to prevention. By 1982 this had been reduced to five (person-years), and by January, 1988 there were only two person-years (part-time) involved. By 1991 four person years were being spent on prevention. The integration of the Coastguard fleet had also spread some of the burden of *prevention* to those whose work had hitherto been confined to servicing navigation aids and suchlike. But, in 1991, there were still insufficient resources to mount an exhibit at the Vancouver boat show (an important setting for informal education). Moreover, the Coastguard has no valid data, derived from experimentation or other dependable research, that attests to the effectiveness of prevention education.

People who drive cars need a license, but anyone in Canada can purchase a boat, turn the key or hoist a sail and head out to sea. There is a strong lobby in Canada that favours operator (as well as vessel) licensing and mandatory continuing education for boaters. There is an equally strong lobby that believes boating safety is best ensured through formal, nonformal and informal education that has adequate regard to the social ecology of boating and boaters.

Issues in Prevention Education

In Western Canada, *prevention* education is mostly couched as "information transmittal" and, in recent years, has been encumbered by staff cutbacks in the Coastguard, the socioculturally differentiated nature of the boating community, an air of desperation in parts of the fishing fleets and the presence of fishing families whose approach to safety is not always amenable to traditional educational methods, techniques and devices (brochures, leaflets, etc.).

Prevention education anchored in a "schooling" model is not congruent with the needs or preferences of significant sectors of the boating community and is rarely informed by principles of adult education. More importantly, there is no evidence to suggest it reaches more than a small percentage of boaters or is based on any sustained study of boaters or boating. At best it is based on vague notions of "creating awareness" or "giving information."

Agencies

There is no single agency or program that delivers *prevention* education to all types of boat operators. Instead, there is a plethora of agencies and programs that cater to different elements of the boating community, and they operate from contrasting perspectives. *Prevention* education occurs in **formal** (i.e. school and college), **nonformal** (out-of-school) and **informal** settings.

Formal settings include schools, colleges and Marine Training Institutes where largely commercial, or professional mariners study for examinations administered by the Canadian Coastguard.

Nonformal settings include those created by voluntary associations such as the Power and Sail Squadrons, the Red Cross and Coastguard Auxiliary, by the continuing education divisions of school boards and community colleges, by proprietary schools (e.g. sailing schools) and by clubs and boating associations. *Prevention* education that occurs in *informal* settings includes all the serendipitous and incidental education that occurs as a result of reading boating magazines, attending boat shows, and through receiving messages delivered as part of public education (or communications) campaigns conducted by the Coastguard, boating insurance companies, radio stations and other interested parties.

Barriers

There is nothing technically difficult about action designed to reduce marine incidents. One reason why marine incidents are not a high priority is the fact even people trained to use analytical and rational modes of thought believe they somehow defy systematic study and are due to "chance," "bad luck" or "the weather." Another possible explanation stems from the large number of self-styled "experts" and fatalists ("you can't do anything") in the boating world.

It is also difficult to secure the cooperation of boaters, especially fishers who already feel beleaguered by declining fish stocks and government regulation. Many successful disease control measures did not require active cooperation and caused little inconvenience for those who benefitted. For example, pasteurized milk tastes about the same as non-pasteurized milk, municipal water supplies with fluoride cannot be distinguished from those without. However, when prevention encroaches on what some regard as their "freedom" or when individuals are deprived of their right to engage in culturally sanctioned behaviour (such as boating and drinking), problems occur. Boaters are mostly men who have been conditioned to take risks. Western-style cultures have rewarded the risk taker—whether bull fighter, mountaineer, prize fighter, investor, politician or test pilot—even when risk-taking leads to failure or injury. Prevention measures might call for incorporation of features which prevent incidents (or save lives) but diminish the status of the user. For example, do "real" men need liferafts or Emergency Position Indicating Radio Beacon System Transmitters (EPIRBS)? More importantly, an emphasis on incident reduction or prevention might fly in the face of advertising campaigns that emphasize speed, power and dominance.

These kinds of cultural and sub-cultural factors hinder the acceptance or implementation of safety messages. Psycho-social barriers to prevention require extensive research, but must be considered together with the fact that *prevention* measures sometimes involve threats to industries. For example, certain large boat manufacturers are reluctant to get involved with research about their products which could lead to revelations about construction defects. Editors of boating magazines are in a difficult situation and, with the exception of *Practical Sailor* (a U.S. publication), usually reluctant to identify defective craft because of the fear of litigation. Thus, when construing the notion of prevention, educators or regulators have to consider questions like—Who benefits? Who is in charge here? Who controls this "knowledge" and whose interests are being served?

Epidemiology of Marine Incidents

For many people, marine incidents, even fatalities, are an inevitable corollary of life at sea. Those who make it into retirement are lucky. Fatalism provides little incentive for prevention; death, injury and property loss are widely regarded as the price to be paid for being on the water. This is in marked contrast to the situation elsewhere. For example, the purification of water, the widespread availability of information about the hazards of smoking, the pasteurization of milk and other advances have led to a reduction in certain types of mortality. But there is no evidence to suggest that marine incidents have decreased. Technological change has meant that one type of incident (exploding boilers in the age of steam) has been replaced by another (gasoline fires in the age of petroleum). Of course some types (such as groundings) remain constant. For example, Galiano in the **Sutil** hit the reef at Cance Rocks in Porlier Pass in 1791 and in August 1992 a Vancouver teacher in the **Ragus** rolled over on the same rocks. But perhaps the most dramatic incident was in 1792 when George Vancouver nearly lost the **Discovery** when he grounded (and rolled over) near the north end of Vancouver Island.

Various organizations and people in the SAR or boating community gather and evaluate data for their own purposes. Yet there is a marked lack of research that could inform prevention programs, with the exception of the occasional evaluation of some new product—for example survival suits, harnesses, liferafts or flares. Insurance companies study claim patterns and manufacturers test equipment. Probably the most impressive research is done by the Transportation Accident Investigation and Safety Board but this primarily concerns commercial or larger vessels. The Deschenes (1984) study on marine casualty investigation was also noteworthy.

The Coastguard monitors the frequency of incidents that come to their attention. But their database is largely intended to monitor equipment use and, apart from the occasional exception, little of the information becomes part of any public dialogue about boating safety. Even more worrying is that, in times of declining budgets, those who control the most important data could be considered to be in a conflict of interest because the ability to secure resources depends on maintaining a high number of incidents.

Inadequate research easily leads to the adoption of prevention strategies whose adequacy remains untested. There is no shortage of "common-sense" in the SAR community. Yet a lot of programs adopted because of common sense (e.g. handing out pamphlets) fail to withstand critical scrutiny. For example, there is a lobby in SAR circles that claims incidents could be dramatically reduced if authorities would impose boat and operator licensing, mandatory continuing education and heavy penalties for malcreants. But has motor vehicle and driver licensing had a significant impact on motor vehicle incidents (accidents) and why do licensed boat operators still run into the rocks (e.g. **Exxon Valdez**)?

Despite the plethora of organizations conducting prevention education their efforts are hampered by a lack of theory and data concerning marine incidents. Observers might argue that *prevention* education not supported by research "can't do any harm." But it can lead to inappropriate emphasis (such as on boater licensing) and dissipate energy and resources. Inadequately researched prevention measures give the impression that "everything that can be done is being done," when very little is happening. Thus as part of an effort to insinuate an adult education and research focus into discussions concerning boating safety in Western Canada, the author sought to perform an educational "needs analysis" by analyzing marine incidents. It was hoped that this analysis would shed light on the frequency and nature of marine incidents and ultimately shape the character and form of *prevention-education* programs delivered by Coastguard and other personnel.

Incidents Database

The author sought to disentangle variables associated with incidents reported in the Coastguard Marine Incidents database for 1985, 1986, 1987 and 1988. After all the "continuation" lines were eliminated (indicating that a second resource was dispatched) this meant that R.C.C.'s logged 34,436 separate marine incidents in the four years encompassed in the analysis that follows. In 1985 8,138 incidents were logged; in 1986 7,794, in 1987 8,840 incidents and in 1988 9,647.

In view of the fact data gathered "on-scene" is not fed into the Coastguard marine incidents database there is little information that attests to the "cause" of incidents. However, some of the variable relationships reported herein pertain to problems amenable to education.

Of the incidents, 43.00% were in the Western region, 20.20% were in Central Canada, 12.8% in the Laurentian region and 18.00% in the Maritimes. Only 6.00% were in Newfoundland. This should not be interpreted to mean that boaters in Western Canada were more careless or accident-prone than those in other parts of Canada. Although mechanisms exist to monitor the situation, nobody knows how many boats or boaters there are in different parts of Canada, so it was not possible to establish the extent to which the ratio of incidents to boaters varies throughout Canada. Nevertheless, the fact Western Canadian boaters were involved in nearly 13,000 incidents between 1985 and 1988 (and these are only the ones that came to the attention of the R.C.C. in Victoria), shows the magnitude of the problem. It is probable that when all the incidents that do not come to the attention of the Coastguard are added to those entered in the database, there could be up to 100,000 per year in the Western region.

When Incidents Occurred

Most incidents (19.1%) occurred on a Sunday, 18.0% were on a Saturday, and 15.1% on a Monday. The remaining days of the week each had about 11 to 12 percent of the incidents. There are more boaters out in the summer and, as a result, 20.8% of incidents were in July, 19.5% in August and 15.1% in June.

The Red Cross (1988) water safety survey involved interviews with 2,383 small craft users. Only half of those interviewed could name one source of information concerning small craft safety—four percent mentioned the Red

Cross, nine percent the Coastguard and 16 percent identified the Police. About 31 percent said they think of the weather before setting out in a small craft. This survey suggested that many boaters ascribed the same importance to alcoholic beverages as to flotation devices and other safety equipment. The validity of the result concerning alcohol is dubious because responses given over the phone may have little to do with behaviour on a boat. Yet, the result was congruent with the fact the number of incidents "increases" after 7:00 p.m.

Much could be learned from studying the ways in which incidents occurring at different times of the day and night differ. Unfortunately, the variable "time of incident" was treated as a nominal (categorical) variable in the 1985 and 1986 files. In the following two years it was treated as an interval variable—coded in accord with the 24 hour clock. For present purposes it was recoded so as to distinguish day (i.e. from 0600 hours to 1800 hours) from night (1801 hours to 0559 hours) incidents. There are many more boats and boaters out in daylight than at nighttime. Thus the "at-risk" population is greater in daytime. Yet 47.7 percent of incidents (in 1987-1988) occurred at night and only 52.2 percent in the daytime. Almost a third of them occurred after 2000 hours (8 p.m.) at night.

Vessel Types

In the Coastguard files vessels were coded according to type and size and there were codes for sailboards, offshore drilling rigs and open boats. For present purposes this variable was recoded so as to distinguish between six vessel types and "non-vessels." In the four years reported here, 36.1% of incidents involved pleasure/power boats; 15.3% involved sailboats, 26.6% involved fishing boats. Rowing boats and canoes were involved in 1131 incidents (3.8% of the total). Commercial or government vessels were involved in 972 (or 3.2%) incidents.

Variable Relationships

Because there is little emphasis on securing and using on-scene information it is difficult to speculate about the **cause** of incidents. Sometimes the cause has little to do with boat maintenance or the condition of the operator; at other times it resides in cumulative errors or negligence that started long before the vessel left the dock. Moreover, once an incident begins, what started as an inconvenience can develop into a serious situation (as in the **Catch-22** broaching north of Thrasher Rock—see Boshier, 1990). Sometimes there is insufficient evidence concerning the cause of an incident (such as in the **Canadian National No. 5** sinking). All incidents have a life cycle and, as error piles on error, the ultimate cause will often end up being something other than what triggered the incident in the first place. Throughout the summer and on winter weekends the author operates the **Gulftow-99** salvage vessel in Georgia Strait and has seen enough incidents to conclude that what the boat operator does after an incident is "in progress" is, in many cases, more important than what he/she did to initiate or trigger the situation. Thus, when thinking about **cause** we should remember both the *antecedent* and *trigger* events.

A crude measure of "cause" can be ascertained from reports filed by Coastguard radio operators and R.C.C. controllers. The most startling thing is that the cause of nearly one quarter of the incidents is either not known or not reported. Sometimes this is because a vessel has sunk without trace but usually it is because records kept by personnel assisting the vessel are not read into the marine incidents database that originates at R.C.C.'s. Sometimes the on-scene personnel are from the Coastguard or Coastguard Auxiliary. Other times, particularly in B.C., they are commercial towboat operators, members of community lifeboat societies, good Samaritans from "vessels of convenience," or mariners obliged by law to assist boaters in distress. Little attention can be given to the cause of incidents, particularly in busy times when incidents pile up on each other (such as during the May, 1990 "storm" weekend when Vancouver radio worked 34 incidents in 24 hours).

The data for the four years encompassed by the study appear to suggest that the most frequently occurring incidents (n = 12,435, 36.1%) involved mechanical failure, 10.2% were false alarms, 10% involved adrift or derelict vessels, 9.9% were groundings. There were 339 person-overboard situations—a very serious event even in calm seas. The mean wind velocity during incidents was reported to be 10.35 knots (S.D. = 9.02), there were an average of 1.72 persons on board the subject vessels (S.D. = 7.41) and, of the 34,436 incidents, 4337 (or 12.6%) were deemed to constitute **distress**—often involving a Mayday.

Incidents involving pleasure/sail (X = 2.61 miles offshore) and pleasure/power (X = 2.97 miles offshore) generally occurred closer to shore than those involving government/commercial (X = 13.14 miles offshore) or fishing vessels (X = 12.45 miles offshore). However, vessels in distress were slightly closer to shore (X = 5.36 miles, S.D. = 29.20) than those involved in incidents that did not constitute distress (X = 6.01 miles, S.D. = 19.54)

About 200 lives are lost in distress incidents each year. Sometimes several are lost in a single incident (such as in the foundering of the **Canadian National No. 5** in Georgia Strait, February, 1990). A crude index of vulnerability can be obtained by dividing the number of lives lost by the number of incidents experienced by, for example, different vessel types. Thus, of the 1155 incidents involving government vessels, 116 (or 10.04%) involved a loss of life, 10.55% of incidents with open boats involved loss of life as did 8.56% of "non-vessel" (including sailboards), and 3.23% of incidents involving fishboats. Only 50 sailboat incidents involved loss of life (during 9.7% of the sailboat incidents); the 12,566 pleasure/power boat incidents involved 211 (or 1.68%) incidents where lives were lost.

It is tempting to assume that open boats constitute the greatest hazard but without information concerning the number of boats (by type) in use and not involved in incidents we are in no position to make such claims. There are many other variables to consider, for example, the fact 3.10% of incidents occurring on Wednesdays and Saturdays involved loss of life whereas only 1.86% of those on Thursdays and 1.77% of those on Sundays involved loss of life (chi-square 39.79, df = 6, p < .001).

The **antecedents** and **consequences** of a marine incident involve the conjoint action of many variables. Some of the most crucial reside in the competence of the operator, the condition and age of the equipment and vessel and the nature of the weather. **Consequences** are often determined by the location and proximity to SAR resources.

The *Red Cross Drowning Report* (1989) suggested that most drownings in B.C. occur in the northern part of Vancouver Island. Poor people who have not had access to boating education, are part of the growing flotilla of "non-traditional fishers" (clam diggers, etc.), are under pressure because of pollution and declining fish stocks, and likely to be out in foul weather in an open (and sometimes overloaded) boat. They are clearly in greater jeopardy than the relatively affluent recreational boaters or "traditional" fishers of the Lower Mainland. Additionally, in the southern straits there are more SAR resources, and "vessels of opportunity" are usually closer than in more remote coastal areas. Thus, of the 1492 incidents in the Campbell River/Bella Bella region, 75 (or 5.29 %) involved loss of life. This is in sharp contrast to the situation in the Gulf Islands where 2.19% incidents involved loss of life (e.g. the 1989 diving fatality at Breakwater Island) or the Central Strait of Georgia where only 1.04% of incidents involved loss of life.

A Model of Marine Incidents

Impact of Theory

If other disciplines and problems are a guide, it appears that theorizing about marine incidents could affect *prevention* in several ways. First, broad frames of reference that lie behind theories or models affect the way the problem is construed. For example, to what extent do incidents stem from adverse socioeconomic circumstances? The lack of safety equipment—VHF radios, flares, liferafts, Personal Flotation Devices—also stems from a lack of investment in safety equipment or a lack of access to reasonable supplies. Education construed in this way would show how incidents arise from socioeconomic circumstances.

An observer whose view of marine incidents is *interpretivist* will place great emphasis on the way boat operators construe "safety," "risk," their "masculinity," the "weather" and other attributes of life on the water. The emphasis here would be on a *subjective* view of the world. For example, how do men and women construe "safety," "risk" and "prevention"? There is a strong suspicion in some quarters that a macho attitude results in situations where people are **aware** of dangers but fail to adopt the appropriate **behaviour**. An approach informed by a *subjective* perspective would be particularly important for new-Canadians who fear "authority," have learned to distrust government, and do not understand prevention messages in English.

Educators should focus on the way people construe the world differently, and develop educational concepts and processes tailored to the multiple "realities" inhabited by, for example, fishers, pleasure boaters, commercial operators or kayakers. Prevention education construed on this basis would be participatory, conducted in community—rather than institutional—settings, involve "teachers" and "learners" of equal or similar status and designed to empower (even marginalized) boaters to take action to protect themselves. It would also lay stress on gender, power relationships on boats and the extent to which "gender dominance" creates vulnerabilities in person overboard or other perilous situations.

In contrast, an observer who believes there is an objective reality, and that variables are lawfully interrelated, is likely to be less interested in subjective constructions of the world than with technical details of weather, machinery, aids to navigation and boat handling (Boshier, 1990a).

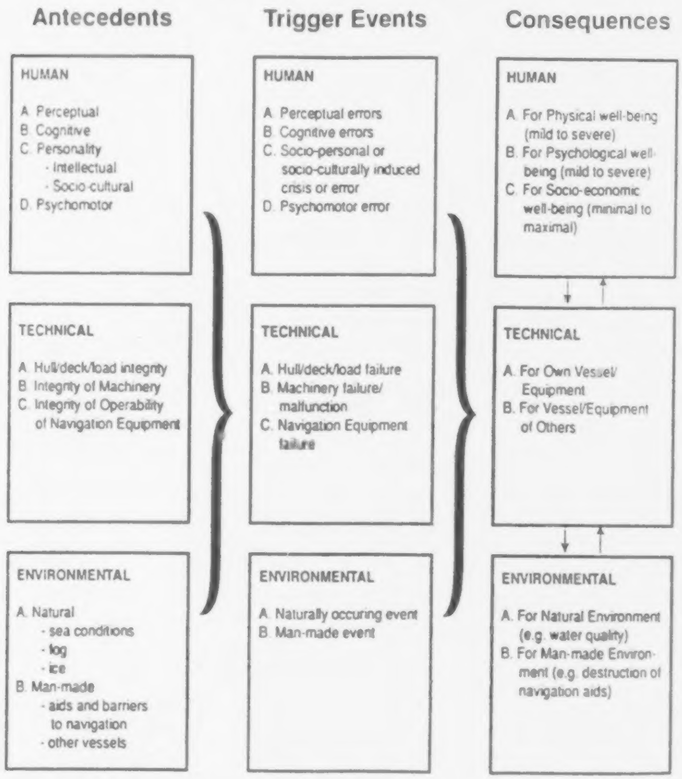
Purpose of a Model

A model is a conceptual analogue used to guide research, policy and, in this instance, *prevention education*. Models influence research but are not usually affected by results. Once a model is selected the researcher does not usually modify it. This is one of the attributes that distinguishes models from theories. Figure 1 shows the components of a model with variables, that in different combinations, represent what happens during most marine incidents. Every vessel has the potential to become involved in an incident. There is no doubt that deferred maintenance, the presence of unsafe equipment or heavy loads, can later combine with bad weather or operator error to produce an incident. Yet it is important to realize that once an incident is "triggered," what the operator does to control or respond to it has a critical effect on the severity of the situation.

Thus, in Figure 1 there are three components—*antecedents, trigger events* and *consequences*. Time goes from left to right and may range from a few seconds (as in an explosion) to many hours (as in a grounding or sinking). In the "real" world of marine incidents it is sometimes difficult to disentangle antecedents from trigger events and consequences since they are often tightly woven as a series of fast-moving events. Moreover it is the variable interactions—between say the *human* and *environmental* variables that are of greatest interest and most amenable to prevention through education.

Although there are grounding "hot spots" (such as Silva Bay's famous Shipyard Rock—see Boshier, 1985; Boshier, 1989), and persistent technical failures (such as breakdowns in engines, sterndrives, steering and electrical systems) each incident involves a unique combination of antecedents, triggers and consequences.

Figure 1: Model to Explain Antecedents and Consequences of Marine Incidents


Antecedents
Trigger Events
Consequences
HUMAN
A. Perceptual
B. Cognitive
C. Personality
- Intellectual
- Socio-cultural
D. Psychomotor
HUMAN
A. Perceptual errors
B. Cognitive errors
C. Socio-personal or socio-culturally induced crisis or error
D. Psychomotor error
HUMAN
A. For Physical well-being (mild to severe)
B. For Psychological well-being (mild to severe)
C. For Socio-economic well-being (minimal to maximal)
TECHNICAL
A. Hull/deck/load integrity
B. Integrity of Machinery
C. Integrity of Operability of Navigation Equipment
TECHNICAL
A. Hull/deck/load failure
B. Machinery failure/ malfunction
C. Navigation Equipment failure
TECHNICAL
A. For Own Vessel/ Equipment
B. For Vessel/Equipment of Others
ENVIRONMENTAL
A. Natural
- sea conditions
- fog
- ice
B. Man-made
- aids and barriers to navigation
- other vessels
ENVIRONMENTAL
A. Naturally occuring event
B. Man-made event
ENVIRONMENTAL
A. For Natural Environment (e.g. water quality)
B. For Man-made Environment (e.g. destruction of navigation aids)

Antecedents

Antecedent variables are those that either singly, or in combination with other variables, render a vessel and her crew vulnerable to incidents. By themselves, antecedent variables do not constitute an incident. For example, plenty of people have gone to sea in a leaky boat without incident. But leaky boats, and the presence of other *human, technical* and *environmental* antecedents create a vulnerability.

Trigger Events

The antecedent variables determine the vulnerability of a crew or vessel. With the onset of a human, technical or environmental trigger event an incident is "in progress." It is the trigger event (human, technical, environmental) which, when added to the existing vulnerability that initiates an incident. Trigger events can be sudden or prolonged. Sometimes the trigger event occurs within the skipper or crew (helmsperson falls asleep, navigator misinterprets a radar or loran, a crew members falls overboard), sometimes it is "technical" (load moves, equipment fails, machinery ceases to function) or "environmental" (fog descends, a squall arrives, a log boom breaks loose). Like environmental antecedents, environmental trigger events are either "naturally occurring" (e.g. fog) or "man-made" (e.g. boom breaking loose). Even women will agree that these are usually man-made.

Trigger events do not have the same effect on all crews and vessels. Their impact depends upon the vulnerability of the crew and vessel. Trigger events almost always arise from the single or combined effects of human, technical and environmental variables. They can be minor (hitting a sandbank) or catastrophic (collision with a freighter).

Consequences

"One thing leads to another" and there is little doubt that what the operator, equipment or "environment" does, once an incident has been triggered, has a considerable influence on its resolution, It often determines if lives are lost and has a significant impact on the expense of rectifying the situation.

In many respects what the crew do once an incident is "in progress" is of even greater significance than the antecedent or trigger variable combinations. Once an incident is "in progress" the crew have little control over environmental variables, but the way in which the human and technical variables manifest themselves can be of immense significance. For example, if a skipper drives a vessel onto a reef, knowing how to stem the flow of water into the hull could be critical.

After incidents have been triggered, the skipper's need to conceal his or her (but usually his) predicament, profound panic or "errors of judgement" can significantly worsen a situation that, if approached from another perspective, could be more easily resolved. Again, it is useful to separate the human from the technical and environmental variables that arise as a *consequence* of a trigger event and thus become part of an incident in-progress.

Model in Action

The way this model can be used to analyze marine incidents and highlight issues pertaining to prevention will now be illustrated by briefly describing what happened during selected marine incidents. For illustrative purposes only one example of each type of incident is reported here. Far more exhaustive analyses are available in the reports of the Canadian

Transportation Accident Investigation and Safety Board (CTAISB) which has had the mandate to investigate marine accidents in Canada since March 29, 1990.

In this summary, the vessel is named and the chief antecedents (A1 —human; A2—technical; A3—environmental), trigger events (T1, T2, T3) and consequences (C1, C2, C3) identified.

Human Antecedents Dominant

Chetak. The owner of this sailboat anchored in Nanaimo harbour but, before going to sleep, failed to consult or misconstrued the tide tables (A1). As the tide receded in the early morning hours the vessel grounded. Swift action at this point could have saved the situation but an incident was triggered when the vessel rolled over and took on water (T2). It was later pumped out and refloated with flotation equipment. Although the chief consequences were human (C1) the skipper and the boat were in good shape and continued on their cruising holiday.

Technical Antecedents Dominant

Silver Tide. This 33' gillnetter had left Lasqueti Island in Georgia Strait on August 12, 1990 headed to a gillnet opening at the mouth of the Fraser River. At about 2:30 a.m. on August 13 the seas were getting bigger, and by 5:00 a.m. the stern was down in the water and the skipper felt the vessel had become sluggish. At 5:15 a.m. waves broke over the stern, the skipper glanced at his radar, secured an accurate position, called Mayday and told his daughter to launch their Beaufort 'A'-pack liferaft. Both grabbed survival suits, clambered aboard the raft which deployed properly and awaited rescue by a Coastguard hovercraft. The chief antecedent of this incident was the fact the "stern apron" of this vessel had come away from the hull (A2). As **Silver Tide** banged and crashed into the southerly winds and eight foot seas the gillnetter began taking on water. Thus the primary antecedent was the hull weakness (A2); the incident was triggered by bad weather (environmental variable—T3). The chief consequences were human variables (C1) and, in this case, both skipper and crew acted in an appropriate fashion. Their ability to call a Mayday and give an accurate position greatly enhanced the probability of rescue. The boat was ruined and subsequently burned in a shipyard (C2). In summary, deferred maintenance (A1 and A2) caused the stern apron to come away from the gillnetter which took on water (T2) and was overwhelmed by high seas (T3). Fortunately, the skipper gave an accurate position and safely made it into a raft (C1). This incident was described in more detail elsewhere (Boshier, 1992).

Environmental Antecedents Dominant

Catch-22 was a 30' Philbrooks sloop overwhelmed by big seas (A3) a few miles north of Thrasher Rock. The male skipper, an experienced seamen from the British merchant navy, was unable to control his vessel (A1) and could get no assistance from his wife (in a wheelchair) or two young children. Lines and sails were washed over the side, fouled his propeller (T2) and placed so much torque on the drive shaft that the diesel engine came off its mounts and was loose in the engine room (T2). This was a well found craft. The chief antecedents were the high seas (environmental—A3); the trigger event was the fouled propeller and loose engine. The chief consequences were "human" (C1). The willingness of the family to go sailing was damaged and, a few years later, the marriage had ended. There is a fuller description of this incident in Boshier (1990).

Using the Model

Although this model was designed to identify factors that explain variance in marine incidents it also has the potential to become a heuristic device for the analysis of other recreational or commercial activities (e.g. skiing, rock climbing, flying and other accidents).

Space constraints here preclude a detailed discussion of all the variables and their various interactions. Moreover, the model needs considerable elaboration. Yet, even at this preliminary stage it evokes numerous issues that ought to be addressed by those involved in prevention education.

This model can be used as a heuristic device to alert educators and learners to the fact incidents often occur because of the conjoint action of several variables. Most importantly, the focus on trigger events and consequences alerts the mariner to the importance of survival, of acting appropriately once an incident is "in progress." It provides a framework for the organization or analysis of case studies, highlights components that ought to be included in the curricula of boating safety courses and, by giving human and environmental variables the same emphasis as that given to technical matters, rectifies a problem.

Dominance of Technical Matters

At present there is a tendency in Coastguard and other circles to dwell on technical matters, safety equipment, flares and so on. Technical matters are exceedingly important, as are the maintenance of proper navigation and other aids that help boaters deal with currents, rock piles, fog banks, winds and other environmental hazards. But these are relatively easy to deal with compared to the complicated interactions of *human factors* involving perception, learning, motivation and socioculturally acquired ways of construing safety. Flares and P.F.D.'s are significantly less complicated than human foibles.

A corollary of the focus on technical and environmental matters is the notion that human factors are "a constant." Some educators assume that if boaters have the pertinent information (about flares, etc.) their behaviour will change. But the boating community is highly differentiated and educators cannot assume that people who charter 42' sailboats, or affluent members of yacht clubs, have the same perceptual and cognitive processes, let alone attitudes and beliefs concerning safety, as those of crabbers, gillnetters and the hundreds of folk who launch 12' aluminium dinghies (with small outboard motors) up and down the coast.

Even the sub-communities within identifiable sectors (e.g. fishing) are highly differentiated. Hence it cannot be assumed that the approach used with seiners will work with gulftrollers, outside trollers or gillnetters. Quite apart from factors associated with different gear types, educators must also consider the ethnic composition of different parts of the fishing fleet and the fact it is largely a male world.

Cultural Background

The boating community is changing. For example, the large variety of cultural backgrounds possessed by fishers operating out of western ports has created a new challenge (as shown by the problem with asphyxiation and "running" from authorities in the winter of 1988-89), while declining prices and fish stocks (as evidenced by the "disappearance" of fish in the 1992 season) are tempting fishers to take more risks. Fishers are also prone to claim that lives will always be lost in B.C. waters until someone changes the weather. Unfortunately, the pressure on fish stocks is causing fishers to go into rougher waters than previously and educators should be careful not to habitually "blame the victim" for incidents.

Making Changes

The cause of an incident often resides in structural factors that leave the individual boater with limited options and an inability to exercise "choice." For example, concerning the sociocultural antecedents (Figure 1) there are two "realities" concerning ethnic relations in Canada which have considerable relevance in this context. One claims that Canada is an equitable society and no one ethnic group dominates the others. Those holding this view think Canada is a "level playing field" and expect immigrants to "fit in." If they fail to do so, there is a tendency to "blame the victim." The second view is that Canadian society is structured so as to systematically discriminate against people on the basis of gender, race, or class. These structures are entrenched by a covert ideology of racism. Most boaters have heard the excruciating discussions that occur on VHF Channel 16 when fishers whose first language is something other than English attempt to secure assistance from the Coastguard. Coastguard radio operators do not appear to speak languages other than English and certain commercial tow operators are unwilling to service fishers from some ethnic groups.

Quite apart from implications that racist ideology has for SAR-*response* these factors also create a formidable challenge for *prevention*. It does not suffice to simply translate "safety pamphlets" into languages other than English. Much more needs to be said about this but, in this context, it suffices to note that immigrant or First Nations fishers constitute just two of many groups in

the boating community and further point to the need for a *differentiated* approach that has regard to human (including sociocultural) as well as technical and environmental matters. Prevention education is not just a rational/technical process of delivering information but one deeply embedded in the sociocultural, political and economic contexts of the many boating communities in Canada.

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LES CARACTÉRISTIQUES DE LA CONTEXTUALISATION CHEZ DES ADULTES VISITEURS DE MUSÉE[1]

Estelle Chamberland et
Collete Dufresne-Tassé
Université de Montréal

Résumé

Vu que le contexte n'est pas un simple assemblage d'éléments extérieurs reliés à une situation, mais qu'il constitue la réalité sensible et subjective qu'expérimente l'individu, toute tentative pour comprendre le fonctionnement humain exige que l'on comprenne comment l'individu contextualise chaque chose, chaque événement pour se créer une image cohérente du monde. On a peu de connaissances sur le processus de contextualisation, particulièrement dans des situations caractérisées par un haut degré de liberté. Une étude exploratoire a été menée auprès d'adultes qui visitent un musée de sciences naturelles afin de découvrir les principales caractéristiques de leur démarche lorsqu'ils tentent de donner un sens à ce qu'ils voient. Trois catégories de caractéristiques ont été identifiées ainsi que les tendances des visiteurs pour chacune d'elles: la source d'alimentation, l'orientation de l'attention et le mode d'approche de l'objet. En définitive, il ressort des résultats de cette recherche que le processus de contextualisation est largement déterminé par les dispositions fondamentales particulières de l'individu envers le monde extérieur.

Abstract

Considering that the notion of context cannot be defined as a simple assemblage of external elements connected to a particular situation, but rather constitutes the subjective reality that one experiences at every moment, it becomes evident that any attempt to understand human functioning requires an understanding of how the individual contextualizes each thing, each event, in order to construe a coherent image of the world. Very little is known about the contextualization process, especially in situations characterized by a high degree of freedom. An exploratory study has been conducted with adults visiting a natural history museum. The aim of this research was to discover the main characteristics of their approach while they were trying to give meaning to what they were seeing. Three categories of characteristics have been identified as well as the inclinations of visitors towards each of them, the sources of reference, the orientation of the focus and the modes through which one approaches the objects. It appears from the results of this research that the contextualization

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[1] Cette recherche a été subventionnée par le FCAR et le CRSH.

process is to a large extent determined by the fundamental attitude of an individual towards the external world.

Introduction

Contextualiser est une activité naturelle, fondamentale et spontanée qui répond à des besoins multiples dans tous les secteurs de la vie. Comprendre, accéder au sens consiste à percevoir des relations entre les choses et à structurer ces relations pour former un contexte, une image cohérente d'une situation. L'impact de cette activité sur le comportement, l'apprentissage et l'équilibre psychologique de l'être humain a été bien démontré (Bateson et al., 1981; Hoffman, 1986; Rosnow et Georgoudi, 1986; Sarbin et McKechnie, 1986; Tiberghien, 1986).

En muséologie, la question de la contextualisation a surtout été traitée du point de vue des objectifs des muséologues: objectifs d'acquisition, de conservation et de présentation des objets au public. Du fait que les objets qui sont exposés au musée sont coupés de leur contexte d'origine et désinvestis de leur vocation propre, on comprend que la recontextualisation de ceux-ci soit la préoccupation principale des éducateurs muséaux. Cependant, bien que ces derniers aient une connaissance approfondie de la matière qu'ils ont à présenter, une vision claire de ce qu'ils veulent communiquer et une bonne quantité d'information sur les caractéristiques socio-économiques des visiteurs (Griggs et Alt, 1982; Hayward et Larkin, 1983; Loomis, 1973; Washburne et Wagar, 1972), ils connaissent peu l'expérience psychologique de ces derniers, ceux-là même qu'ils veulent stimuler ou guider. Les apprentissages et le fonctionnement du visiteur leur demeurent à toute fin pratique inconnus, de même que l'impact réel d'une exposition (Falk, 1983; Falk et al., 1986). On sait cependant que le visiteur a rarement une idée précise du message que le muséologue a voulu lui communiquer et qu'il ne retient qu'une quantité minime de l'information verbale fournie dans les exhibits, alors qu'il saisit et retient plus aisément une information de type structural (gestalt, thème, qualité de l'événement) (voir Falk et al., 1986; Screven, 1974; Weiss et Boutourline, 1963). Il semble donc évident que l'activité du visiteur ne consiste pas à mémoriser les données telles qu'elles lui sont présentées. Le visiteur procède plutôt à un remodelage de ces données, à leur épuration et à leur recadrage à l'aide de données subjectives, de façon à en conserver ce qui constitue, pour lui, leur qualité essentielle (Carr, 1985; Jenkins, 1974).

Le problème de la contextualisation au musée

La question de la contextualisation est donc au coeur même de la problématique de l'interaction éducative. Elle se pose de façon différente au musée et à l'école. D'abord à cause des clientèles et des motifs de fréquentation de ces institutions, à cause également de la différence des objectifs poursuivis et des moyens de communication ou d'évaluation utilisés dans les deux milieux. Mais la différence sans doute la plus importante est le très haut degré de liberté dont jouit l'individu au musée. En effet, au musée, le visiteur ne subit pas les contraintes d'objectifs d'apprentissage précis et prédéterminés. Ses motivations, ses buts et ses choix sont personnels et fluctuants. Les apprentissages qu'il fait au cours de sa visite sont généralement imprévus, spontanés et sans souci d'évaluation ou de compétition (Screven, 1969; Falk et al., 1986). Cette liberté ouvre le champ à une grande variété de fonctionnements chez le visiteur. Une visite au musée, par exemple, fait largement appel à l'imaginaire et à l'expérience esthétique: rêves, souvenirs, mythes peuvent être évoqués et les informations recueillies au contact de l'objet ne suivent pas un parcours linéaire clairement défini (Carr, 1985). L'éducateur muséal n'a donc aucun contrôle réel sur les apprentissages ou sur les autres bénéfices que le visiteur retire de sa visite et l'évaluation de l'impact de son action ne peut se mesurer selon les critères et les méthodes utilisés dans le milieu scolaire.

A cause de ces différences fondamentales entre l'éducation muséale et l'éducation scolaire, les professionnels des musées ne peuvent véritablement s'appuyer sur les connaissances que l'on a du fonctionnement des individus en milieu scolaire, ni sur les méthodes qui ont été développées dans ce milieu pour définir leur propre action auprès des visiteurs de musée. De même, les théories de l'apprentissage établies par les psychologues sont généralement considérées comme peu utiles par l'éducateur muséal parce qu'elles ont été élaborées à partir de situations expérimentales contrôlées dont les caractéristiques et les enjeux sont fort différents de ceux d'une visite au musée. Les études portant sur la construction de la représentation sémantique, par exemple, ont été effectuées à partir de situations déterminées par des objectifs précis, des représentations-cibles à évoquer ou à reconstituer pour comprendre un énoncé ou pour résoudre un problème, (Ehrlich, 1984, 1985a, 1985b; Richard, 1984, 1985). Bien qu'elles offrent quelques pistes intéressantes, ces études fournissent peu d'information sur le fonctionnement spontané de l'individu dans une situation caractérisée par un haut degré de liberté. Dans le domaine muséal, l'étude de Nahemow (1971) a permis de voir des différences dans la représentation que les visiteurs se font de l'environnement, mais n'apporte rien sur les caractéristiques de leur démarche pour y arriver.

Vu la rareté des données concernant l'expérience vécue par le visiteur dans son contact avec l'objet ainsi que sa démarche de contextualisation, les éducateurs muséaux se trouvent contraints de baser leur travail sur des a priori et de s'en remettre à leur intuition pour composer des contextes qu'ils supposent signifiants et intéressants pour le visiteur (Alt et Griggs, 1984). Pour ceux d'entre eux qui envisagent leur rôle comme celui d'un guide qui stimule l'exploration autonome de l'objet et l'élaboration d'une signification à la fois juste et personnelle, mieux connaître le processus de contextualisation du visiteur s'avère une nécessité (Alt et Griggs, 1984; Duthuit, 1984; Glover et Richards, 1977; Porter et Martin, 1985; Scrutton, 1969; Taborsky, 1976; Trudel, 1985).

A cause de l'état peu avancé des connaissances sur le sujet, notre étude est essentiellement exploratoire et qualitative et notre démarche, inductive. Nous tentons de répondre à des questions très larges: comment le visiteur s'y prend-il lorsqu'il tente de donner un sens aux objets qu'on lui présente? Qu'est-ce qui caractérise la démarche de contextualisation lorsque celle-ci s'effectue dans une situation de grande liberté pour l'individu?

Plus précisément, nous traiterons de trois points que nous avons identifiés dans la contextualisation effectuée par le visiteur. Il s'agit de la provenance des matériaux qui servent à la contextualisation, de l'orientation du foyer d'attention du sujet et du mode d'approche que ce dernier privilégie dans son contact avec l'objet. Ces points sont révélateurs du type de relation qui s'instaure entre l'individu et l'objet durant la contextualisation. D'autres aspects du processus de contextualisation tels les thèmes de la contextualisation et les facteurs susceptibles d'influencer ce processus sont présentés ailleurs (Chamberland, 1988; Chamberland, 1989; Chamberland, 1991).

Description de la recherche

L'étude s'est déroulée dans un musée de sciences naturelles, le Musée Georges Préfontaine de Montréal. Elle a été réalisée avec la collaboration de 45 adultes qui visitaient une exposition de mollusques. Ces personnes, des deux sexes, avaient de 21 à 61 ans, possédaient trois niveaux de formation différents: (des études secondaires ou moins, des études collégiales ou universitaires et des connaissances spécialisées en biologie) et trois habitudes de fréquentation muséale différentes (un premier sous-groupe n'allait jamais au musée, un second n'y allait qu'une fois par an et un troisième, plusieurs fois).

La présentation des objets avait été gardée aussi simple que possible. Chaque vitrine contenait cinq coquillages disposés sur un fond de tissu bleu uni, accompagnés d'une étiquette sur laquelle apparaissaient les appellations commune et scientifique, la famille d'appartenance et l'aire de distribution géographique de chaque coquillage.

Les données sont essentiellement constituées des verbalisations de chaque sujet recueillies sur bande magnétique. Leur collecte s'est déroulée en trois temps et a permis de recueillir des données de trois types. a) Les verbalisations spontanées du visiteur au cours de sa visite. b) Des verbalisations obtenues après la visite par le biais d'un instrument projectif simple qui consistait en la photographie d'un visiteur anonyme devant une des vitrines. La présentation de cette photographie était assortie de la question suivante: "Que pensez-vous qu'il se passe chez cette personne au moment où elle regarde ces coquillages?"[2], c) Des verbalisations recueillies au cours d'un entretien semi-structuré effectué après l'administration de l'épreuve projective. Cet entretien, lancé par une invitation directe à revenir sur l'expérience vécue au cours de la visite, comportait aussi des questions destinées à aborder des points demeurés obscurs ou insuffisamment explorés par le visiteur.

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[2] L'emploi de cet instrument permettait d'obtenir du visiteur des informations qu'il n'avait pas livrées au moment de la visite à cause de l'orientation de son attention, ou à cause de leur signification pour lui.

Ces données, recueillies sur bande sonore, ont été dactylographiées et c'est sous cette forme que nous en avons fait l'étude. Une première analyse a permis d'en identifier les points saillants et de déterminer des grandes catégories de phénomènes. Puis, des grilles ont été construites afin de classer les verbalisations dans ces catégories, d'en faire une compilation, et, à l'aide de pourcentages, de déceler et d'illustrer des tendances. Enfin, une analyse du contenu des catégories a été réalisée, de même qu'une étude de leur influence sur la contextualisation. Ces investigations ont été réalisées sur les trois types de verbalisations décrits précédemment.

Résultats

Nous procédons à une description des données obtenues sur chacun des points étudiés, puis nous voyons dans quelle mesure il marque la démarche de contextualisation et quelles sont les tendances des visiteurs à son égard.

Bien que les 45 visiteurs qui ont participé à cette recherche aient formé trois sous-groupes homogènes en termes de formation, nous n'avons décelé aucune différence marquée entre eux, le test de Kruskal-Wallis (1952) appliqué à la comparaison de leur production ne révélait aucune différence significative au niveau .05. Vu que la variable instruction est, de l'avis de plusieurs (Bourdieu et Darbel, 1969; DiMaggio et Useem, 1977), la variable la plus susceptible d'influencer le fonctionnement du visiteur, nous nous sentons justifiées de présenter nos résultats sans distinguer quelque sous-groupe que ce soit à l'intérieur des 45 visiteurs.

1- Provenance des éléments de la contextualisation

Nous avons d'abord constaté que les éléments de la contextualisation pouvaient provenir de deux sources: la personne peut utiliser ses propres ressources intérieures ou, au contraire, s'appuyer sur ce que le monde extérieur lui offre pour donner un sens à son contact avec l'objet muséal.

Le visiteur qui utilise des référents de source interne s'appuie sur l'expérience intime qu'il a de l'objet (Huteau, 1987). Cette expérience peut être immédiate ou liée au passé et constituer une portion de la "théorie du monde" que l'individu s'est construite au cours de son existence (Medin et Murphy, 1985), ou encore ce que Neisser (1976) appelle les "schémas anticipatoires" qui guident la perception. Ces référents peuvent être des souvenirs, des images familières, des connaissances antérieures, des émotions, des analogies, des métaphores, des réflexions philosophiques ou des symboles. Dans la catégorie des référents de source externe, nous retrouvons les descriptions physiques d'objet, les informations lues sur les étiquettes, les caractéristiques physiques du cadre dans lequel s'inscrit l'objet ainsi que les questions posées par le visiteur lorsqu'elles constituent une recherche d'information extérieure.

La source que l'individu privilégie est un indice de son niveau de dépendance envers ce que le monde extérieur lui fournit pour donner un sens à ce qu'il voit, et de la valeur qu'il accorde à ses ressources personnelles. En somme, la préférence du sujet pour un type de référents indique dans quelle mesure il s'utilise lui-même en tant que source et élément de la contextualisation.

Afin de déterminer quel type de référents prédomine dans la contextualisation que fait le visiteur, nous avons procédé de deux manières. La première consiste à établir la proportion des verbalisations des 45 visiteurs attribuable à chaque source, la seconde, à établir la proportion des personnes qui accordent nettement plus de place à un type de référents qu'à l'autre. Le critère utilisé pour déterminer si quelqu'un privilégié une source particulière est un écart d'au moins 10% dans l'utilisation des deux types de référents. La figure 1 illustre les résultats obtenus avec ces deux méthodes.

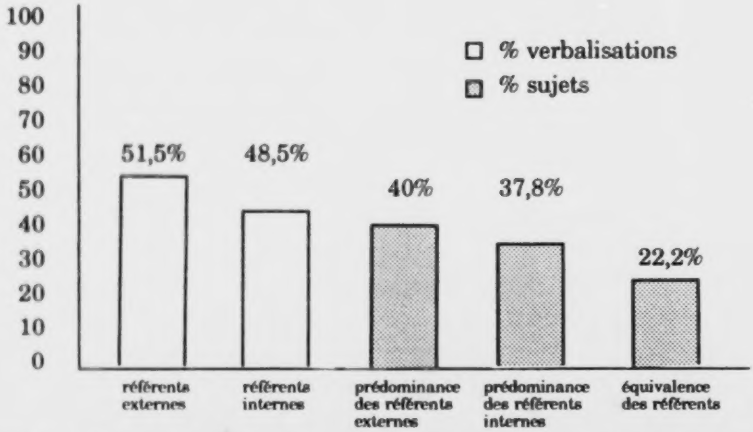

Figure 1: Proportion des verbalisations consacrées aux référents internes et aux référents externes. Proportion des sujets qui se réfèrent davantage au monde extérieur, à leurs ressources intérieures et également aux deux sources.

Les résultats indiquent que les deux sources sont utilisées de façon à peu près équivalente: 51.5% des verbalisations attestent de l'utilisation des référents internes, alors que 48.5% attestent de celle de référents internes. Le portrait obtenu à partir d'une analyse basée sur les sujets est très semblable. Quarante pour cent des visiteurs utilisent surtout des référents externes, 37.8% surtout des référents internes, et 22.2% utilisent autant les uns que les autres.

Que doit-on penser de ces résultats? On aurait pu croire qu'à cause de son grand dépouillement, le type de présentation utilisé pour présenter les objets muséaux aurait poussé le visiteur à se tourner vers ses ressources intérieures pour contextualiser l'objet. On aurait tout aussi bien pu penser, au contraire, que le manque d'information aurait laissé l'objet vide de signification aux yeux du visiteur et que celui-ci aurait abandonné le contact avec l'objet ou aurait persisté à chercher et à réclamer des points de repère extérieurs. Nos résultats ne soutiennent aucune de ces interprétations puisqu'on trouve pratiquement autant de sujets qui s'appuient sur des données internes que de sujets qui se réfèrent aux données extérieures et que, de plus, une proportion non négligeable utilisent de façon équivalente les deux types de référents. Les deux interprétations ont cependant une prémisse commune: elles supposent que les facteurs externes, en l'occurrence, le type de présentation de l'objet, détermine le rapport de l'individu avec l'objet. Sans rejeter la possibilité d'une influence des éléments externes sur la contextualisation, nos résultats rendent maintenant évidente la nécessité de considérer la chose du point de vue des facteurs internes, notamment de l'attitude du visiteur, de sa disposition fondamentale envers le monde extérieur, attitude qui prépare et détermine son agir.

La question de la disposition fondamentale face au monde extérieur a été étudiée par Jung (1950), qui a introduit les notions d'introversion et d'extraversion. Ces notions rendent compte de l'orientation de la conscience et de la circulation de l'énergie psychique. En bref, dans l'attitude d'introversion, le mouvement se fait naturellement de l'objet vers le sujet et l'importance est prioritairement accordée aux impressions que l'objet fait naître chez la personne, aux opinions de cette dernière, à ses émotions, etc. A l'inverse, dans l'attitude d'extraversion, le mouvement s'exerce du sujet vers l'objet. L'importance est prioritairement accordée aux conditions extérieures, celles-ci revêtent une plus grande valeur aux yeux du sujet que ses impressions personnelles, ses opinions, bref que tout ce qui meuble son univers intérieur. Tout être humain possède ces deux attitudes, mais l'une prédomine. Elle est plus différenciée, elle s'exerce à un niveau conscient et de façon spontanée dans les situations de vie quotidienne.

La question des dispositions fondamentales a également été étudiée dans divers domaines sous l'angle de la dépendance et de l'indépendance du champ (voir Huteau, 1987 pour une revue exhaustive des recherches sur cette question). Dans la théorie de la dépendance et de l'indépendance du champ, l'attitude d'une personne est définie à partir du niveau de disponibilité de ses référents internes, de la place qu'elle leur accorde, et de son niveau d'autonomie face aux informations venant du champ. La personne qui se caractérise par une indépendance du champ privilégie les référents internes, valorise surtout les schèmes qu'elle construit et a tendance à analyser et à articuler les champs peu structurés, conservant ainsi une certaine distance par rapport aux aspects concrets du monde extérieur. La personne qui, au contraire, se caractérise par une dépendance du champ, privilégie les référents externes, approche de façon globale les champs peu structurés et valorise surtout les propriétés concrètes des objets (Huteau, 1987).

On pourrait penser que devant une présentation fort dépouillée de l'objet muséal, comme celle qui prévalait dans notre recherche, un visiteur dont l'attitude se caractérise par l'introversion ou une indépendance du champ pourrait être favorisé par rapport à celui dont l'attitude se caractérise par l'extraversion ou par une dépendance du champ, ce dernier ne trouvant pas dans les exhibits les repères qui lui sont nécessaires pour rendre l'objet significatif et n'étant pas porté naturellement à s'appuyer sur des repères internes pour le faire. Cependant, Witkin et Goodenough (1983: voir Huteau, 1987) soulignent que, les circonstances l'exigeant, l'individu peut, s'il jouit d'une certaine flexibilité, fonctionner d'après les caractéristiques d'un style qui n'est pas habituellement le sien. Il pourrait donc suppléer au manque d'information extérieure en s'appuyant sur des données internes pour contextualiser l'objet.

Rien dans les données que nous avons recueillies ne permet de déterminer lesquels de nos sujets se caractérisent par une dépendance ou une indépendance du champ et s'ils sont de type introverti ou extroverti. La question des attitudes fondamentales est trop complexe pour qu'une seule situation suffise à identifier ces types en l'absence d'épreuves standardisées. De même, il n'est pas possible de déterminer si l'action des sujets résulte d'une attitude fondamentale ou d'une attitude compensatoire provoquée par les circonstances.

Les perspectives fournies par la théorie de la dépendance et de l'indépendance du champ et par la typologie de Jung permettent cependant de souligner que le processus de contextualisation d'un individu n'est certainement pas unilatéralement déterminé par les contingences externes. Elles permettent également de penser que la préférence d'un individu pour l'utilisation de référents internes ou externes est un indicateur important du type de relation qu'il entretient avec le monde extérieur lorsqu'il tente de lui donner un sens. Nos résultats vont dans ce sens. Ils montrent que les visiteurs ne manquent pas de ressources personnelles pour donner un sens au monde qui l'entoure. La disponibilité de leurs référents internes et la tendance de certains à s'orienter principalement d'après eux en témoignent. Mais, d'autre part, le fait que l'activité de plusieurs dépend de données concrètes externes, malgré la pauvreté du contenu informatif et contextuel des exhibits, et que l'activité de certains s'appuie de façon égale sur les deux types de référents, permet de dire que ces tendances ne peuvent être vues uniquement comme une réaction au type de présentation. Sans constituer une preuve, nos résultats corroborent l'idée sous-jacente aux deux théories exposées: la disposition fondamentale de l'individu à valoriser un type de référents et à s'orienter d'après lui dans son contact avec l'objet est une caractéristique importante de la démarche de contextualisation. L'éducateur muséal ne détient donc pas le pouvoir d'orienter cette démarche selon sa conception de ce qui a une valeur de stimulus pour le visiteur et de ce que peut et doit être l'expérience de ce dernier. Au contraire, une part importante de ce qui entre dans la composition d'une image cohérente et signifiante du monde pour l'individu lui échappe totalement.

2- Orientation du foyer d'attention

La deuxième caractéristique décelée dans le travail de contextualisation des visiteurs est l'orientation donnée à celle-ci. Dans certains cas, la contextualisation tend à resserrer le contact avec l'objet. Elle vise l'identification, l'exploration ou l'apprivoisement de l'objet, le rappel ou la vérification des connaissances antérieures. Dans d'autres cas, la contextualisation consiste à propulser la pensée au-delà de l'objet vers l'exploration de contextes. La pensée s'échappe alors plus ou moins loin de l'objet, elle prend pour ainsi dire la clé des champs pour revisiter en imagination des contextes connus, ou en explorer de moins connus. Ces contextes sont alors explorés pour eux-mêmes plutôt qu'en rapport avec l'objet.

La direction donnée au foyer d'attention indique à quel moment la contextualisation est orientée vers l'objet et à quel moment elle est orientée vers des contextes. Dans le premier cas, les verbalisations du visiteur indiquent que ce dernier ne perd pas de vue l'objet; quelles que soient les images mentales, les réflexions et l'investigation auxquelles il s'adonne, celles-ci incluent toujours l'objet. Ce contact étroit avec l'objet peut se révéler dans l'expression d'émotions, dans les descriptions que le visiteur fait de l'objet, dans les aspects physiques qu'il observe, dans les analogies, les métaphores, le rappel d'images familières, ainsi que dans certains souvenirs et certaines questions (questions d'ordre biologique, écologique, taxonomique, pratique, etc.).

Dans le second cas, lorsque le travail de contextualisation s'oriente plutôt vers l'exploration de contextes plus ou moins familiers, on constate que l'objet sort du foyer d'attention du visiteur. En fait, pendant un moment, il disparaît complètement des images, des réflexions ou des préoccupations de ce dernier. Prenons, par exemple, cette visiteuse qui voit dans un coquillage une forme qui lui fait penser à une bouche aux lèvres épaisses. Cette image lui rappelle les masque africains qui ornaient les murs de la maison paternelle, l'amène ensuite à penser au visage d'une Africaine, puis à imaginer ce que pouvaient être les fêtes africaines, leur atmosphère, leur décor, etc.. La vue du coquillage a déclenché une série d'associations amenant la personne à évoquer ou à élaborer en pensée un contexte dont l'objet ne semble que le point de départ et dont il est ensuite apparemment absent.

Comme dans le cas de la provenance des référents, nous avons utilisé deux types d'analyse des données, l'une basée sur les unités de verbalisation, l'autre, sur la proportion des sujets privilégiant une orientation particulière. La figure 2 illustre les résultats obtenus avec la première méthode: 86.8%

des verbalisations révèlent une attention dirigée vers l'objet, alors que 13.2% révèlent une attention dirigée vers des contextes de celui-ci.

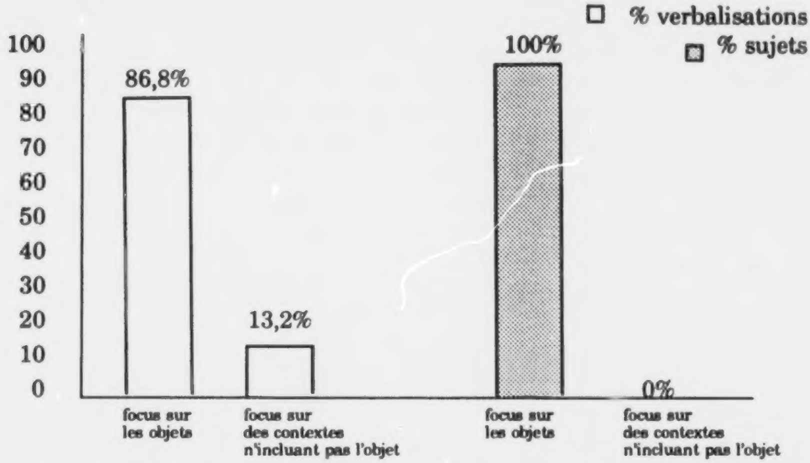

Figure 2: Proportion des verbalisations indiquant que le foyer d'attention est dirigé sur les objets ou sur des contextes ne les incluant pas et proportion des sujets privilégiant l'une ou l'autre orientation de l'attention.

L'analyse conduite d'après la seconde méthode (proportion des sujets chez qui on a décelé un écart d'au moins 10% dans la direction du foyer d'attention) ne révèle aucun cas où l'orientation de l'attention sur des contextes n'incluant pas l'objet prédomine. La tendance à garder l'attention sur l'objet est donc nette chez tous les sujets. Par ailleurs, une analyse des verbalisations a permis de constater que le niveau d'éloignement du visiteur par rapport à l'objet n'est pas très accentué. La plupart des contextes évoqués sont en effet relativement proches de l'objet: bord de mer, aquarium, boutiques de bord de mer, musées de la mer, activités ou événements associés à la mer et aux coquillages, tels la plongée sous-marine, les promenades sur le littoral, etc. Cette tendance à garder l'attention sur les objets n'est guère surprenante car, lorsqu'il va au musée, le visiteur va voir des objets rares, beaux ou précieux, ou tout au moins, assez rares, assez beaux ou assez précieux pour être confiés par la société à une institution qui a pour mandat de les conserver, de les protéger, de les étudier et de les exposer.

Cependant, l'orientation du foyer d'attention permet-elle de dire qu'une personne s'applique à bien connaître l'objet? Une analyse approfondie des propos des visiteurs révèle que ce n'est pas le cas. Rester à fleur d'objet ne signifie pas nécessairement que l'on s'intéresse à l'objet comme tel. Trois cas se présentent. Dans le premier, bien que l'objet occupe une place centrale dans les propos du visiteur, on s'aperçoit que ce dernier se préoccupe surtout de trouver des indices de familiarité sans chercher à découvrir de nouveaux aspects de l'objet. Il ne questionne pas l'objet, il le classe dans l'une des catégories "objet connu", "objet inconnu". Dans le second, l'évaluation prend le dessus et l'énergie est consacrée à construire et à exprimer des opinions, des jugements plutôt qu'à acquérir une plus grande connaissance de l'objet. Dans le troisième, l'objet est prétexte à refaire contact avec des connaissances antérieures, des souvenirs et au plaisir de se rappeler. Ainsi, garder le contact avec l'objet peut avoir plusieurs finalités. Il faut donc éviter de conclure, sur la base d'un pourcentage élevé de verbalisations indiquant que l'attention est orientée vers l'objet, que ce contact débouche nécessairement sur l'élargissement de la vision que le visiteur avait de l'objet en entrant au musée.

Cette constatation permet de remettre en question la valeur des conclusions que l'on peut tirer de l'observation du temps passé par le visiteur devant un exhibit où à regarder un objet en particulier (Cameron, 1967; Falk, 1983). Cette observation permet de décrire le comportement du visiteur, mais ne peut prétendre capter son désir d'apprendre, son fonctionnement, le fait qu'un apprentissage a eu lieu ou ses raisons d'examiner un objet. Cette observation ne renseigne pas non plus sur l'efficacité des exhibits. Cameron (1967) souligne que ce qu'on en déduit peut être contradictoire. Les exhibits devant lesquels on passe beaucoup de temps seraient intéressants parce qu'ils retiennent l'attention. Par contre, ceux devant lesquels on passe peu de temps seraient efficaces parce que l'on aurait besoin de moins de temps pour les comprendre. De même, il n'est pas possible d'établir un rapport de causalité entre le type de présentation qui a été faite des coquillages et l'orientation de l'attention sur l'objet. Malgré une présentation dépouillée qui, pourrait-on penser, inciterait davantage à se centrer sur l'objet, la plupart des visiteurs se sont, à un moment ou à un autre, éloignés de celui-ci au profit de l'évocation de contextes. En fait, il nous semble que certains moments de la contextualisation servent à se rapprocher de l'objet, tandis que d'autres servent soit à l'exploration des contextes de cet objet, soit au contact avec soi-même, avec son univers intérieur. L'orientation de la contextualisation demeure un choix du visiteur, qui peut varier d'un moment à l'autre.

3- Mode d'approche de l'objet

Un troisième aspect de la contextualisation ressort des données recueillies. Il s'agit de l'approche "théorique" ou "expériencielle" choisie par le visiteur.

Une approche est dite théorique lorsqu'une distance est créée et maintenue par une activité d'abstraction, lorsqu'il y a recherche d'informations ou utilisation de connaissances antérieures sur l'objet. Dans cette façon d'approcher l'objet, le visiteur s'informe ou communique son savoir sur celui-ci. Sa préoccupation est "un savoir sur" l'objet. Celui-ci sert à nommer, expliquer, évaluer l'objet, à spéculer sur lui. Les verbalisations qui permettent de dire que le sujet adopte cette approche sont des identifications, des classifications, le rappel de connaissances théoriques et leur vérification, certaines questions , certaines hypothèses, des descriptions physiques de l'objet et des évaluations qui n'impliquent pas l'expérience sensible du sujet (exemple: "Cet objet ne mérite pas d'être exposé dans un musée, il est trop commun, commercial même"). La caractéristique essentielle d'une approche théorique est que la contextualisation se fait sous un angle objectif: sujet et objet occupent des territoires distincts, le sujet ne s'inclut pas comme acteur d'un échange dynamique avec l'objet, il ne réfère pas à son expérience, mais à des informations "à propos de" l'objet.

A l'opposé, dans l'approche expériencielle, le sujet réfère à une connaissance qui lui vient d'un vécu avec l'objet. Le rapport s'établit sur un plan essentiellement subjectif. La connaissance vient alors d'une expérience physique ou sensorielle de l'objet, d'un rapport émotionnel, fonctionnel ou symbolique avec celui-ci. L'individu peut s'appuyer sur des expériences passées: souvenirs d'interactions, d'émotions vécues, d'atmosphère etc., sur son expérience immédiate ou sur celle qu'il anticipe: désirs, attentes ou intentions visant une interaction avec l'objet. Dans cette approche, l'attention s'oriente vers l'expérience de l'objet; sujet et objet occupent donc le même espace et c'est l'événement de leur rencontre qui prend de la valeur. Celui qui privilégie cette approche souhaite que sa visite soit une expérience personnelle du contexte associé au type d'objets exposés (la mer, la plage). Il exprime le besoin d'avoir un contact physique ou multisensoriel avec l'objet, ou tout au moins de pouvoir imaginer ou se rappeler un tel contact.

Nous avons tenté de voir si une approche particulière prédominait dans le travail de contextualisation des visiteurs. La figure 3 illustre les proportions obtenues pour chaque type d'approche dans une analyse basee sur l'ensemble des verbalisations et dans une analyse basée sur les sujets. La première de ces analyses révèle que 64.7% des verbalisations sont de type approche théorique, alors que 35.3% sont de type approche expériencielle. La seconde révèle que 66.7% des visiteurs privilégient une approche théorique, alors que 13.3% privilégient une approche expériencielle et que 20% utilisent les deux également. Les résultats issus des deux analyses sont donc semblables et indiquent une nette prédominance de l'approche théorique.

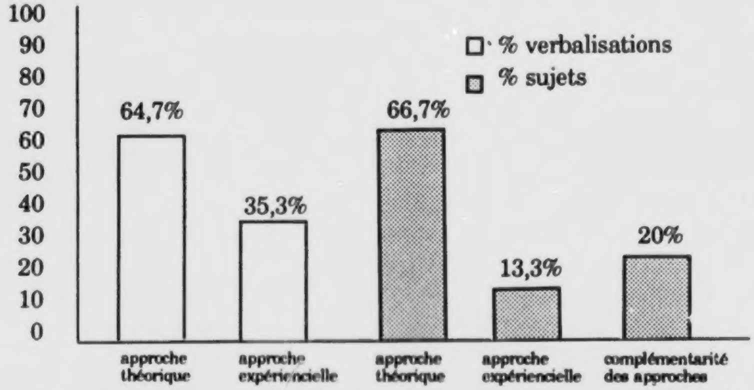

Figure 3: Proportion des verbalisations indiquant une approche théorique ou une approche expériencielle. Proportion des sujets privilégiant l'une ou l'autre approche ou utilisant les deux également.

On peut se demander si ces résultats sont dûs au fait que les exhibits ne sont pas de type "interactif", c'est-à-dire ne permettent qu'un contact visuel avec l'objet. Les verbalisations des visiteurs montrent qu'en dépit d'une distance physique infranchissable, certains visiteurs trouvent le moyen de contextualiser l'objet sur une base prioritairement expériencielle ou d'utiliser également l'approche expériencielle et l'approche théorique. On peut donc penser que le choix d'une approche relève davantage d'une caractéristique fondamentale de la personne dans son rapport avec le monde que d'une réaction au type de présentation des exhibits. Les propos de certains visiteurs, laissant entendre que l'approche expériencielle s'avère pour eux plus qu'une préférence, qu'elle est vécue comme un besoin, un élan naturel, corroborent notre position.

> L'information sort au fur et à mesure qu'elle rentre si je ne peux rattacher ça à mon vécu.
>
> Il faut que ça me parle comme une musique, il faut que ça parle à mes tripes, que ça me fasse vibrer.

Il faut se garder de réduire l'approche expériencielle à la seule manipulation physique de l'objet; la relation à l'objet peut se vivre de plusieurs façons. Comme nous l'avons montré ailleurs (Chamberland, 1991), elle peut être orientée vers la manipulation physique de l'objet, vers l'aspect fonctionnel de celui-ci, c'est-à-dire vers les usages qui en sont faits ou que la personne pourrait en faire, vers l'évocation d'une ambiance ou d'un lien affectif avec l'objet, et vers la perception d'un rapport symbolique avec l'objet ou avec un contexte associé à celui-ci (l'eau, la mer, etc.).

Dans l'approche théorique, nous avons décelé cinq façons d'envisager le savoir "à propos de" l'objet. Il peut s'exprimer sous forme d'acquisition de connaissances nouvelles, de rappel de connaissances antérieures, de plaisir d'exposer son savoir à autrui (en l'occurrence, l'accompagnateur), de vérification de ses connaissances personnelles ou de ses hypothèses sur l'objet, d'expression d'un jugement sur l'exhibit, ses qualités intrinsèques et didactiques, sa pertinence.

Les finalités de chaque approche sont donc bien différentes. Rien ne permet de dire que l'une a plus de valeur ou qu'elle a un impact plus grand que l'autre sur l'expérience du visiteur. Le type de relation que l'individu établit avec l'objet ne dépend pas uniquement des contingences externes mais également de ce que la personne recherche dans son rapport avec le monde et d'une prédisposition ou d'une préférence naturelle pour un certain type de rapport.

Conclusion

Les implications des résultats que nous venons d'exposer sont multiples. Ces résultats montrent qu'il n'est pas possible de maintenir une position extrême, attribuant le pouvoir et la responsabilité de la construction du sens aux experts et à leurs techniques de présentation, si sophistiquées soient-elles. Le niveau de dépendance du monde extérieur varie d'une personne à l'autre et chez une même personne, d'une situation à l'autre. De plus, le choix d'un mode d'approche de l'objet, même s'il est soumis dans une certaine mesure aux contraintes imposées par ce que les exhibits proposent, relève également de l'attitude fondamentale et de la prédisposition ou de la préférence naturelle de l'individu pour un certain type de rapport avec le monde extérieur.

Les types de réponses du visiteur face à l'environnement proposés par Nahemow (1971), réponse structurale et réponse expériencielle, s'avèrent trop étroits pour éclairer véritablement le phénomène de la contextualisation. A la différence de Nahemow, notre but n'était pas de voir quelle forme pouvait prendre l'image que le visiteur se faisait de l'environnement, mais quel type de rapport il établissait avec l'objet pour lui donner un sens particulier. Une analyse qualitative des données a permis d'élargir la définition de ce qu'est une approche expériencielle, celle-ci incluant, outre la manipulation physique de l'objet, celle d'éléments symboliques, imaginaires et affectifs.

Ce qui précède nous amène à redéfinir ce qu'on entend par l'"implication du visiteur" et l'"activité d'investigation du visiteur", que certains auteurs (Busque, 1988; Koran et al., 1983; Screven, 1969) ont tendance à réduire à des comportements visibles du visiteur: manipuler l'objet, l'examiner de près et poser des questions. Nos résultats montrent que le visiteur a aussi d'autres façons d'appréhender, d'apprivoiser et de connaître l'objet. L'utilisation qu'il fait des référents internes montre qu'en définitive, bien qu'extérieurement passif, il peut être profondément impliqué dans son contact avec l'objet.

Nos résultats ont été obtenus auprès d'un petit nombre de sujets et ne valent que pour des circonstances et un milieu particuliers où l'objet revêt déjà un statut particulier. Ils doivent être éclairés par des recherches ultérieures réalisées dans des circonstances différentes. Ainsi, on pourrait se demander si l'approche théorique aurait une place aussi importante dans la démarche du visiteur dans un musée d'art ou d'histoire. Dans le même ordre d'idées, on pourrait se demander si, devant un type de présentation plus complexe et un contenu informatif et contextuel plus élaboré, les caractéristiques de la contextualisation effectuée par le visiteur demeureraient les mêmes. Cette étude ne constitue donc qu'une amorce de compréhension du phénomène extrêmement complexe qu'est la contextualisation.

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CRÉATION ET ADAPTATION: INTÉGRATION DANS LE DÉVELOPPEMENT VOCATIONNEL DE L'ADULTE

Danielle Riverin-Simard
Université Laval

Résumé

Après avoir identifié deux fonctions centrales à la vie occupationnelle de l'adulte, soit les "créatives" et les "adaptatives", le présent article pose, en première partie, les questions suivantes. Est-ce que les formulations de certaines théories de la psychologie et de l'éducation des adultes privilégient l'une ou l'autre de ces deux fonctions à titre de conditions basales au développement? Si oui, l'aspiration à se développer sur un plan vocationnel est-elle accessible à toutes les classes de travailleurs? Suite à ces interrogations, le présent article propose, en seconde partie, certains éléments d'une conception intégratrice du développement vocationnel de l'adulte; ces derniers visent à accorder une importance sensiblement égale à ces deux fonctions créatives et adaptatives. Enfin, certaines applications pratiques sont suggérées.

Abstract

After having identified two functions, creative and adaptative, that are central to adult work life, this article asks, in first part, the following questions. Do formulations of certain theories of psychology and adult education favour one or another of these two functions by virtue of basal conditions of development? If yes, is the aspiration of vocational development accessible to all social classes of workers? As a follow up to this questioning, this article proposes, in the second part, certain elements of an integrated conception of adult vocational development; the latter aim to accord an essentially equal importance to these two creative and adaptative functions. Finally, certain practical applications are suggested.

La diversité du cheminement professionnel des travailleurs peut-elle être considérée comme tributaire de la richesse des membres d'une collectivité? Ou à l'inverse, cette hétérogénéité doit-elle se concevoir comme une occasion de hiérarchiser les adultes et de consolider ainsi une structure de classes? Ces questions ont été soulevées à maintes reprises dans les études liées à l'éducation des adultes (CEFA, 1982; Bowles et Gintis, 1977; Ryan, 1974; Spaeth, 1976; Willis, 1981) et à leur développement personnel et vocationnel (Schlossberg, 1986; Thomas, 1989). Cependant elles semblent se poser avec encore plus d'acuité si elles sont spécifiquement reliées à la réalité de la vie au travail. Parmi les fonctions occupationnelles hétérogènes exécutées par l'adulte, y en a-t-

117

il qui soient davantage garantes d'un développement idéal ou d'une éducation optimale?

Parmi toute la panoplie des comportements occupationnels, il y a deux fonctions qui sont centrales à la réalité de la vie au travail ainsi qu'à celle de l'évolution socio-économique de toute une collectivité. Il s'agit des fonctions liées à la création et à l'adaptation. A l'aide de ces deux grands types de fonctions occupationnelles, le présent article veut apporter, en première partie, certains éléments de réponse aux questions suivantes. Y a-t-il des sous-groupes de travailleurs qui sont davantage confinés à l'une ou l'autre de ces fonctions? Est-ce que les formulations de certaines théories de la psychologie et de l'éducation des adultes privilégient l'une ou l'autre des fonctions adaptatives ou créatives à titre de conditions basales du développement ou de l'éducation? Est-ce que l'aspiration à se développer sur un plan vocationnel est accessible à toutes les classes sociales de travailleurs?

Après avoir apporté certains éléments de réponse à ces questions, le présent article propose, en seconde partie, certains éléments d'une conception intégratrice permettant, par l'emphase mise sur la complémentarité, d'associer davantage l'hétérogénéité avec la diversité plutôt qu'avec l'inégalité. Mais auparavant, nous décrivons ces deux aspects centraux de la vie quotidienne du travail que sont les fonctions créatives et adaptatives.

Création versus adaptation

Comment se décrivent ces deux fonctions créatives et adaptatives? Pour distinguer ces deux réalités, nous proposons tout d'abord la situation concrète suivante qui illustre des comportements professionnels correspondant à l'une et à l'autre de ces fonctions. Face à une intervention patronale intransigeante, un travailleur peut orienter ses énergies pour tenter d'en apprécier le bien-fondé, en modifiant à la baisse ses valeurs de fierté et d'autonomie, et rendre ainsi son travail plus viable. Il s'agit là de comportements adaptatifs. Par contre un second travailleur peut, devant la même situation, organiser des regroupements syndicaux susceptibles de contester collectivement cet état de choses, rechercher diverses stratégies de modification ou encore imaginer et implanter de nouvelles alternatives plus acceptables. Il s'agit là de comportements créatifs.

Les comportements adaptatifs sont ceux visant au fonctionnement en tant que partie à l'intérieur d'un tout, à la soumission aux exigences de ce tout, afin d'être en harmonie avec l'ordre établi des systèmes. Les comportements adaptatifs demandent à l'individu une attention particulière pour identifier toutes les contraintes environnantes (sociales, biologiques, personnelles) afin d'assurer son intégrité et sa survie et ce, au moyen d'une accommodation la plus satisfaisante possible. Ces comportements adaptatifs imposent à l'individu de respecter entièrement ces contraintes, peu importe si celles-ci sont soit aliénantes (inégalités dans les prescriptions socio-professionnelles), soit indiscutables et mystérieuses (lois biologiques de l'univers ou lois surnaturelles de dieux gestionnaires). Cette crainte, parfois mêlée d'un sentiment plus ou moins intense de haine, semble être une condition à sa survie. Il s'agit du nécessaire respect de son ennemi envers des éléments représentant le pouvoir suprême. De plus, ces comportements adaptatifs incluent, à l'extrême limite, une certaine forme de soumission; elles excluent toutefois un fatalisme ou une abdication absolus s'apparentant à de l'égo-destruction.

Quant aux comportements créatifs, elles visent à affirmer son autonomie individuelle, à aller de l'avant ou encore, à l'encontre de l'orientation prévue ou prévisible des systèmes. Elles forcent l'individu à utiliser toutes ses ressources personnelles afin d'assurer le développement de ses aspirations et besoins, ainsi que l'actualisation de ses habiletés, compétences et intérêts professionnels. Ces comportements misent sur la présence ou le développement d'une estime de soi élevée. Par ailleurs, ces comportements incluent, à l'extrême limite, une certaine forme d'autoritarisme; elles excluent toutefois un despotisme ou une coercition absolus, s'apparentant à de l'"éco-destruction" (destruction de systèmes sociaux ou écologiques).

Mais, dans le contexte quotidien du travail, y a-t-il des adultes qui, à cause des nombreuses et diverses prescriptions socio-professionnelles (tâches), se retrouvent principalement affectés soit aux fonctions créatives, soit aux fonctions adaptatives?

Fonctions et classes

Les résultats d'une étude de Riverin-Simard (1990), portant sur l'analyse comparative des histoires de vie de 786 travailleurs de tous âges, selon leur appartenance à l'une ou l'autre des trois classes sociales défavorisée, moyenne ou aisée, rejoint les travaux de plusieurs auteurs, à la fois classiques et contemporains. Cette recherche a observé que les fonctions créatives sont le lot des travailleurs appartenant surtout à la classe aisée, alors que les fonctions adaptatives sont réservées surtout aux classes moyenne et défavorisée. Ces résultats confirment les conclusions de divers travaux concernant l'historicité des sujets (c'est-à-dire les modes d'insertion des êtres humains dans le temps socio-historique) selon les classes sociales. Il est en effet généralement accepté que la ligne de partage entre dominants et dominés se délimite surtout par la distinction entre le fait d'être acteur ou sujet de l'histoire (Boudon, 1985). De plus, l'idée d'une démarcation entre la conscience de participer à l'histoire et le sentiment de la subir en tant que réalité exogène rejoint, selon Lalive d'Epinay (1988), la distinction classique entre l'historique et le quotidien qu'on retrouve chez de nombreux philosophes et historiens de Platon à nos contemporains, tels les Lefebvre (1981, Hoggart (1970, Bourdieu (1979), Maffesoli (1985) ou M.de Certeau (1980).

Par ailleurs, avec ces conclusions de recherches, les questions suivantes surgissent. Si certaines classes de travailleurs sont rattachés à l'une ou l'autre des fonctions soit créatives, soit adaptatives, ces derniers peuvent-ils également espérer se développer et s'éduquer sainement? Est-ce que certaines théories de la psychologie et de l'éducation des adultes, dans leurs postulats sur le développement de la personne, valorisent une fonction au détriment de l'autre, répondant ainsi par la négative à la première question?

Fonctions créatives et idéal humain

Les fonctions créatives rejoignent de très près les notions d'actualisation et de réalisation de soi que sont les postulats de plusieurs courants de pensée, dont la célèbre école de psychologie humaniste. Cette philosophie éducative, approche très répandue dans les milieux nord-américains et européens, identifie, comme on le sait, le développement personnel et vocationnel optimal par les comportements menant vers une auto-actualisation toujours plus grande. Elias et Merriam (1980) rappellent à cet effet que Maslow et Rogers, par exemple, considèrent tous les deux l'éducation comme un moyen devant favoriser cette auto-actualisation. Or, il est généralement accepté que ces comportements menant vers la réalisation de soi ne peuvent se manifester que par l'exercice de fonctions créatives (Capra, 1986). Ainsi, à la lumière des grands principes de l'école humaniste, la diversité de ces fonctions occupationnelles (liées à la création et à l'adaptation) ne semble-t-elle pas, globalement, se révéler comme le fondement d'un certain élitisme vocationnel? En effet, si l'actualisation ou réalisation de soi est rattachée surtout aux fonctions créatives, les travailleurs ne peuvent-ils vraiment espérer la même intensité dans la marche continue de leur évolution personnelle et vocationnelle? D'après ces critères, la classe aisée ne se situerait-elle pas au premier rang, suivie ensuite, de la classe moyenne? Quant à l'adulte de la classe défavorisée, ne se rangerait-il pas bon dernier?

Par ailleurs, nous retrouvons également dans un autre corpus théorique lié à la psychologie de l'adulte, le postulat implicite voulant que les fonctions créatives soient généralement identifiées à l'idéal humain. Dans la psychologie développementale, et plus particulièrement dans les recherches portant sur les différentes réactions au stress, il y a, par exemple dans le modèle de Lazarus, une distinction entre une réaction contributive et une réaction palliative.

La réaction contributive correspond surtout à une action directe menée sur l'environnement ou sur la personne elle-même. Cette réaction correspond globalement aux fonctions créatives. Dans l'exemple que nous avons relevé plus haut, le travailleur tente d'intervenir sur l'environnement par une stratégie syndicale. Il aurait également pu intervenir sur lui-même en s'inscrivant, par exemple, à des cours de psychologie, lui permettant éventuellement de raffiner ses habiletés individuelles de persuasion auprès du patron. Cette réaction contributive est considérée, dans le modèle de Lazarus, comme une stratégie très positive du développement de l'adulte.

Quant à la réaction palliative, dont l'appellation elle-même revêt une connotation péjorative, elle correspond surtout à une réorganisation intrapsychique par laquelle l'individu réévalue la relation entre l'environnement et lui-même, pour la redéfinir dans le but de réduire le stress, de retrouver un certain bien-être ou de poursuivre son évolution personnelle. Cette réaction correspond globalement aux comportements adaptatifs. Dans l'illustration

1173

présentée au début de cette rubrique, le travailleur, devant une attitude patronale intransigeante, tente de modifier sa perception de la relation individu-environnement en essayant de changer, entre autres, ses valeurs de fierté et d'autonomie. Il faut toutefois souligner que cette réaction intrapsychique palliative s'avère, selon les conclusions de Lazarus, très négative au développement de l'adulte, car elle se traduit par une diminution du niveau d'aspirations. Par ailleurs, comme pour appuyer cette connotation négative rattachée à la réaction palliative, Lazarus rappelle, en se basant sur les travaux de Campbell, Converse et Rodgers (1976) ainsi que sur ceux de Whitbourne (1985), que cette réaction s'observe surtout chez les travailleurs plus âgés possédant une faible scolarité.

Dans la psychologie de l'adaptation, on peut également relever certains modèles qui préconisent, pour une évolution optimale, la manifestation de fonctions surtout créatives. A titre d'exemple, nommons les "Life events models of adaptation" de Bengston et Kasschau (1977), de Brim et Ryff (1980), Holmes et Masuda (1974), de Hultsch et Plemons (1979), de Pearlin et de Rabkin et Struning (1980). Il y a par contre de très rares modèles émanant de la psychologie développementale qui posent, en principe, la nécessité de l'exercice de fonctions surtout adaptatives. Toutefois le modèle "subjective well-being" de Campbell (1980) s'apparente quelque peu à cette position mais il va sans dire qu'il est fortement contesté; on lui reproche même de favoriser la passivité (Whitbourne, 1985).

En somme, si d'une part, les fonctions créatives semblent exclusivement réservées à la classe aisée, et si d'autre part, certains éléments théoriques émanant de la psychologie et de l'éducation des adultes semblent prioriser les fonctions créatives à titre de conditions basales à l'évolution de la personne, ne devrions-nous pas croire qu'il y aurait là un certain élitisme au sein de ces formulations théoriques concernant l'adulte? Si oui, devrions-nous alors conclure, sur la base de ces éléments conceptuels, que pratiquement seule la classe aisée pourrait véritablement aspirer à une saine évolution personnelle et vocationnelle allant davantage dans le sens de l'idéal humain?

Mais, au juste, dans quel contexte socio-culturel s'inscrit cet élitisme hypothétique émanant de certaines formulations théoriques?

Historique de l'élitisme du comportement créatif

Les us et coutumes de la civilisation occidentale, qui sont habituellement générés par la classe dominante, et dans lesquels s'inscrivent, entre autres, les différentes conceptions de la psychologie et de l'éducation des adultes, donnent généralement, selon Capra (1986), la primauté au comportement créatif plutôt qu'à l'adaptatif. Il s'agit là, selon ce même auteur, d'une des principales manifestations de la tendance affirmative de notre société actuelle.

Cette primauté trouverait son origine dans l'interprétation métaphorique des darwinistes sociaux du XIXè siècle; ces derniers concevaient que toute vie en société devait être une lutte pour l'existence régie par "la survie du plus fort".

En conséquence, la création aurait été considérée comme la force motrice de l'économie collective, ainsi que celle du développement personnel, vocationnel ou autre. L'approche créative est devenue, en quelque sorte, l'idéal du monde des affaires, soit des dominants et, par voie de conséquence, l'objectif ultime de l'éducation et de la socialisation (Capra, 1986). De plus, selon ce même auteur, ce comportement a été associé avec l'obligation de s'adonner à l'exploitation des ressources, tant humaines que naturelles, afin de créer des modèles compétitifs de consommation.

Compte tenu de cette conjoncture socio-culturelle, il est partiellement compréhensible que certaines conceptions de la psychologie ou de l'éducation des adultes, bien enracinées au sein de cette civilisation occidentale, accordent la priorité aux fonctions créatives, à titre de comportements idéaux. Par voie de conséquence, dans ce même contexte culturel, les fonctions adaptatives sont considérées comme des manifestations de second ordre (Capra, 1986). D'ailleurs, le fait paradoxal suivant témoigne, avec beaucoup d'intensité, la présence d'un certain élitisme: tandis que le comportement créatif est présenté comme l'idéal humain, le comportement adaptatif est cependant attendu de la part de la très grande majorité des adultes qui sont généralement des employés ou exécutants (Capra, 1986). Selon ce même auteur, ces derniers sont supposés renier leur personnalité propre pour adopter l'identité et le modèle de comportement de leur firme. De plus, tous les services professionnels impliquant des fonctions adaptatives, et qui sont généralement exercées par les classes moyenne et défavorisée, se situent au plus bas de notre échelle de valeurs. Les travailleurs affectés à ces fonctions adaptatives deviennent ainsi les moins bien rémunérés.

Par ailleurs, si les us et coutumes de la civilisation occidentales priorisent les fonctions créatives, est-ce là une raison suffisante pour que certaines conceptions de la psychologie et de l'éducation des adultes adoptent cet élitisme? N'y aurait-il pas d'autres visions de l'évolution de l'adulte qui pourraient se situer au-delà des modes ou des épitémès propres à des époques historiques? Surtout, ces conceptions de la psychologie et de l'éducation des adultes ne devraient-elles pas s'inscrire dans une certaine complémentarité de ces fonctions, à la fois créatives et adaptatives?

Complémentarité nécessaire

Selon nous, cette diversité des comportements occupationnels créatifs et adaptatifs, engendrée par la structure des inégalités sociales, et promue, entre autres, par certaines conceptions de la psychologie et de l'éducation des adultes, ne devrait pas se concevoir comme une hiérarchie permettant de qualifier les adultes sur une échelle de supériorité ou d'infériorité. Nous devrions compter davantage de modèles théoriques n'accordant pas de valeur prééminente aux projets de vie au travail associés à l'une ou l'autre de ces deux fonctions créatives et adaptatives. Ce qu'il importe surtout d'identifier est, selon nous, la présence de conditions développementales qui se situeraient autant dans un comportement créatif ou contributif que dans un comportement adaptatif ou palliatif. En effet, comme il est explicité dans les pages précédentes, il y a, à titre de résultante dans les deux éventualités, une réduction du conflit moi-milieu laissant ainsi libre cours à une évolution vocationnelle continue. De plus, il n'est pas question de passivité ou de défaitisme dans le second type de comportement, car il y a effectivement changement dans la relation entre l'individu et l'environnement. Par ailleurs, dans les deux cas, l'adulte apparaît l'instigateur de cette modification. Par exemple, dans une réaction adaptative ou palliative, même s'il n'y a pas une action comme telle qui est menée sur l'environnement ou sur la personne elle-même, il n'en demeure pas moins que c'est l'adulte, en voulant respecter (que ce soit par haine, par amour ou pour sa survie sociale) l'ordre du système qui effectue, par une réaction intrapsychique, ce changement de relation entre l'individu et l'environnement.

De plus il faut, selon nous, que certaines conceptions de la psychologie et de l'éducation des adultes se dissocient davantage de deux méprises classiques; ces dernières se retrouvent généralement dans les études psychologiques, sociologiques ou économiques, portant sur l'identification des comportements professionnels idéaux, susceptibles d'être garants d'une évolution optimale. Ces deux erreurs sont: 1. utiliser la classe aisée à titre de comportement idéal à atteindre; 2. mousser le courage exemplaire des braves gens des classes moyenne et défavorisée. Il faut signaler que le premier type d'aberration, pourtant décriée par certaines voix intellectuelles et politiques, se retrouve également dans de nombreuses études liées à l'évolution socio-économique comparative des divers sociétés et pays. Une déviation coutumière est celle de juger la société post-industrielle la plus avancée sur le plan technologique, comme critère ultime à partir duquel les autres collectivités devraient se modeler. Certaines théories de la psychologie et de l'éducation des adultes doivent ainsi tenter d'éviter l'ethnocentrisme (1): il ne faut pas définir l'optimisation d'une évolution vocationnelle ou d'une éducation continue, en référence aux seules caractéristiques de la classe aisée. Les critères de comparaison utilisés doivent se situer au-delà des comportements professionnels spécifiques à la classe dominante ou survalorisés pas la culture actuelle. Ainsi, loin d'associer la diversité à l'inégalité, ces éléments d'appréciation doivent se retrouver dans un ensemble plus englobant, plus transcendant qui constitue en quelque sorte une approche molaire, intégratrice ou englobante.

Même si dans notre société, le comportement créatif représente l'idéal humain, nous n'en postulons pas moins que les fonctions créatives et adaptatives, quoiqu'opposées, s'avèrent surtout complémentaires et nécessaires: elles le sont, à la fois, pour une saine évolution collective, et surtout pour l'assurance d'un développement vocationnel optimal. Les recherches ont d'ailleurs démontré, depuis longtemps, qu'un trop grand exercice des fonctions surtout adaptatives, doublé de prescriptions sociales allant dans le même sens, sclérose l'individu dans l'exercice exclusif de telles fonctions et amène ainsi de nombreuses déficiences sur le plan développemental (Moscovici, 1979; 1988). Ces anomalies sont habituellement fort connues et décriées; il s'agit de l'aliénation de soi, de l'absence de réalisation ou d'actualisation de soi, de la perte d'autonomie, d'une évolution collective tronquée, etc. Par ailleurs, la recherche s'est très peu préoccupée d'identifier les réactions négatives possibles d'un trop grand exercice des fonctions créatives. Par exemple, une éducation et une actualisation axées presque exclusivement sur le potentiel créatif ou contributif conduit l'adulte, selon Riverin-Simard (1990), à devenir également handicapé à certains égards. Ces carences développementales sont malheureusement encore à la fois tues ou méconnues. En somme, elles l'amèneraient, selon ce même auteur à se comporter comme un "monstre créatif", insouciant de la magnitude des systèmes sociaux ou cosmiques qui l'entourent.

Mais pour mieux concevoir une certaine complémentarité des fonctions adaptatives et créatives, à titre de composante centrale au développement vocationnel de l'adulte, une conception intégratrice présenterait-elle certains éléments de solution?

Approche intégratrice

Qu'entendons-nous par une approche intégratrice du développement personnel ou vocationnel de l'adulte? Sur quels principes prend-elle son appui?

Il faut tout d'abord mentionner que, selon cette approche, il y aurait une gamme de comportements humains qui peuvent s'illustrer par un arc dont les pôles opposés sont les comportements créatifs et adaptatifs. Entre ces deux pôles, il y a toute la panoplie de comportements plus ou moins créatifs ou adaptatifs selon qu'on se rapproche ou s'éloigne de l'une ou l'autre des deux extrémités.

Un des premiers postulats veut que les segments opposés, que sont les comportements créatifs et adaptatifs, sont complémentaires, car ils représentent les points marquants d'un développement humain pris dans sa totalité. Regroupés selon un équilibre personnalisé, ils constituent les éléments nécessaires à adopter afin d'en arriver à une évolution vocationnelle optimale. Ce développement se présente alors comme une intégration harmonieuse de l'ensemble des conduites professionnelles hétérogènes. Les comportements divers, observés dans chaque classe de travailleurs, ne s'avèrent que des illustrations partielles de ce développement vocationnel optimal. Comme nous l'avons souligné auparavant, ces manifestations professionnelles fragmentaires, répétées d'une façon presque exclusive, se présentent souvent comme une forme d'exagération, se traduisant paradoxalement par un manque, voire même un déséquilibre plus ou moins prononcé. Ces manifestations risquent fort, au fil des ans, de se montrer un facteur nuisible à l'évolution de l'individu. Une sur-actualisation d'un des segments de cet arc des agirs humains et professionnels, est susceptible de conduire à un développement vocationnel inachevé. Adopter un comportement exclusivement adaptatif ou créatif, sur une base temporaire, n'a rien de nuisible en soi. Mais l'adoption exclusive d'une attitude créative ou adaptative pourrait, à la longue, conduire à un développement tronqué (Riverin-Simard, 1990).

Par ailleurs, un second postulat de l'approche intégratrice affirme ceci. Tout groupe, quel qu'il soit, ne développe prioritairement qu'un segment de l'arc des comportements humains. Peu importe si ce segment est valorisé ou non par la société, ses composantes n'en constituent pas moins qu'une fraction de l'ensemble. Il semble donc nécessaire d'intégrer ces diverses manifestations en un agencement davantage réprésentatif des comportements humains, professionnels ou autres. On ne peut plus se limiter aux seules caractéristiques de la trajectoire professionnelle de l'une ou l'autre des classes socio-économiques de travailleurs pour définir des critères de développement personnel ou vocationnel optimal. Ainsi, pour éviter l'élitisme inhérent à certaines conceptions de la psychologie et de l'éducation des adultes, il faut selon nous, choisir des critères basés sur une approche intégratrice se situant dans une optique de nécessaire complémentarité.

Mais, sur quels appuis conceptuels peut se rattacher une telle conception intégratrice du développement de l'adulte?

Fondements théoriques de l'approche intégratrice

Les fondements de cette approche, formulée par Riverin-Simard (1990) s'appuient, entre autres, sur deux conceptions dont l'une est ancestrale et l'autre toute récente. Cette complémentarité des fonctions adaptatives et créatives se base, tout d'abord, sur un postulat chinois formulé, depuis plusieurs siècles déjà, dans le Yi-Ching ([2]). Dans cet ouvrage, on prétend qu'il y a, dans tout système (individuel, collectif ou cosmique) deux types d'activité, de force ou de réalité qui s'avèrent des énergies, à la fois opposées et complémentaires, soit le Yin et le Yang. Selon cette typologie chinoise, il s'agit là d'un couple négatif/positif dont l'action incessante crée toute action et toute vie. D'une part, l'action Yin est consciente de l'environnement (éco-action) et les fonctions adaptatives se situeraient au sein de cette activité. D'autre part, l'action Yang est consciente de l'être (égo-action) et les fonctions créatives se classeraient sous ce type d'activités.

Comme cela est expliqué dans le Yi-Ching, il y a de nombreuses situations possibles de Yin et de Yang. Nous croyons que les fonctions adaptatives et créatives constituent l'une de ces situations même si ces dernières ne sont pas inhérentes à la terminologie chinoise originelle. Quoi qu'il en soit, elles semblent être une extension naturelle de l'imagerie ancienne. Nous le considérons du moins comme tel dans notre critique sur la conception élitiste de la psychologie et de l'éducation des adultes, ainsi que dans le cadre de nos réflexions sur les liens entre l'hétérogénéité, la diversité, l'inégalité et la complémentarité.

Il faut toutefois rappeler, comme nous l'avons déjà souligné dans les pages précédentes, que la fonction adaptative n'équivaut pas à se taire et à ne rien faire. Elle signifie plutôt s'abstenir d'activités contraires à la nature, soit à l'ordre naturel des choses, soit à l'ordre établi d'un système. En Occident, cette fonction est couramment interprétée en référence à une certaine forme de

1173

passivité. Selon la philosophie chinoise du Yi-Ching, l'état d'immobilité, de repos ou d'inactivité absolus est impossible. Rien n'est absolument Yin ou Yang. L'univers est engagé dans une activité ou un mouvement incessants, dans un processus cosmique continu appelé le Tao ou la Voie. Le changement ne se produit pas comme une conséquence d'une force mais il est une tendance naturelle, innée à toute chose, à toute situation. Selon cette conception, les activités Yin ainsi que les fonctions adaptatives, ne doivent pas être considérées comme des processus passifs mais bel et bien actifs. Ainsi, l'ordre naturel se décrit comme l'équilibre dynamique entre le Yin et le Yang.

En s'inspirant de cette conception ancestrale pour inclure les deux fonctions adaptative et créative à titre d'éléments complémentaires à un développement vocationnel optimal, l'approche intégratrice permet d'englober la majorité des activités occupationnelles des divers adultes. Ce concept dépasse de loin certaines définitions limitatives, restreignant la notion de projet professionnel à une activité qui débouche exclusivement sur une oeuvre ou une création. Au contraire, cette approche intégratrice inclut toutes les activités occupationnelles, même celles qui revêtent un caractère entropique, telles les tâches stéréotypées habituellement attribuées aux cols bleus ne permettant aucune cumulation d'un savoir qui peut se transmettre comme un héritage officiellement reconnu. L'intégration de ces fonctions créatives et adaptatives opposées devient alors susceptible d'englober toutes les ramifications des activités professionnelles qui se situent jusqu'aux antipodes de l'univers socio-économique.

Par ailleurs, cette notion intégratrice s'inspire également d'une conception toute récente appelée "holisme". Ce terme, repris par le physicien Capra (1986), provient du mot grec "holos" qui signifie "tout entier". La conception holiste fait référence à une compréhension de la réalité en termes de parties intégrées à un tout dont les propriétés ne peuvent être réduites à celles des unités plus petites. Ce postulat holiste s'avère, en soi, anti-élitiste car il met également en évidence l'importance de la complémentarité pour assurer un sain équilibre tant sur le plan des cultures, des sociétés que sur le plan des individus. Par exemple, l'expansion ou la coopération, la conservation ou la progression, sont des comportements indispensables à une saine évolution à la fois individuelle et sociale. Ces conceptions tentent de saisir les fonctions humaines dans leur interdépendance. Ces mêmes explications théoriques visent également à transcender les valeurs, tendances ou types d'interventions priorisés; en cela, la compréhension holiste, comme l'approche chinoise, permet de concevoir toutes les réalités, en terme de complémentarité nécessaire les unes aux autres. De même, le développement vocationnel se réalise par l'équilibre des forces en jeu que l'on peut comparer, par exemple, à la dynamique des forces tangentielle et radiale de certains phénomènes physiques. La force tangentielle permet de garder une certaine forme de stabilité, de cohérence et de reconstruction (potentiel adaptatif). La force radiale, quant à elle, vise à briser l'ordre établi (potentiel créatif).

Cependant, l'équilibre entre l'actualisation de ces divers comportements opposés ou complémentaires n'est pas statique. Cet équilibre se traduit par une réaction dynamique qui rend l'individu à la fois cohérent, souple et ouvert au changement. Le développement de l'adulte peut ainsi se décrire par des mouvements constants, inscrits dans une orientation marquée par un équilibre évolutif. D'ailleurs, des études récentes pertinentes à la période adulte (Levinson, 1978; Riverin-Simard, 1988), contredisent complètement le préjugé de la stabilité relative ou absolue qu'on lui avait antérieurement accolée (courant statique). Cette observation rejoint, à certains égards, les découvertes récentes de la micro-physique en ce qui concerne l'un des éléments apparaissant le plus statique, soit la matière.

> *La physique moderne ne décrit pas la matière comme inerte et passive mais comme animée d'un mouvement perpétuel, dansant et vibrant dont les rythmes sont déterminés par les structures moléculaires atomiques et nucléaires...nous en sommes arrivés à réaliser qu'il n'y a pas de structure statique dans la nature, il y a une stabilité mais cette stabilité est d'un équilibre dynamique (1986, p.76).*

Tout comme c'est le cas pour la matière, nous croyons que le développement vocationnel de l'adulte est une forme d'équilibre dynamique, se manifestant tout au long de sa trajectoire de vie au travail. Il s'agit d'un équilibre à maintenir, de façon constante, entre des comportements professionnels particuliers qui s'avèrent complémentaires. Quant à l'identification de ces comportements, elle ne se limite surtout pas aux agirs occupationnels de la classe dominante; comme nous l'avons signalé dans les pages précédentes, elle inclut également ceux de toutes les couches de la société. Selon notre conception intégratrice, aucune fonction vocationnelle, rappelons-le, n'est supérieure à une autre; l'ensemble des fonctions complémentaires est nécessaire à une évolution individuelle harmonieuse.

Malgré les valeurs culturelles élitistes existantes qui accorderont la priorité forcément à l'une de ces fonctions particulières (et très rarement à la nécessaire complémentarité de l'ensemble), nous croyons que cette approche intégratrice permet une certaine pérennité, en se situant au-delà des modes ou des épitémès propres à des époques historiques. Surtout, cette approche offre l'avantage de proposer une lecture différente de certaines formulations théoriques de la psychologie et de l'éducation des adultes; cette lecture, à certains égards inédite, prend ses appuis sur la réalité du travail humain dans ses aspects, à la fois plus généraux, et espérons-le, généralisables.

Conclusions

Le présent article vise tout d'abord à remettre en lumière le caractère relativement élitiste de certaines conceptions de la psychologie et de l'éducation des adultes. Par exemple, étant donné l'hétérogénéité des conditions socio-économiques associées à la création et à l'adaptation, les idéaux apparentés à l'actualisation et à la réalisation de soi, promus par l'école humaniste, ne semblent pas, sur le plan vocationnel, être également accessibles à tous.

En un deuxième temps, le présent article propose une approche intégratrice dans le but d'offrir d'autres avenues de réflexion susceptibles d'apporter des alternatives à certaines conceptions relativement élitistes servant de fondements à nos interventions auprès d'adultes. Un système sain (société ou individu), entérinant cette même conception intégratrice, se reconnaît par une valorisation égale de l'adaptation et de la création. Cependant, cette approche ne veut pas signifier qu'une société est équilibrée et progressive s'il y a au total, une partie des gens qui assument des fonctions adaptatives et l'autre partie, des fonctions créatives. Au contraire, la complémentarité signifie, selon nous, la nécessité, pour chaque membre de la collectivité, d'une harmonisation intra-psychique entre ces deux fonctions adaptative et créative afin qu'une société ou chaque personne, dans sa totalité, ne soit pas régressive. Dans un système social idéal, ou en vue d'un développement vocationnel optimal, chaque adulte doit tenter d'affirmer sa personnalité et ses aspirations (fonctions créatives), tout en se soumettant également aux exigences des systèmes dans lesquels il évolue (fonctions adaptatives).

En termes d'applications pratiques, les formateurs d'adultes qui baseraient davantage leur intervention sur l'approche intégratrice risquent de voir apparaître les réactions positives suivantes: 1. le "monstre créatif" deviendrait davantage conscient de l'importance de respecter la magnitude de l'espace vital qui intègre, englobe et dépasse, à la fois, toute l'histoire collective et personnelle; 2. le "monstre intégratif", quant à lui, prendrait davantage conscience de la richesse de ses capacités personnelles d'autonomie et de prise en charge de son cheminement, grâce à des actions individuelles ou concertées, par le biais de divers mouvements sociaux engagés, tels des syndicats, des mouvements politiques.

Les formateurs d'adulte doivent, par ailleurs, se rappeler ceci. Pour arriver, au fil des ans, à intégrer harmonieusement ces deux sources de potentiel adaptatif et créatif, il ne faut toutefois pas que l'adulte se perçoive, d'une façon statique, au centre du monde mais plutôt comme se situant sur la flèche de sa propre évolution. De plus, l'adulte ne doit pas considérer que tout est mis à sa disposition; ce qui semble être le cas de la classe aisée qui exerce presque exclusivement des fonctions créatives. L'adulte ne doit pas plus considérer que tout converge vers lui; il ne doit pas s'astreindre à attendre tant les bienfaits que les méfaits d'un pouvoir quelconque, comme ce pourrait être parfois le cas de la classe défavorisée dont les membres sont généralement affectés à des fonctions strictement adaptatives.

En somme, si l'hétérogénéité se limite à un rejet de l'inégalité et en une reconnaissance de la diversité, elle situe ses réflexions dans une perspective heureuse mais réductionniste. Par contre, si l'hétérogénéité se pose plutôt en termes holistes ou de complémentarité, elle situe alors ses réflexions dans une perspective plutôt intégratrice. Cette dernière propose une conception davantage a-temporelle ou transculturelle, permettant de dépasser le piège classique qui risquerait d'entraîner les éducateurs non avertis à privilégier des interventions basées sur une conception élitiste tacitement préconisée par certaines théories de la psychologie et de l'éducation des adultes ainsi que par l'idéologie dominante de la civilisation occidentale.

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Notes

1. L'ethnocentrisme, en psychologie, est défini comme une tendance à privilégier le groupe social auquel on appartient et à en faire le seul modèle de référence.
2. Le Yi-Ching est un classique chinois, intitulé "livre du changement". Il est formé de formules hermétiques correspondant à soixante-quatorze hexagrammes (ensemble de six lignes pleines ou brisées) correspondant au Yang et au Yin de chaque situation possible. Cet ouvrage fut très souvent commenté et est encore couramment utilisé par la divination. Il est à l'origine de nombre de théories taoïstes et confucéennes.

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PERSONAL CHANGE THROUGH PARTICIPATION IN SOCIAL ACTION: A CASE STUDY OF TEN SOCIAL ACTIVISTS[1]

Sue M. Scott
University of Alberta

Abstract

Through the study of the leaders in the Lincoln Alliance, a short-lived but powerful community action organization in Lincoln, Nebraska, the relationship of personal to social transformation is assessed. Themes, categories, and units of analysis that emerged from qualitative study indicate that personal change was evident as a result of conflict situations where the process used was action, reaction to the action, and reflection. Thirteen propositions were derived in an attempt to achieve a substantive theory. Graphs attempt to show the process through which personal change and transformation occur in social action.

Résumé

On évalue le rapport entre la transformation personnelle et sociale par une étude des dirigeants du *Lincoln Alliance*, une organisation communautaire d'action à Lincoln, Nebraska. Thèmes, catégories, et unités d'analyse émergeants de l'étude qualitative indiquent que le changement personnel était évident à cause de situations de conflit où le processus utilisé était "action, réaction à l'action, et réflexion." On a puisé treize propositions dans le but de réaliser une théorie substantielle. Des graphiques essaient d'illustrer le processus à partir duquel le changement et la transformation personnelle se réalisent dans l'action sociale.

Social action has traditionally been an important program emphasis in the field of adult education. Eduard Lindeman (1926), a major proponent for both progressivism and education through social engagement, placed education for democracy (defined as people engaged in joint activity to solve their common problems in democratic cooperation) at the heart of social reform. Progressives in the early 1920s and 1930s understood that for cooperative democracy to flourish there must be opportunities to share in decision-making on issues or problems in the community. Otherwise, citizens become mere ciphers.

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Citizenship in a democracy is a privilege that requires the acceptance of responsibility. It is assumed that when people take responsibility to govern themselves participation in the decision-making structures of the commonwealth is a necessity. There are two modern problems that can arise when one takes the concept of citizenship seriously. One is the problem of encouraging people to want to participate in citizenship activities. People often become complacent or take for granted the running of a city or a state/province. The assumption is that elected representatives will serve the needs and wishes of the electorate. The second problem is that those in power often hold onto that power with a tenacity which excludes others who want to participate in the decision-making activities of the democracy. When there is denial of participation, those who are left out have the opportunity to critique and organize for their own self-interests, as they did in establishing the Lincoln Alliance of Lincoln, Nebraska.

The study of the Lincoln Alliance is about progressive adult education in a voluntary, community-based context. From the leaders in the Alliance we can learn how they developed personally, what they learned, and how they developed their leadership skills through an organization designed to bring about both personal and social changes. Learning to take responsibility for citizenship was enhanced when those in the Lincoln Alliance practiced cooperative democracy, including community action, on issues that people determined were a threat to their quality of life.

Canadian adult education, too, is rich with programs and projects in the field of citizenship. Under the leadership of its first director, E.A. Corbett, the Canadian Association for Adult Education (CAAE) set up the National Farm Radio Forum and the Citizens' Forum. Both of these ventures were attempts to include citizens in the dialogue on major issues in Canada. Each helped build a Canadian national community and sought to increase the quality of life in rural small towns. The Joint Planning Commission, created in 1947, also involved many voluntary organizations, government departments and agencies, university extension departments, business and professional groups, provincial departments of education, and church and labour organizations in dialogue on important national issues such as broadcasting policy (Selman, 1991). The most famous community development project in the country was the Antigonish Movement in Nova Scotia which seems to parallel the activities of the Lincoln Alliance in this study. Championed by Moses Coady, this project organized fishermen and the poor of Nova Scotia into cooperative economic projects to improve the quality of life in the region.

The Lincoln Alliance also was a cooperative project with the purpose of improving the quality of life of citizens. The Alliance became a decision-making body which sought to determine the agenda in the city of Lincoln and served as a forum on city-wide issues. The Alliance worked on issues that sought social transformations of structures which citizens determined were not equitable at the time. The Lincoln Alliance changed the structures of Lincoln, increased the numbers of people involved in community affairs, and in the process changed the people themselves. It is this change in the people that is the focus of this article.

The relationship of personal to social transformation has been discussed by such scholars of adult education as Sue Collard and Michael Law (1989) and Paulo Freire (1970). Problematic are the use of words such as personal change, social change, personal transformation, and social transformation. The word "change" is usually used as the common term for some sort of alteration, e.g., change of career, change of hair colour, change of residence. In the case of social change, it often means progressive movement toward a better quality of life in a community. Social transformation has come to mean a critique of the structures that are set up to serve humans. It involves a collective group of individuals who come together for the purpose of changing dehumanizing hierarchical structures in the economic and political systems. The aim is to alter the power relations, which often represent narrow points of view (self interests), and to balance the power equation by building an alternative power structure that offers valid, different, and alternative self interests. Thus social transformation involves conflict and struggle, as power relations are altered. Social or community action by citizens is required in accomplishing this task.

Personal change and personal transformation are words that have been used interchangeably until recently. The concept of personal change is often attributed to developmental theorists who suggest that personal growth is teleological, with increasingly complex stages. Often these phases are age-related. However, Paulo Freire (1970) proposes that adult personal growth is dependent on a relationship between political action and reflection. Freire maintains that adults learn and grow best when they are immersed in experiences that provide material for reflection. Through the political, economic, and social interaction with their environment a group of people (not individuals alone) can become transformed through a process of conscientization which requires action and reflection on that action (praxis). It is a process which liberates people from their past oppression, both self imposed and structurally imposed. Freire's theory is based on the interrelationship between personal and social transformation. One cannot become transformed apart from a community that is seeking liberation from oppressive social structures. Both personal and social transformation occur simultaneously with the collective of individuals moving together toward conscientization.

Jack Mezirow, more recently, has attempted to explicate the cognitive process that Freire more generally describes as a deepening of critical consciousness. Personal transformation for Mezirow (1990) is the shift in a person's "meaning perspective" which can be as broad as a worldview orientation or as narrow as a specific cognitive attitude or assumption. Integral to perspective transformation, as he calls it, is reflection. Reflection is best accomplished in group discourse on issues that challenge underlying assumptions and premises that each participant holds. This may occur in classrooms, in social action groups, in consciousness raising groups, and/or in board rooms.

The Context for Social Action

The Lincoln Alliance was a successful, broadly-based, city-wide community organization that emerged in Lincoln, Nebraska, in the early 1970s. It emerged to build power by organizing large numbers of citizens on specific issues that they determined were problematic. At the time, in Lincoln, a very small number of leaders, mainly private sector leaders, were making decisions that affected the road system, the school system, and the economic system. These decisions directly influenced the nature of the neighborhoods where low and moderate income people lived. The building of a coalition of existing groups to work on issues that the people themselves determined were important was the aim of the organization. Through organized action in the political, economic, and community arenas, social change became possible. However, the focus of this study is not on the organization itself but rather on how adults changed as a result of participation in a grassroots organization. In this qualitative study, ten leaders in the Lincoln Alliance were interviewed. The categories that emerged exemplify the nature of the change that these leaders experienced.

Background and History of the Lincoln Alliance

Guided by progressive principles, the Lincoln Alliance assumed that ordinary citizens have the ability to affect and control their environments. Democratic principles were used internally in the organization to give citizens the opportunity to experience collective decision-making which employed dialogue, negotiation, and compromise. Saul Alinsky's (1946, 1971) radical approaches to community organization were used to shape strategies and tactics. At work in the Alliance was the action-reaction-reflection model where participants would plan and act on an issue in their self interest, wait for the reaction from those in power, and reflect on the action and the reaction as a group. A guiding principle was "All action is in the reaction."

Alinsky, trained in sociology at the University of Chicago in the 1920s, would not have called himself an adult educator, but he was. After the experience of organizing Chicago's Back of the Yards neighborhood organization, Alinsky formed the Industrial Areas Foundation, a training institute for grassroots groups. Representatives of the Foundation came to Lincoln, Nebraska, in the early 1970s to help build the Lincoln Alliance. Through technical assistance from the Chicago staff and the hiring of a trained organizer, the Lincoln Alliance was able to mobilize 27 organizations and 500 citizens for a founding convention at the Lincoln Hilton Hotel in June, 1976. There were nine churches, six neighborhood organizations, and thirteen civic groups that joined the Lincoln Alliance.

One of the early issues that gave birth to the organization was the proposed construction of the Northeast Radial, a four-laned highway scheduled to be built through two low income neighborhoods. The Lincoln Alliance fought for a referendum on the project. Success enabled the people to kill the twenty year road project.

Other successful actions before the demise of the Alliance in 1982 included the stopping of the closing of older neighborhood schools, the development of district school board and city council elections, and the stopping of apartment "slip-ins" in older residential neighborhoods. The organization achieved maintenance at two-way width of streets formally slated for widening. It also challenged redlining, or home loan denials, in older neighborhoods.

Each of these issues was chosen through an elaborate planning process. Freire calls this "an investigation of meaningful thematics" in the lives of people while Alinsky calls the action-reaction-reflection process integral to democracy. For democracy to survive, the Alliance maintained that the people must take control of their lives through action on issues that directly affected them. They adopted Alinsky's iron-clad rule: "Never do for someone what they can do for themselves."

The planning process used by the Lincoln Alliance made use of Habermas, notion of ideal speech or discourse:

> Habermas uses the term "ideal speech situation" to refer to a situation of absolutely uncoerced and unlimited discussion between completely free and equal human agents. (Geuss, 1981, p. 65)

For this project, a condition of personal change was the presence of a group which served to support and challenge each participant's underlying assumptions and beliefs (premises) as work commenced to meet the goals of the organization. Researching issues, planning strategies and action, and reflection on those actions required a type of camaraderie that enhanced the exploration of what one thought, how one should act, and how far one could explore the limits of one's thinking and acting. The group functioned as a team in its endeavors because the issue or goal overcame the need for power plays or ego manipulation. The support and relationships built within the group pushed people to grow and stretch beyond the boundaries of prescribed (reified) thinking and behavior.

Action in the public arena which provides instant material for reflection is an added ingredient in the formula for personal transformation. One's experience in action and the consequences of that action provide common familiar experience for group reflection. While actions are common to each participant, how each person perceived them, the personal history each brought to the experience, plus each one's particular worldview, perceptual map, or meaning perspective (Mezirow, 1991), enabled each to "see" large or narrow ramifications. In the instance of the Lincoln Alliance, experiences were analyzed collectively as a group. One's individual worldview could be compared and contrasted to another's. As the group stretched beyond the boundaries of what individuals alone might do and think, individuals were able to incorporate and expand their personal worldviews to include more of a social concern for others. The support of the group was essential, as fears, doubts, thoughts, assumptions, and beliefs were confronted and challenged.

An example of the support and accountability each felt from the group in this study is expressed by Sarah who gained

> ...confidence in risk taking, to feel like I could see my pants down and that the whole world wouldn't come down on me. That was important both on an individual and collective level. I think others began to see the same thing. And I think it was important and easy because we were standing in solidarity with each other.

Methodology

The constant comparative method in grounded theory research as expressed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and Goetz and LeCompte (1984) provided the methodology for the study of the leaders in the Lincoln Alliance. The methods of data collection included a semi-structured interview protocol and follow-up interview checks (called member checks) for leaders to assess the accuracy and meaning attributed to the emergent categories. A document review of the Lincoln Alliance files and the Industrial Areas Foundation training sessions completed the triangulation of the data. All interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim and coded around the following themes: reasons leaders participated, assumptions made by them, and what they learned (this was divided into two parts, instrumental learning and transformative learning). Member charts were made for each individual on composite sheets listing all of the elements discussed in a category. Since I was involved in the early and late stages of the Lincoln Alliance, the trustworthiness of the study was checked through my understanding of the experience. Also, each leader was interviewed a second time to dialogue on units of analysis I chose as the essence of their personal change.

Ten leaders were selected in purposive sampling for their depth of involvement in the Lincoln Alliance. Of these ten, five were presidents, three were organizers, and two were vice presidents. Five were men, and five were women. Five represented church organizations, and five came from either neighborhood or civic organizations. Eight attended the two week intensive Industrial Areas Foundation training while two did not. Nine leaders moved to Lincoln in the late 1960s and early 1970s while one moved there in the 1950s.

Each of the leaders is presently involved in a job that requires organizing (all the names used are pseudonyms). Sarah is presently working for a consortium of organizers in a Pacific Coast university. Abe is the assistant to the president at a church related university in Lincoln and a former minister of a large Protestant church. Paul is a lawyer in rural Nebraska and works for a public employee union while Rebecca is a Lincoln city council representative and community worker at a large Protestant church. Deborah is the administrator of the court system in Lincoln while Sam is still a professor in the sociology department at a large university. Esther teaches political science at a small midwestern university while Josh teaches political science at a large university. Luke is the city manager for a city in Florida, while Naomi is the director of a state agency in Nebraska.

The research questions that guided the research were: 1) To what extent did transformation occur as a result of leaders' participation in the Lincoln Alliance and what was the nature of that transformation? 2) What theoretical assumptions guided their actions? and 3) What were the reasons they participated in the Lincoln Alliance? For this article, the nature of the personal change (as they called it) that each leader experienced will be assembled into the various categories that emerged from the data.

The leaders expressed the notion that personal change was essential for social action because it involved individuals gaining a sense of empowerment to seek social change on issues. It also appeared that the relationships built in organizing would last in the community while issues came and went. The social, collective nature of the Alliance was an important ingredient in the transformation that occurred in individuals. As each leader described his or her experience in the Alliance, specific units of analysis emerged through textual analysis of transcripts. Philosophies, theories, ideas, concepts, or notions about their involvement in social action became theoretical assumptions that guided their actions. Seven categories emerged which were placed within two large conceptual themes—cognitive or rational assumption changes and socio-emotional belief changes in the self.

The criteria for placement of categories within each theme depended on my intuitive judgment about whether a category composed of units of analysis was cognitive or affective in nature. For instance, the gaining of confidence through the action of being creative in the public arena I considered affective rather than cognitive in nature. Therefore, as the personal change categories emerged and were classified, they served as a foundation upon which various theories of personal transformation could be assessed.

The Findings

Cognitive rational assumptions

Cognitive rational changes occur within the realm of the ego: the specific construct of the self that sees, perceives, and relates to the outside world. As a result of the leaders' participation in social action, most of them said they "saw things differently" in four different ways: 1) an awareness of how power can be organized and serve people in the community; 2) an ability to focus both personally and socially on community issues relevant to people; 3) connections made between personal values and social engagement in community action; and 4) a vision for how democracy should function. In the first category, awareness of power, the leaders became aware that acquiring power is necessary for a democracy to flourish. Inherent in this category is an understanding of what real power is in a democracy, who holds it, and how one can attain it. "Seeing

1190

beneath the surface" in both the social stratification system and in social communication were ways leaders described their ability to discern who held power and why. At the same time, while they learned who held power, they sought to gain power themselves. Seeking alternative ways to hold power, they changed their premises from a personal orientation, e.g., individuals wield power through built social networks, a one-on-one assumption about how social change takes place, to a new premise that a collection of individuals, highly organized and orchestrated for action, can bring about change faster with more lasting effects. The leaders made distinctions between access and power and their naive assumptions were challenged in the context of social action. For instance, Josh said:

> I saw how naive I was in the early 1970s thinking I could have power because I was invited to serve on an advisory committee or that I could have power if I could call someone on the phone. That easy access is misleading because you can have access and be without power.

The second category is the ability to focus which occurred in two ways. The first focusing included the act of attention: focusing "their thoughts" "on the issue," "on the importance of setting goals," and on "knowing what is important." These are cognitive functions which heightened the leaders' intellectual abilities to be more analytical, more systematic, and more logical in their thinking. This new ability to focus had ramifications in both the personal and social lives of the leaders. One leader focused her career on political science rather than library science, the direction she had assumed she would take once her children were in school. Another learned to "cut the issue," a social focusing that included differentiating what was nonessential from the essence of the issue. Freire (1970) maintains that the longer the problematization proceeds, and the more the subjects enter into the "essence" of the problemized object or issue, the more they unveil it, the more their awakening consciousness deepens, thus leading to "conscientization" of the situation.

Another way to focus was to concentrate on gaining power for the community.

> What I learned was the importance of setting your own goals, knowing what you want to get out of everything you do regardless of how trivial it may seem.... It's not just a selfish thing but what you think is important for the community, not just yourself.

By focusing in this way, these leaders were able to break out of individual ways of thinking and learned to regard the health of the community as a whole as significant. Furthermore, "by learning to focus on purposeful action, the frustration was gone." By combining a cognitive function (focusing on action) with a value the leader held (changing significant structures in the community for the collective), the normative repression (Habermas, 1978), perpetuated by the hegemonic influences of those in power, was lifted.

Third, the leaders made connections or relationships that were grounded in their explicit moral and ethical values. One person brought together her "enhancement of self-confidence as a public actor" with her "feeling of responsibility to be engaged." Another made a connection between his faith and "how to act in accordance with that faith." He experienced the Lincoln Alliance as a place to challenge himself "collectively on how what you are doing or propose to do is consistent with your values." One woman saw herself "as a leader for the first time" and saw "that I ought to provide it [i.e., leadership]." This shows a commitment to a principle which includes a shift in perception of one's social role in society.

As a result of the action-reaction-reflection process, one leader said she was "exposed for who [she was] and what [she] believed in." What one "understands" about oneself is placed on the line in social action. One is forced to take stands or positions that begin to clarify and alter assumptions, beliefs, and premises. These represent one's worldview through which one makes sense of reality.

As a result of the focusing, clarification, and connections that people made about themselves, they emerged with a new vision for democracy. Almost all of the leaders spoke of this fourth category as a process of influencing the decisions in the community. They saw that human nature is fraught with self interests, personal desires and wants, which must be challenged to promote the social well-being of the community. These leaders tried to restructure individual self-interests toward social and community self interests. Through action in the public arena, it was hoped that self interests would broaden and become more inclusive of diversity. This held true for both opposition targets and the people in the Alliance themselves. Without a group such as the Lincoln Alliance, people become locked into a narrow personal worldview or personal self interests which create one's vision of what one can and cannot do. Often this includes a victim self-image, e.g., a sense of helplessness in influencing utility rate hikes or in preventing a road being built through one's backyard. Thus a vision emerged that victim images can be dissolved through powerful, organized coalition.

What occurred in the Lincoln Alliance, as Abe described it, is that people,

> ...increasingly took responsibility for their own lives, got in touch with their own power, and prepared to invest their lives in making a difference in the future. [They] acted on their convictions and then reflected on their actions, learned from those actions and then acted again.

Sarah illuminated it further. "What emerges from process," she indicated, "will take you to vision, rather than have everything very concrete and planned out." Sarah developed a constructionist notion of how knowledge is created. In this instance, the vision and knowledge of who the people were and what they were to do came from the people themselves.

Belief changes about the self

Three socio-emotional categories emerged, as leaders attempted to explain how being involved in social action affected them. The internal process of personal change included the disequilibrium that results from confrontation in the public arena. What occurred externally in "actions" precipitated internal conflict. As Abe said, "Whenever you're involved in action, you're immediately put into a situation where you wonder, "What am I doing here?" and "What's going to happen?" The collective was essential, Sarah argued, "...to evaluate after you've done something, to try to instill the fun and spirit in something that is often very hard, draining, and painful work." The reflection stage required the painful work of changing assumptions and beliefs from what one was reared with to assumptions and beliefs more relevant, more realistic, and more useful for social purposes today.

What was this confrontation that caused so much pain and how useful was the conflict personally and socially? Several assumptions were at work in the Alliance. One was that reality is already distorted to some extent; no one person within or outside the organization had the true picture of reality. Collectively, there was an agreed upon vision and sense of purpose about what should exist in the community; this included justice on issues which were threatening the well-being or quality of life of the poor. As "outsiders," the poor and the powerless gathered in a collective and were guided by both Alinksy's action-reaction-reflection model and Biblical values and tenets. Those who found themselves in leadership were charged with the job of listening to participants, interpreting what the new reality was, and guiding the actions and strategies determined by the group. Inherent in the Lincoln Alliance were two forms of conflict: 1) the constant questioning of the participants who were planning and acting on new premises and assumptions collectively conceived and; 2) the reaction to the action.

Strategies developed for actions were guided by Alinsky's theory that one must disturb the status quo by going outside the experience of those in power. In the case of the Alliance, the sheer act of coming to city council meetings in large numbers and forcing representatives to take stands on ambiguous and politically dangerous issues rattled the cages of the status quo. In other words, the Lincoln Alliance "distorted reality" in the public arena.

> It drew the line in the sand, if you will...Yes or no, good or bad...[Joe Blow] wasn't totally ineffective, maybe 90%. But all of our issues were defined in terms of "good guys"and "bad guys"...That's part of creating the electricity, the dynamics, and it's critical (in bringing about clarity on issues).

Forcing public officials or those in power to take stands forced Lincoln Alliance members also to take stands. The action of making change in the public, social arena directly related to dialogue or discourse in the private arena among leaders who decided on the strategies and actions. When Alliance members came to large meetings designed to confront those in leadership on critical issues, the reaction of those in power to the people themselves (they are "communists") forced Alliance members to reassess their own assumptions and beliefs on issues.

The final categories within the socio-emotional theme are 1) confidence, personal efficacy, empowerment, and creativity and; 2) transcendence of the ego. All ten leaders spoke of how important it was to "be empowered, to have the tools, skills, and understandings to deal with their constituencies and also the larger issues around the problem." To be effective, people had to learn instrumental organizing techniques that seemed to engender confidence in their "abilities to orchestrate what would happen, to feel very much alive with no threat." The social action process "promoted self confidence that these people understand me, are willing to listen to my ideas and take them seriously, are willing to depend on me for some things and it's things I can do." Such a statement is powerful and includes heightened self-esteem and self-concept.

Because of the confidence that was gained in the collective, people were able to take risks more easily. Standing in solidarity with each other, people were free to try new ways of thinking and acting which were decided by the group. The leader became the mouthpiece for the group as a whole. Creative, alternative ways of problem resolution were possible because they had been hammered out in the various committees and task forces. A large number of people had participated and finally endorsed the alternative structure, proposal, plan, or scheme.

Several of the leaders said that, through the Alliance process, they transcended personal self interest for the good of the collective. Mark's new perspective spoke about a "collective ego":

> I think the Alliance taught us the difference between being self-serving and an individual victory with a collective. You worked as a group. You didn't spin off as an individual. I mean we kept people in line. When you do an action and you sit down afterwards; you collectively evaluate it. People didn't wander off to talk to someone. You gather as a group, assess what you're doing and where you're going. You work constantly as a group.

As a result, Mark learned that "the ego wasn't the over-riding force."

> What was the over-riding force was the goal. So it became goal oriented.... We developed even a greater sense of personal efficacy. As a result, our egos didn't have to be that strong. We still had them. But I think the egos became less over time and the importance of serving the community became more.

Others mentioned this phenomenon as well. Josh spoke about the importance of seeing the group's goals: "it's not just a selfish thing but what you think is important for the community, not just yourself." Esther also talked about how involvement in larger societal questions and issues involved people

> ...who didn't come from the perspective of responsibility to community but who had some particular concerns that an organization such as this could address. Perhaps through that involvement their view of their responsibility would broaden; it wouldn't just remain limited to "keeping my school."

One person transcended the need to operate out of his ego solely. Abe learned that an "intellectual awareness was not adequate." He came to understand that one really needs to be "in touch with a transcendent source of power to be able to endure that kind of situation."

> There does need to be, in order to sustain social action, a value system that provides a basis and context for critical reflection on what is happening, an ability to understand human nature realistically and to bring an acceptance to human nature that transcends just our human capacity for self acceptance. So I guess it led me into a sense that I needed to strengthen that spiritual base in myself and I needed to find a transcendent resource in my own life that I could both relate to and be sustained by.

Out of seemingly hopeless situations, Abe commented,

> ...one needed to be able to believe in new possibilities where there were none before—new possibilities in yourself, new possibilities in others...To be able to do that is a faith stance.

A faith stance included not only a belief system (worldview) but also an ability to transcend or look over or down on the situation, see it for what it is, forgive its inherent nature, and vision something new in spite of it all. Left to its normal functioning, the ego is limited in its cognitive processes and can inhibit the entrance of new ways of thinking and being. It seems that the social action process, which involves conflict and "shakes up" one's image of who one is and what one thinks (ego functions), enables one to transcend these functions of the ego, transform them, and embrace higher collective values.

Propositions Resulting from the Research

The examination of the Lincoln Alliance as an organization for adult education suggests several propositions:

> 1. To have a powerful self-image, people must have some experience that shows them that they can make a difference. Through organizing for political action, people can learn to be adept in making social change and thereby incorporate powerful self-images.
>
> 2. People operate according to self-interests based on assumptions, beliefs, and attitudes acquired from the past. Unless those are

1195

questioned or disrupted in some way, one remains naive about how democracy functions.

3. Focusing as a cognitive function, using abstract formal reasoning skills, is increased as one participates in social action to make change.

4. Focusing on social changes in the community increases an awareness that it is necessary to acquire power collectively to get things done.

5. Dialogue and participation in community action leads to an affirmation that one can take responsibility for his/her life and community and not be a passive victim in human affairs.

6. Commitment and responsibility to be engaged in the community is enhanced when one acts on his/her values, beliefs, and assumptions. As one acts and exposes his/her beliefs, values, and assumptions, he/she is challenged to be consistent with those beliefs.

7. Social conflict invokes personal disequilibrium which can cause remembering previously held beliefs. Critical reflection that occurs in dialogue in a group structure after action facilitates the surfacing of repressed assumptions which then become available for work.

8. To be empowered one must have both instrumental knowledge and transformative learning experiences. Confidence and competence are necessary ingredients in establishing adults as actors in the public arena.

9. Through participation in a broader-based community organization, adults learn to transcend their egos in service to the community. The group promotes and supports individual responsibility to contribute to society.

10. Social conflict and personal conflict promote change in the structures of society and in the structures of the psyche. Conflict should not be feared. Cognitive and emotional disequilibrium provides the opportunity for those social and personal structures to become more integrated, more expansive, and more holistic.

11. By focusing on issues of consequential value in the community, individual egos can be transcended. Higher values, operating for the common good or the public interest and established by consensual validation (Habermas, 1978), become more important than serving one's own individual ego needs.

12. Critical education helps adults differentiate and integrate new thinking about the nature of democracy and society. Previous meaning perspectives are questioned and altered and new ones take their place;

these are "more inclusive, more permeable and broader in scope" (Mezirow, 1990).

13. The creation of a city-wide, broadly-based community organization provides the forum necessary for dialogue on substantive issues in the community. Without that forum, citizens are only reacting to the agenda set forth by elected leaders and paid staff. With such a forum, citizens are able to participate in meaningful dialogue on substantive issues which affect their lives. Through this interaction, they are able to change personally from naive to critically aware citizens.

Conclusion

Conflict in the social arena forced those in the Lincoln Alliance, ordinary citizens, to grow up or "mature" and become aware of the way that those in power regard citizens. Sarah noticed,

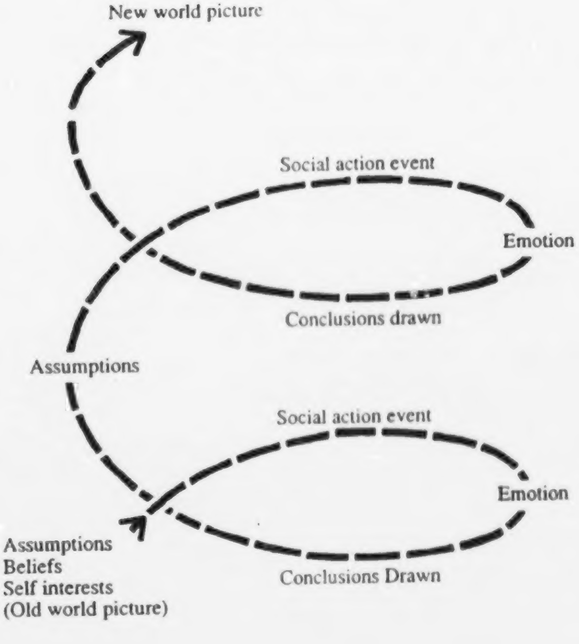
> ...a certain arrogance in terms of institutions. "We know the right way; we're making the decisions; we don't want to let you in on exploring what the various choices might be; we don't want to let you in on, the citizens in on, deliberating and digging deeper into the rationale for decisions that affect you."

Confronted with this knowledge, citizens' notions of "being taken care of" were challenged. They understood that they had "answers that don't work anymore," which were outcomes of conflict in the public arena. There was a sense of delusion, which caused disorientation as to what one does believe, a disequilibrium. Mezirow calls this a "disorienting event." As Abe commented,

> Developmental change occurs whether it is personal or social when it involves conflict. Confronting the part of yourself that you are alienated from. And then in some kind of dialogue you find some resolution that enables some sort of self acceptance, acceptance of the other, that immediately goes back into another disequilibrium. Equilibrium should not be a goal. It's always a process.

It is the swing back and forth, the in and out, and the up and down that could characterize the personal change that each person experienced. How social action transforms adults might look like a spiral (see Figure 1). The process would include (a) the assumptions and beliefs (self interests) that each leader holds prior to social action; b) the significant event that challenges that assumption or belief; c) the emotion it engenders; d) the conclusions he/she draws in reflection (personally and in the group); and e) the final character or worldview shift that occurs as a result of the significant event, the emotion, and the conclusions drawn in reflection. The spiraling process indicates that two or more significant events or actions in the public arena can progressively elicit emotional conflict which leads to new conclusions drawn in reflection. A worldview change (McKenzie, 1991), similar to a meaning perspective change or a paradigm shift as described by this study, is the consequence of participating in social action. As one spirals through the process, his/her transformation becomes more expansive, more inclusive of others, more differentiated, and integrated with one's past.

Figure 1: Internal Process at Work in Social Action

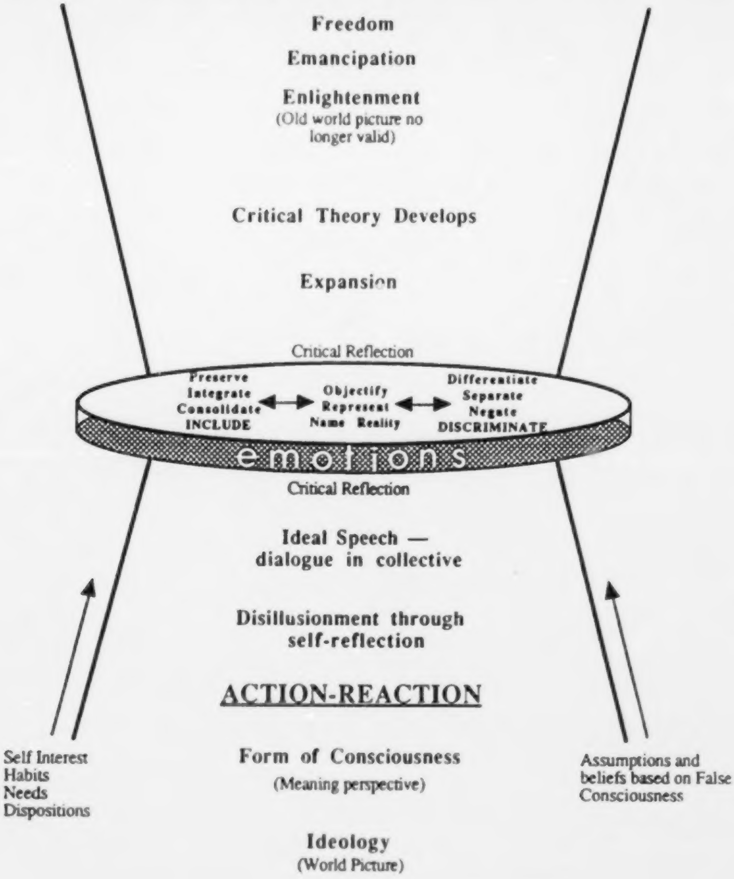

New world picture
Social action event
Emotion
Conclusions drawn
Assumptions
Social action event
Emotion
Conclusions Drawn
Assumptions
Beliefs
Self interests
(Old world picture)

Another way to image the process is graphed in Figure 2. Beginning at the bottom, habits, assumptions, and beliefs constitute a form of consciousness which Mezirow calls a "meaning perspective." These are often unexamined and are based on a false consciousness or delusion about the way the world operates. Social action in the public arena shakes up or radically disturbs this form of consciousness (composed of a set of beliefs, assumptions, and habits) and disillusionment occurs. Through the process of critical reflection on assumptions and beliefs that occur in dialogue in a safe environment, ideal speech, the form of consciousness is objectified and named, then it moves back and forth between a process of preserving what is important or relevant and differentiating the important from what is not important. It is a process of separation from old assumptions or self interests and integration with new ones. This is filtered

1193

through the emotional trauma that is experienced as individuals are "called communist" and their integrity is questioned.

Figure 2: Process of Personal Transformation in Social Action


Freedom
Emancipation
Enlightenment
(Old world picture no longer valid)
Critical Theory Develops
Expansion
Critical Reflection
Preserve
Integrate
Consolidate
INCLUDE
Objectify
Represent
Name Reality
Differentiate
Separate
Negate
DISCRIMINATE
emotions
Critical Reflection
Ideal Speech — dialogue in collective
Disillusionment through self-reflection
ACTION-REACTION
Self Interest
Habits
Needs
Dispositions
Form of Consciousness
(Meaning perspective)
Assumptions and beliefs based on False Consciousness
Ideology
(World Picture)

Through this process there is expansion or a broader perspective that can develop. A critical theory about what it takes for a democracy to function can replace a naive or deluded form of consciousness. For those in the Lincoln Alliance, their meaning perspective included the notion that people need to "organize to acquire power, to get something done." There is emancipation from an old world picture, of a victim self image, that is no longer objectively valid. The process seems to shift between rationally derived new assumptions or beliefs and nonrational emotional conflict which often elicits despair and a sense of grieving that how one operated in the past will be different in the future. There is a sense of letting go of who one is and of the need to control situations with one's own ego. It is a kind of leap of faith that others or the dynamic of interaction are more important, have more wisdom, and are more reliable ultimately than one's own limited self awareness.

According to Mezirow's theory of perspective transformation (1991), meaning perspectives can be sociolinguistic, epistemic, or psychic in nature. Most of the assumptions and beliefs that guided these leaders were sociolinguistic in nature. Some were epistemic; i.e., they changed the way they viewed knowledge. In any case, before the Alliance the assumptions that guided leaders' actions were personally oriented and naive. As they entered into the action-reaction-reflection process, they became aware of the distortion to their assumptions through the action on those assumptions and reflection through critique in an egalitarian, noncoercive environment. What once was a naive theory about how life was, or was supposed to be, changed into a more critical stance or included a critical theory.

Implications for Practice

The study of the leaders in the Lincoln Alliance has implications for adult educators who espouse functionalism rather than a conflict theory for learning. As one of the leaders commented: "Conflict ought not to be feared. It is through conflict that most of my learning occurred." While most learning occurs gradually over a period of time, conflict often is an integral part of the expansion or growth process.

Experiential learning is essential for significant personal changes to take place. Movement into the spiritual realms, beyond the ego, as a result of social action participation is significant learning through experience. In developmental theory, this constitutes a level or stage shift that is particularly difficult to do, as North American culture rarely recognizes stages beyond self actualization. One of the aspects of social action in a collective that makes this type of development possible is the continual focusing beyond the self on the issue at hand, on the growth of others in the collective, and on the well-being and growth of the organization, as opposed to the growth of the individual self.

Involvement in community organizing promotes growth, movement within and between levels of development which includes confrontation of falsely held assumptions, beliefs, attitudes and self interests. This is primarily due to the nature of the process which involves action and reflection and the presence of a group which supports differentiation and integration of new perspectives. Involvement in a group or collective whose purpose is social action helps people regard the self in relationship to others and calls into question the rampant individualism of today's culture. It promotes critical thinking because the self is placed in situations that require critical reflection. An essential ingredient in the process is dialogue in community for digestion of new perspectives.

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BOOK REVIEWS/RECENSIONS

UNE FORMATION ACCESSIBLE ET ADAPTÉE, QU'EN PENSENT LES ADULTES ET LE PERSONNEL?

Claire Turcotte avec la collaboration de Suzanne Fontaine
et Paul-Henri Lamontagne. (1992). Québec: Conseil
supérieur de l'éducation

Au Québec, plus de dix ans ont passé depuis que la très célèbre Commission d'étude sur la formation des adultes (aussi appelée Commission Jean) a remis son rapport. Le monde de l'éducation des adultes s'était alors mobilisé avec enthousiasme. Les éducateurs d'adultes de tous les milieux: groupes communautaires, institutions d'enseignement, entreprises, syndicats, etc., se souviendront du vent d'espoir qui avait alors soufflé. Par la suite, le Gouvernement avait publié un énoncé d'orientation dans lequel il n'avait que très faiblement donné suite aux recommendations de la Commission. Pour plusieurs, l'éducation des adultes se trouvait réduite à la formation professionnelle et à quelques appendices.

Dix ans après le Rapport de la Commission Jean, le Conseil supérieur de l'éducation a voulu faire le point sur l'accessibilité des services d'éducation des adultes et sur leur adaptation aux besoins et aux caractéristiques des personnes qui fréquentent ces services. Une enquête en deux volets a été menée en 1991. Un premier volet s'intéresse à l'opinion des adultes qui fréquentent les institutions scolaires et un deuxième, à l'opinion des personnels (formateurs et formatrices, gestionnaires, personnes-ressources, etc.). Toutes les institutions d'enseignement ont été sollicitées. Le taux de réponse a été très élevé puisqu'il varie de 81% à 95%, soit: 73/82 commissions scolaires, 41/46 cégeps et 13/16 universités.

Le rapport est structuré en sept chapitres. Un premier chapitre définit la méthodologie: population de l'enquête et stratégie de stratification, et définition des variables retenues. Trois chapitres rapportent successivement les données concernant chacun des ordres. Ainsi on y trouve un profil général des répondants et répondantes puis les diverses variables sont mises en relation, par exemple les situations scolaires et de travail sont mises en relation avec les données socio-démographiques; les motivations pour étudier sont examinées, la disponibilité de l'information et la perception du niveau d'adaptation des services, de l'encadrement et de l'approche éducative aux besoins des répondants sont analysées. Enfin, les contraintes et les difficultés rencontrées par les adultes en formation selon chacun des ordres d'enseignement sont aussi relevées.

Le cinquième chapitre tente une comparaison entre les réponses obtenues selon les trois ordres d'enseignement. Bien sûr l'on note une grande disparité des profils des répondants, notamment au chapitre de l'âge, de la situation scolaire et de la situation au travail; le contraire eut été surprenant. Cependant les motifs pour étudier se ressemblent puisque les raisons personnelles, le désir d'obtenir un diplôme ou d'avoir accès à un emploi sont évoqués par les répondantes et répondants des trois ordres. Aussi, de part et d'autres, de nombreuses carences sont notées quant à l'information reçue au moment de l'admission, les critiques les plus sévères concernant l'enseignement universitaire. Quant aux services d'encadrement, le rapport souligne "la nécessité d'une aide personnalisée permettant de clarifier les choix à faire..." aide qui s'amenuise progressivement d'abord au collégial pour presque disparaître à l'ordre universitaire. Du point de vue pédagogique, il y a convergence des points de vue notamment en ce qui concerne les expériences et les préoccupations qui ne sont pas souvent prises en compte, les professeurs qui sont peu disponibles en dehors des heures de cours, le rythme d'apprentissage qui n'est pas nécessairement respecté sauf au secondaire.

Le chapitre six rapporte les perceptions des personnels des institutions d'enseignement (775 personnes): formateurs et formatrices, gestionnaires, personnes-ressources principalement. L'accès à l'information, l'adaptation des services, l'adaptation de la pédagogie, les difficultés de concilier études, travail, vie familiale, de même que certains aspects organisationnels comme le financement, la concertation entre les partenaires, les alternatives de formation sont évalués par les personnels. Il est intéressant de noter que sur plusieurs aspects, les réponses des répondants-étudiants et celles des personnels convergent.

Le chapitre sept conclut sur trois constats généraux. Selon les chercheurs, il existe encore de nombreux obstacles à l'accessibilité et de ce fait, de nombreux adultes sont encore exclus des services de formation. L'adaptation considérée comme une condition d'accessibilité présente des faiblesses marquées particulièrement en ce qui concerne l'adaptation de la formation et des services aux caractéristiques et aux besoins des populations adultes. Enfin les auteurs terminent en constatant que le système d'éducation n'a pas réussi à s'ajuster à la présence des adultes.

Ce dernier constat est grave puisque la présence des adultes n'ira qu'en s'accentuant. A moins d'une évolution très rapide des milieux institutionnels, nous devons nous attendre à vivre de fortes turbulences au cours des prochaines dix années.

Le monde de l'éducation des adultes a reçu avec intérêt cette première étude importante sur l'éducation des adultes depuis la Commission Jean. Nous n'avons là cependant, que le tableau du volet institutionnel. Pour avoir une idée juste de l'évolution de l'éducation des adultes au Québec au cours des dix dernières années, il nous faudrait aussi avoir des données sur l'éducation populaire, l'éducation syndicale, la formation en entreprise. Alors seulement

pourrons-nous dire s'il y a eu développement ou recul vers une plus grande accessiblité et une plus grande adaptation des pratiques.

Madeleine Blais
Université de Montréal

CHALLENGING, INTERESTING AND IMPORTANT

ADULT EDUCATION AS THEORY, PRACTICE AND RESEARCH: THE CAPTIVE TRIANGLE

Robin Usher and Ian Bryant. 1989. New York: Routledge.

Usher and Bryant have written a challenging, interesting, and important book. Not only will it influence future discussions about the academic practice of adult education within colleges and universities, but also that which takes place in other variegated institutional settings. More important, *The captive triangle*, as I will refer to it in lieu of the book's more formal title, *Adult education as theory, practice and research: The captive triangle*, repositions the entire realm of adult and continuing education practice in ways that confound, or at least complicate, prior hierarchical relationships.

This is a book concerned with theory; specifically it provides an understanding of the changing relationships between theory, practice, and research. The concept of the captive triangle implies that the three sides are related, and that we are, in effect, captive to this triangular relationship. But, Usher and Bryant do not make any side foundational in ways that would freeze them into one single order.

For example, a typical paradigmatic relationship is to wish to see adult education practice as ideally derivative of theory and formal research. This ordering privileges theory and research, and theoreticians and researchers, at the expense of practice and practitioners. Problems in practice are seen as arising out of an inability to apply theory correctly or an imperfect understanding of theory. And practice problems are of interest to academicians only insofar as they are helpful in developing or improving theory and suggestions future research directions.

Readers of Schon's *The reflective practitioner* (1983) and *Educating the reflective practitioner* (1987) will be familiar with this traditional subordinated depiction of practice within the professions. Schon's analysis of practice and practice problems showing the rigor and logic of practice, and the inter-relationship of thought and action, has rescued practice from being subsumed as simply technique. Similarly Usher and Bryant have recast adult education practitioners as thoughtful professionals, dealing with difficult problems not usually amenable to technocratic or scientific manipulation.

The captive triangle argues that practice must be understood in terms of practice and must stand the test of practice—not the test of theory. Theory cannot "prove" practice. To the contrary, it is practice that determines the value of theory. The authors emphasize the need for critical practice wherein adult education practitioners undertake reflective research on their own practice and are thus in a position to critically evaluate their own knowledge claims as well as those of their colleagues.

Key to their analysis of reflective practice is the concept of "situatedness" (p. 3) or the location of practice within a real world of constraints, opportunities, social values, and other actors. Adult educators should convert practice into "praxis", a form of practice that is both "reflective and reflexive" (p. 92) in order to free themselves from habitual and routine ways of working that do not acknowledge the grounding of practice. By coming to see and understand their situatedness through "reflection-in-action" (p. 81) they can come to the realization that nothing they do is either ahistorical or independent of context. A hermeneutic understanding is then possible, viz. that all models and analytical schema involve prejudices and prejudgments that cannot be understood apart from contextual distortion. Looking at practice from this new perspective leads one to question the previous taken-for-grantedness of routine and the concomitant mindset of treadmill.

In a similar vein, some readers will find especially valuable and enlightening the post-empiricist critique of the natural science research paradigm, based on Kuhn's work (p. 14), which likewise shows that all paradigms are socially located and that therefore research is never a neutral observation of facts. An over-reliance on the natural science paradigm has led scholars to accept the world as given, and relegated research to the discovery of facts and basic relationships between observable phenomena (positivism). This has led to a hierarchy of foundation disciplines, which differ in their methodological approaches to knowledge, and the traditional triangular arrangement of theory, research, and practice described at the outset.

The importance of making explicit practitioners' informal theory, or the values, assumptions and practical reasonings which actually guide practice and provide standards for decision making, is a central tenet of *The captive triangle*. Without holding informal theory up to the light, it may actually serve to impede reflection leading to being stuck in practice (pp. 86-87). The authors posit a place for formal educational theory within this context as providing another form of critical perspective from which to view practice—again, not as an arbiter of correctness.

At times, trying to understand the arguments on theory set forth in this book is demanding; I would not recommend reading when one's mind is not at its keenest; but the difficulty is worth the effort and many readers will find their investment of effort to be amply rewarded. The discussion of "action research", for example, rescues a useful concept from the realm of relentless ambiguity. Seen from a hermeneutical perspective, action research holds the promise of changing and improving aspects of practice by subjecting the research process itself to the same type of critical examination being applied to practice. Holding out action research as reflective practice provides a tool and common ground for both academics and practitioners to join together on a footing of equality in the spirit of mutual enquiry. This, in and by itself, can lead to a greater connection than heretofore between what happens in college and university adult education and how adult education is practised in the field.

It is therefore surprising that I could not find any recommendations for graduate study or enough actual projects that could have made this important connection more palpable. Yet, the book is exceedingly valuable because it so strongly questions the current traditional orientation to research in adult education and the dominance of the natural science paradigm.

Compelling academicians to see themselves as engaging in "mere" practice (p. 194) is both heuristic and long overdue. I recall an adult education conference I attended several years ago where I asked a professor if he was an adult educator. The answer was "no", he was an historian of adult education! The status cleavages within adult education that serve to separate the field and the academy undermine the evolution of adult education knowledge which, as the authors maintain, is as much practitioner generated as it is scholar generated. In fact, after reading *The captive triangle* one is strongly tempted to place a greater burden of justification than usual upon the academy to show how it has enhanced the practice of adult education.

Regrettably, the book's important but abstruse text will be a deterrent to its being read by many non-academicians. However those who teach graduate students and write for practitioner journals can serve as key links in transmitting Usher and Bryant's important messages to this other appropriate audience.

The captive triangle is another exceptional contribution by Routledge to the evolution of serious thinking about contemporary adult education. When I consider some of their other recent volumes including Michael Collins' *Adult education as vocation: A critical role for the adult educator* (1991) and Barry Bright's edited volume *Theory and practice in the study of adult education: The epistemological debate* (1989), I realize how much my own thoughts have changed and evolved away from a more cloistered instrumentalism.

One suggestion for the publishers is to reinvest some of their revenue and engage the services of a typographical designer who can help place these notable contributions to the adult education literature in a more user-friendly format.

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Paul J. Edelson
SUNY, Stony Brook

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I

Despite the efforts of many to repudiate it, postmodernism stands firmly as one of the most significant theoretical developments of the late twentieth century. Its impact on contemporary thought is impressive. Rarely does a concept spur such heated debate across such a range of disciplines or stimulate such rethinking of some of the most cherished ideas of contemporary society. In adult education, though, the varied discourses of postmodernism have yet to cause a consequential stir. This is not because postmodernism is unimportant for adult education. On the contrary, I would suggest that postmodernism is of *profound* importance and that adult educators can ill afford to put off exploring its implications for the theory and practice of the field. The problem is that adult educators are woefully ill-prepared to embark on this exploration. The theoretical trajectory of the discipline (mainly psychologistic) carries adult education away from the theoretical traditions that have spawned postmodernism. As such, we have to work to become familiar with the concepts, authors, disputes, and problems of postmodernism. The following offers four examples of a rapidly growing mountain of books that can help adult educators find their way into the postmodern discourse so they can prepare for the challenge of postmodern times.

Many authors lament the difficulty of writing a generally accessible text on postmodernism. Not only are the multitude of discourses of postmodernism heterogeneous but little consensus exists amongst these discourses about postmodernism's most basic features. Moreover, speculations about its implications for contemporary society vary wildly. To further complicate matters, many proponents of postmodernism insist that any desire to bring order to the varied discourses of postmodernism invariably springs from an attachment to the totalizing discourse of modernity—the very thing that postmodernism sets itself against. Looking for the origins, foundations, or past traces of postmodernism, striving to make its complexity as transparent as possible, or attempting to classify for understanding all transgress the sensibilities aroused by postmodernism. At the same time, however, it is difficult to see how one can appreciate postmodernism without some understanding of its basic underpinnings.

II

Douglas Kellner's and Steven Best's awareness of this contradiction makes their book, *Postmodern theory: critical interrogations* particularly good for adult educators wishing to explore the discourses of postmodernism for the first time. While Kellner and Best commit to a clear expostulation of the basic features of postmodernism, they neither gloss over its ultimate indeterminacies or complexities, nor allow themselves to be swept away uncritically by the power of postmodern rhetoric. With a firm anchor in the tradition of critical theory, they do not dismiss postmodernism's contributions or ignore its immense implications for contemporary society. Rather, they offer a sophisticated and fair-minded account of the origins, ideas, contributors, and implications of postmodernism.

Kellner and Best investigate postmodernism by reviewing the work of some of its most notable contributors: Foucault, Deleuze and Guattari, Baudrillard, Lyotard, Jameson, and Laclau and Mouffe. In each case they explore how the theorist conceptualizes and criticizes modernity, how he or she envisions an escape from modernity's hold on ways of understanding the world, how the theorist depicts postmodernity, what alternative postmodern theories he or she develops, and what notions of postmodern politics he or she posits.

At every turn in *Postmodern theory*, adult educators can gain insight into interesting and oftentimes disturbing elements of postmodernist discourse. *Postmodern theory* presents Foucault's claim that modern forms of power and knowledge do not serve to end domination but to transmute it into new and more pernicious forms; Deleuze and Guattari's notion of the branching and indeterminate *rhizome* as a counter-image to the determinate and hierarchical forms of social analyses or of the postmodern *nomad* as an entity that "attempts to free itself of all roots, bonds, and identities, and thereby resists the state and all normalizing powers" (p. 103); Baudrillard's contention that we now live in a simulacra where mass media representations of reality have become more real than reality, itself; Lyotard's critique of totalizing and universalizing meta-narratives of modernity—of progress, of emancipation, of liberating reason; and, Jameson's and Laclau and Mouffe's efforts to work out the beginnings of a postmodern variant of Marxism including notions of post-Marxist politics of interest to those who still believe that adult education has a meaningful role to play in social change.

In each case, Kellner and Best not only offer readily understandable descriptions of the ideas of the various authors but provide a critical basis for analysing the strengths and weaknesses of their postmodern positions. Drawing on the work of Adorno, Habermas, and other critical theorists, Kellner and Best argue strongly that, despite the importance of many of its insights into our contemporary situation, postmodernism is fraught with contradictions and limitations. For them, postmodernism rightly challenges the totalizing tendencies of modernity. It forces us to attend to the diversity and complexity of our modern social reality and to realize that economistic or developmental macrotheories that suppress difference and uniqueness must be relegated to the past. Kellner and Best also argue, however, that in undermining the great theories of modernity postmodernism also undermines our capacity to come to terms with the massive social changes that are currently taking place in late-capitalism and destroys the bases we have for meaningful political action. Postmodernism leaves us politically quiet and subdued in face of the great tribulations currently upon us. Adult educators should be deeply unsettled by the devastating nature of postmodernism's criticisms for the theory and practice of their discipline and even more unsettled by the fact that postmodernism's major theorists offer only cynicism and quietude in the face of postmodern times.

The postmodernism of the theorists Kellner and Best discuss has stimulated great controversy in a range of theoretical traditions. Marxism, feminism, and cultural studies have all been forced to examine anew the presumptions underlying their perspectives. In turn, the intersection of these traditions with postmodernism has illuminated important aspects of postmodernism and drawn out implications that otherwise may have gone unnoticed. Adult educators can learn much from attending to the debates that have taken place in these arenas.

III

David Harvey's, *The condition of postmodernity*, stands as a significant recent reflection on postmodernism within the Marxist tradition. Like Kellner and Best, Harvey, too, acknowledges that "in its concern for difference, for the difficulties of communications, for the complexity and nuances of interests, cultures, places, and the like, [postmodernism] exercises a positive influence" (p. 113). His concern, however, is that with its emphasis on the separateness of the other, its nihilistic deconstructionism, its suspicious explanations of expansive political-economic processes, its preference for art over reason, "aesthetics over ethics," and diversity over consensus, postmodernism reaches "beyond the point where any coherent politics are left" (p. 116).

More specifically, Harvey believes that postmodernism's focus on the fragmentary, the partial, and the ephemeral undermines its ability to confront new forms of global domination that emerge with late-capitalism. As they criticize modernist meta-theoretical accounts of larger phenomena, postmodernists often are not willing to admit that some of these meta-theories are highly nuanced, complex, and sensitive to fragmentation and difference. Harvey contends that, while Marxism, for instance, can benefit from the postmodern critique of its universalistic leanings, it can also continue to play an important role in understanding the social forces that are associated with the cultural changes addressed by postmodernism.

To salvage a political perspective in postmodern discourse, Harvey introduces a useful distinction between *postmodernity* and *postmodernism*. *Postmodernity* refers to the political-economic/cultural configurations that have arisen over the past two decades to replace the configurations of modernity. *Postmodernism*, on the other hand, names the many discourses that attempt to come to terms with this reconfiguration. Harvey wishes to develop an account of postmodernity that does not turn abruptly away from the political-economic analyses of Marxism as do other variants of postmodernism. His contention is that, even though it may not be deterministic, there is a "necessary relation between the rise of postmodern cultural forms, the emergence of more flexible modes of capital accumulation, and a new round of 'time-space compression' in the organization of capitalism" (p. vii).

Harvey analyzes thoroughly the sea-change that is taking place in capitalism. For much of this century, he says, capitalism has been dominated by the accumulation regime of Fordism, a regime which developed around the mass production of goods in highly concentrated, large scale, industrial enterprises which employed an army of blue collar workers. By the early 1950's, having joined with Keynsian state managerialism, Fordism began to yield the relatively stable political economy of the middle two decades of the century.

The economic crisis of 1973, the development of computers and telecommunication technology, as well as the advent of efficient containerized transport systems have provided the conditions for capitalism to undergo a rapid transformation. The regime of accumulation that is taking Fordism's place is flexible and mobile. Rather than focusing on the production of goods for mass consumption, capitalist enterprises are increasingly focusing on the nuanced or flexible production of services or other rapidly consumed products for discrete markets. Production units are small, highly specialized, and dispersed throughout the entire world. With sophisticated communications and information processing capacities, capitalist enterprises can now exploit even minute differentials in labour costs and can control the labour process from afar. The new regime is characterized by the development of entirely new production processes, markets, and financial services. Although capitalism has always stimulated creativity and change, this most recent round of capitalist development produces an amazing acceleration of technological and organizational innovation.

Harvey's description of the transition from Fordism to more flexible means of accumulation provides an excellent basis for adult educators to understand the changes sweeping their field. For one, it provides fresh insight into the clarion call for ever more flexible forms of adult education to meet the rapidly diversifying needs of the economy. For another, it elucidates how, for the first time, wide-scale trends towards cultural commodification makes adult education a profitable activity rather than a costly social service (explaining why adult education is suddenly a growth industry). The advantage of Harvey's analysis, however, is that his account of postmodernity is not simply descriptive. By providing an analysis of how the new versions of capitalism persist as systems of domination, Harvey offers adult educators a critical basis for assessing the current trajectory of their discipline.

Here Harvey's argument hinges on his assertion that a "fundamental and all-pervasive source of social power" is the command over space and time, concepts whose nature is often taken-for-granted (p. 226). Harvey, however, eschews this taken-for-granted nature, and posits instead that dominant forms of production in society shape the concepts of space and time. Today, the new regime of flexible accumulation transforms the grid of space and time dramatically from that of Fordism. Harvey identifies the dramatic compression of space and time as central to this change. Never before has the world been so small or have its inhabitants lived such a frantic pace. Capitalism's quest for ever shorter turnover time has led to the increased production not of durable goods, but of ephemeral and volatile produces that disappear with consumption. Media images, fashions, and services now form the bulwark of capitalist production. Many people now work in the frantic environment of cultural enterprises (adult education being one of these) that compete worldwide. A kaleidoscope of complex and heterogeneous commodities (including cultural commodities such as ideas, images, information, meanings) bombard consumers who are unable to integrate them meaningfully. According to Harvey, the speed and scope of postmodernity are so intense that they overwhelm any capacity to formulate a resistance to capitalism's advances. To dominate in the age of flexible accumulation is to create a space and time so compressed that neither time nor place exists from which to struggle back.

Harvey criticizes postmodernism because it capitulates to the fragmenting force of contemporary capitalism. Within the horizon it creates by its celebration of the particular, postmodernism is incapable of coming to terms with expansive events like the emergence of the regime of flexible accumulation or its domination of space and time. Harvey's concern is that postmodernism actually plays into the hand of neo-conservative social forces by exacerbating the incommensurability of various cultural, racial, occupational, or gender groups which then undermine any potential they might have to unify and resist the imperatives of a capitalist system run wild. Following his admonition, adult educators need to take care when turning to postmodernism. While it may provide a powerful basis for liberating adult education from totalizing theoretical perspectives of the last twenty years, it has little capacity to deliver a means for continuing adult education as an emancipatory political practice.

IV

Postmodernism receives a thoughtful and penetrating analysis in the hands of feminists. *Feminism/postmodernism*, edited by Linda Nicholson, gathers together reflections on the relevance and implications of postmodernism for feminism by some of its most notable contemporary theorists. In their efforts to come to terms with postmodernism, the contributors to this volume not only offer lucid and accessible accounts of what postmodernism is, but also provide very insightful and challenging assessments of its strengths and weaknesses.

Feminists increasingly recognize an affinity between the discourses that dominate their movement and those of postmodernism Those who criticize the meta-narrative of patriarchy contend that the oppressive gender relations, posited as natural and essential by patriarchy, actually are sustained by power. And to reveal the groundlessness of its supposed truths feminist projects deconstruct patriarchal discourse. Historically, to do this feminists posited their own essentialist accounts of gender to compete with the essentialisms of patriarchy. In her introduction to *Feminism/Postmodernism*, editor Linda Nicholson observes how these counter-essentialisms, often developed by heterosexual, white, middle-class, women of European descent, are themselves under fire from all sides from lesbians, women of colour, poor women, and women from the Third-World. This tide of criticism has carried many feminists from a critique of patriarchy's essentialisms to a much more postmodernist suspicion of all essentialisms.

The various contributors to *Feminism/postmodernism* debate the implications of this move. Jane Flax stands out as most unremittingly enthusiastic about the convergences of feminist and postmodernist theory. She argues that postmodernism guards against the reinstitution of dogmatic gender meta-theories that can turn women's liberation into new forms of oppression. She insists that "feminism, like other forms of postmodernism, should encourage us to tolerate and interpret ambivalence, ambiguity, and multiplicity as well as to expose the roots of our needs for imposing order and structure no matter how arbitrary and oppressive these needs may be" (p. 56). Others, like Christine DiStefano, Sandra Harding, and Seyla Benhabib, hesitate to follow postmodernism as far. For example, Benhabib argues that it is still possible to "insist on minimal criteria of validity for our discursive and political practices" (p. 125). DiStefano more pointedly contends that, while men can afford to be humbled at the altar of postmodernism, women, whose oppression is still palpable and who are only beginning to gain a positive sense of who they are, cannot benefit from the postmodern impulses that threaten to relativize historical gains.

Many feminists share David Harvey's concern that postmodernism undermines the possibility of positive political action. While contributors to *Feminism/postmodernism* like Nancy Hartsock, Susan Bordo, Elspeth Probyn, Iris Marion Young, or Nancy Fraser and Linda Nicholson (co-writers of the volume's lead article) might disagree with Harvey that theorizing requires a renewed focus on political economic developments to offset the limitations of postmodernism, all would likely agree that postmodernism's tendency to particularize obscures the larger social processes that perpetuate relations of domination in the world. Postmodernism leaves little basis for women to unite to resist oppression (which, feminists would argue, cannot be limited to the oppression of capitalism, but must extend to patriarchy, racism, and other forms of domination).

In addition to Anna Yeatman and Judith Butler who explore the implications of postmodernism for identity, Donna Haraway offers a fascinating contribution. She argues that the tremendous intrusion of the machine into our lives breaches that thing we might call human identity, including our identity as gendered beings. She cites the science fiction image of the cyborg, that daunting blend of machinery and human flesh, as descriptive of who we have actually become. For Haraway, politics in postmodern times involves "taking responsibility for the social relations of science and technology" which "means refusing an anti-science metaphysics, a demonology of technology, and so means embracing the skilful task of reconstructing the boundaries of daily life, in partial connection with others, in communication with all our parts" (p. 223). There is now no way back to the universalisms of the organic life that preceded the grafting of the chip into our brains, believes Haraway. The task for us cyborgs is to find some way to resist humanity's final assimilation into the new totalization of the machine. In the end, the politics of the cyborg is all that is left.

A rather curious, though in the end worthwhile, contribution to *Feminism / Postmodernism* is Andreas Huyssen's influential essay, "Mapping the postmodern." Aside from a rather oblique reference to the women's movement, Huyssen does not deal with the relationship between feminism and postmodernism. What he does provide, though, is a clear and straightforward depiction of postmodernism that augment the more critical deliberations that comprise the rest of the volume.

In sum, Nicholson's book is important for adult educators who want to understand postmodernism and its intersection with the discourse of feminism. At every turn the contributors debate issues of relevance for adult education, issues like epistemological implications of postmodernism and the possibility or desirability in postmodern times of having or transmitting any forms of positive knowledge. While they explore the implications of postmodernism for politics and question what grounds still exist for action that brings about positive social change, they also investigate the effect of postmodernism on identity and ask how one remains integrated in light of the fragmentations and dislocations of postmodernity. Their insights are more accessible to adult educators thanks to the sophisticated body of feminist theory that already exists in adult education, and because these and other feminists diligently link highly theoretical perspectives to the very practical context of gender. Feminism's engagement with the problematics of postmodernism is long, productive, and eminently practical. Adult educators would do well to explore the relevance of *Feminism / postmodernism's* insights for their field of practice.

V

I hesitate making my next selection, *Hiding in the light: On images and things*, by Dick Hebdige, because the theoretical tradition of cultural studies from which it emerges—unlike critical theory, Marxism, and feminism—miraculously and, I would suggest, to the great detriment of our field of practice, receives scant attention in adult education literature. Perhaps this is so because a psychologistic/behavioristic theoretical paradigm dominates adult education, leaving culture seldom thematized as a focus, and leaving adult educators ill equipped to deal with important cultural developments like postmodernism. My purpose in proposing Hebdige's book to adult educators is two-fold. For the purpose of the current review, *Hiding in the light* offers a highly impassioned, impressively creative, and deeply insightful account of postmodernism. My second purpose is to propose that cultural studies, especially as it has developed under the influence of the journal *Cultural Studies* and the Birmingham Center for Contemporary Cultural Studies, and as exemplified in books like Hebdige's, has much to offer adult education. Owing to the newness of the terrain, adult educators' initial forays into cultural studies would undoubtedly be tentative and difficult. In the long run, however, incorporating cultural studies into the theoretical corpus of adult education would benefit in terms of deepening a preparedness to deal with complex cultural issues like postmodernism.

Hebdige divides *Hiding in the light* into four sections. To begin at the end, Section Four, Hebdige focuses most expressly on postmodernism. Perhaps more than those writers already considered, Hebdige most tenaciously pushes towards the inexorable and almost unbearable conclusions of postmodernism. He presents three great negations of postmodernism: the negation of totalization, of teleology, and of utopia, and with dramatic prose and unremitting forthrightness insists that the implications of each be acknowledged. In a world devoid of universal claims, notions of progress, or hope for collective destination, Hebdige shares his own sense of panic/exhilaration at being deprived of the assurances of modernism. He pushes us to the edge of the abyss of postmodernism where we can see most clearly the profound depth and breadth of its implications.

Hebdige balances his insistence on postmodernism's seriousness with an insistence on the perils of nihilism. Because he is willing to exercise to the extreme Gramsci's exhortation, "Pessimism of the intellect; Optimism of the will," he is able to identify a response to postmodernism that takes its criticisms seriously but that does not abandon hope of positive political action. Very generally, Hebdige presents the neo-Gramscian orientation articulated by British culture studies intellectuals like Stuart Hall. Incorporated into this political orientation is a "mix of conjunctural analysis and strategic intervention" where social struggle is waged between complex "alliances of 'dominant' and 'subaltern' class fractions over and within a heterogeneous range of sites" (p. 203).

The remainder of Hebdige's book is a record of his own explorations of the "living textures of popular culture," of the conflicting "alliances of 'dominant' and 'subaltern' classes." Section One examines how youths resist the surveillance of dominant society. They convert surveillance into the pleasure of being watched using extreme dress and behaviours. Section Two explores how consumers do not uniformly receive mass products of both industry and the media. On the contrary, media images (e.g., American advertising) and durable goods (e.g., Italian scooters) become the basis of a rich iconography that is mined in different ways by different sub-cultural groups. In Section Three, Hebdige analyses two notable postmodern texts: the Cartoon *Bif*, and the magazine *The Face*. While he commends their creativity and power, Hebdige worries about the refusal of these texts to pursue issues any deeper than that permitted by a flashing image.

Together, Hebdige's various analyses, with their plethora of photographs and graphics that underline the heterogeneity of the popular, constitute a veritable feast of the postmodern. At the very least, from these analyses, adult educators will deepen or renew their awareness of the complexity of postmodern times, of the vast differences that exist between cultures, of the unpredictability of meaning formation in subcultural contexts.

VI

Postmodernism stands as a dramatic challenge to adult education. Adult educators may want to dismiss it as a fad or to avoid its dramatic implications but it is unlikely that postmodernism will disappear. Unfortunately adult education has not yet developed a body of literature to help meet postmodernism's challenges. The task then is difficult, that of exploring without familiar landmarks a strange and confusing terrain. It is my strong sense, however, that for many adult educators this will not prove too daunting a task. With excellent books at hand, like those reviewed above, it should be possible over the next short while for adult educators to develop a firm postmodern sensibility.

D.T. Plumb
University of Alberta

BLACK AND BLUE ALL OVER

ADULT EDUCATION: EVOLUTION AND ACHIEVEMENTS IN A DEVELOPING FIELD OF STUDY

John M. Peters, Peter Jarvis and Associates (Eds.). 1991.
San Francisco: Jossey-Bass

The publication of *Adult education: Evolution and achievements in a developing field of study* has sparked a furor on the North American scene. What appeared to be a straight-forward symposium on the new "black" book at the AERC meetings held in Saskatoon in May ended up in a donnybrook. Symposium participants, each a chapter contributor, were subjected to angry criticisms. How was it possible, at this historical moment, that only **two** of the essayists were women, and white women for all that? How was it possible for the multiple voices of African-Americans and Hispanics to be excluded from these hallowed pages? The critics were outraged, one man even suggesting that the new black book was disgraceful. Several women were noticeably agitated that the old boys were still controlling the scene. Some of the symposium members, not surprisingly, were a little defensive, unwilling to entertain the notion that Adult Education as a field of study was, well, in a mess. Had the old guard been nailed to the wall?

Many people in North America will no doubt continue to debate the meanings of this text for some time to come. Reviews have already appeared and E-mail conversations travel around the learning circuit. Robert Carlson, while happy that the old guard is struggling for breath, is clearly worried that the insurgents pressing Jossey-Bass to "develop a process for publishing a book to reflect these [silenced] voices" (Saskatoon Resolution, AERC, Saskatoon, May 1992), could be careerists lurking behind emancipatory rhetoric. He also worries that a kind of thermidorean counter-revolution could set in—with feminist or Marxist adult educators emerging as new politically correct gatekeepers and power brokers. Budd Hall, on the other hand, believes that the complacent climate of adult education has been thoroughly shaken up by the massive global changes. The intensification of late modern capitalism—its manic market drivenness—forces academics to speed up their production. This process creates a more intensely competitive arena, with professors jostling for control of "print space and air time." But that's only one factor. Adult educators are becoming excruciatingly aware of the inadequacies of the adult education theorizing of the 1950s-1980s, the explosion into the stuffy academy of "alternative voices," the limitations of our enlightenment heritage, and increased awareness of developments elsewhere (popular education, participatory research, etc.).

Unlike Carlson who celebrates "idiosyncratic individualism," Hall thinks that "we need to keep our visionary tradition, step aside for new voices, create spaces for other points of view, open our windows to the deep and transformative paradigm debates..." Alan Thomas, one of the original contributors to the 1964 black book, calls for a less hysterical and more measured historical understanding of *Adult education: Evolution and achievements of a developing field of study*. Thomas wants us to appreciate that the "old guard" helped to create space for the study of adult education in an educational world indifferent to adult learning. He also thinks that the new book reflects the end of an era: the end, perhaps, of a "particular attitude to adult education." He concludes that "there is much work to be done to celebrate these new voices around the table, there is also work to be done in changing the nature of the table itself" (CPAE Newsletter, Fall 1992). There are, indeed, many issues worth probing!

Among the many topics worth pursuing are the politics of **text production** and the process of **knowledge creation**. What role does Jossey-Bass play in legitimizing knowledge production in the field of adult education and shaping the language of adult education discourse? What is the relationship between gatekeeping and status allocation in our field? How do persons like Peter Jarvis, Alan Knox, Sharan Merriam and Ralph Brockett come to be important gatekeepers in the field? How do they work and select who gets in and who stays out of texts? Are they ideologically neutral watchdogs of "good" scholarship? How do we make sense of the triangular relationship between gatekeeper, publishing house, and audience? The question of the field's relationship to publishers is of particular significance in Canada. There are very few Canadian publishing houses willing to publish adult education texts, and there is a pretty widespread perception amongst Canadian academics that unless Jossey-Bass blesses your text, you are cast out of the mainstream.

Text production is an important dimension of the larger process of knowledge creation. But theory and research obviously must refer to social practices. And it is clear that the "black and blue" book, whatever one might think about individual essays, refers to the social practice of the professionalization of adult **learning**. How else could we account for the persistence of the six popular topics in our graduate schools: adult learning, program planning, program area, adult education as a field of study, institutional sponsors, and materials and methods? Literary critics, historians and anthropologists are very interested these days in the way a text actually gets constructed. They emphasize the constructed, or fictive, dimensions of narrative creation (all books are partially invented stories, replete with rhetorical moves, tricks, displays). One of the more interesting rhetorical devices in this book is the way Cyril Houle begins (one of the field's saints blesses the text on its journey) and Malcolm Knowles ends it (another of the field's saints greets the voyagers on safe completion of their turbulent travels). It doesn't matter if one or two critical articles appear somewhere in the text. Everyone is on the same ship, travelling in the same direction. By choosing Cyril to bless us and Malcolm to welcome and cheer us on, co-editors Jarvis and Peters establish decisively that the study of adult education, whatever its internal conflicts, is to be understood as **continuous** with the field as it was staked out in the 1950s by Houle, Knowles and others (Adult Education is a practical discipline). It is the inclusion of these two men that is significant, and not what they say (it is quite tempting to wonder why Jarvis and Peters let Knowles get away with his nonsense on drugs and learning). Well, no matter, this is about myth-making and not scholarship.

So, Houle and Knowles box this text in and reveal its true meaning. However, those very same literary critics, historians and anthropologists note that no matter how hard editors and authors try to produce a unified text, ideas and language escape our control and may even threaten the text's proposed unity. As one moves along through the mostly bland and homogenized prose of **Adult Education**, discordant notes keep appearing. Sharan Merriam speaks of the "amorphous, boundary-less field of adult education..." (p. 42), Huey Long writes of a field that "continues to be characterized by its undisciplined nomenclature and its phenomenological, subjective orientations and preference" (p. 88), and Peters and Jarvis fumble around, never quite figuring out how the field of study ought to be related to the particular disciplines (p. 3, 157, 159, 186). The uneasiness of these remarks is fully manifest in "Part Two: Multidisciplinary Dimensions of Adult Education" (chapters 8 through 13).

In the original black book, authors borrowed concepts from the various disciplines (psychology was favoured) in order to translate them into principles of adult learning and practice. This particular move seemed commonsensical. "Adult Education" was staking itself off as a separable territory, and was trying to construct itself as a distinctive **field of practice**. The distinctiveness of the field was not anchored in any disciplines, and a "foundations of adult education" approach was largely eschewed. Adult Education was constituted as an applied field, to be governed by its own logic (an adult constituency in particular settings requiring particular educational services). But this historical development harboured within itself a deep contradiction, namely, that reference to various disciplines at least suggested that it was possible to analyze adult forms and processes of knowing without reference to a particular social practice that someone might label conveniently "adult education." People have always faced learning challenges. They have not always been negotiating these challenges guided by an adult educator. Adult learning is broader and deeper than a specific practice called adult **education**.

It seems to me as I read through these chapters that the authors are confused about how to **theorize** the object of their study. I would argue that the current mess we are as an academic field is rooted in the attempt to mark out the boundaries of the discipline of adult education as an applied social practice. If one peers through the window of the transcripts of the Commission of Professors meetings in the late 1950s, one can see how a professionalizing sensibility pulled the professors like a powerful riptide away from deep and difficult questions of constructing a Discipline (an ontologically, epistemologically and normatively articulated conceptual framework) for adult **learning** towards a rather arbitrary piecing together of elements that might add up to a distinct methodology for teaching adults. Field was uncoupled from Discipline, and the Field's relationship with **particular** disciplines (like psychology or history) was instrumentalized. The Field now looked to particular disciplines like psychology, as Coolie Verner put it, for "bits of psychological knowledge pertaining to the adult." Verner was, however, puzzled about just how much psychology he "should be responsible for": what he should teach and what he should leave to Departments of Psychology (Hendrickson Papers, Syracuse University Adult Education Collection, Box 14, 1959).

The consequences of the uncoupling of Field from Discipline has been devastating. The Field of Adult Education Practice was constructed, then, as a "culturally bounded normative theory of 'good' practice" (Hake, 1992, p. 69) and thereby placed on very unstable ground. Meta-theoretical justification for these culturally bounded "theories" was not provided, and it was naively assumed that particular disciplines could provide a stable source of "bits of knowledge" applicable to designated areas of practice (program planning, teaching adults). It seems to me that those professors who were constructing Adult Education as a Field of Practice in the 1950s assumed uncritically that the "medical model" of the relationship of Science to Practice was applicable to adult education, then in the early stages of understanding itself as an applied social practice. The Field will only be able to figure out an adequate relationship to the disciplines when it addresses the meta-theoretical problem of theorizing the object of our study (Discipline).

The authors of chapters 8 to 13 (with the possible exception, perhaps, of Griffin) take-for-granted that adult education is an applied social practice. In this sense, Alan Thomas is right when he says that this beleaguered text marks the end of an era. Kenneth Lawson, called upon once again to write about "Philosophical Foundations," wanders about reflecting haphazardly on the "concept of adult education." His murky thoughts do not help us to develop a new way of thinking about the relationship between knowledge, learning and our human condition. The fundamental task of a philosophy of adult learning is to understand the "knowledge-constitutive interests" (Habermas's phrase) of human beings, and how these interests correspond to an irreducible element of human society. Jurgen Harbermas's philosophical elaboration of generic learning domains is not the only way to construct the philosophical-anthropological foundations of adult learning. But he has asked the **fundamental** questions, and Lawson has not. What an irony! How is it that adult educators have not reflected deeply on human learning? Adult Education constructed as an applied social practice requires only analytic concept clarification (which it has never achieved), and social philosophy (that identifies different purposes of adult education [conservative, liberal, transformative]). But if one is constructing a Discipline of Adult Learning, then philosophical reflection on the different forms of human knowing and attendant learning processes is required.

In his chapter, "The Psychology of Adult Teaching and Learning," Australian Mark Tennant frames his salient questions within the applied social practice paradigm. How, he asks, has psychology influenced the shaping and articulation of the principles of adult teaching and learning? What areas of psychology can best guide and influence adult education practice? These are the same questions Verner asked in the mid-1950s; and, again, make sense only when the object of our psychological theorization is a social practice. But if our interest is in theorizing adult individuation processes in relational contexts, then our theoretical work takes a different direction. The problem, however, with opting for an instrumental relationship to a discipline like psychology (with its competing schools, paradigms, methodologies, etc.) is that we do not develop a systematic **learning** perspective on the human individuation process.

Similarly, historian Harold Stubblefield constructs his chapter as "Learning **from** the Discipline of History." That's old paradigm thinking. Stubblefield begs the question of just what the adult education historian ought to be writing about. This may not be a burning question for the everyday practitioner of adult education, or even historian, but it is a central question for the Discipline of Adult Learning. What should be included in a history of adult learning? If one works, implicitly or explicitly, within the social practice paradigm, one writes about the emergence of the professional practice of adult education in the 1920s in the United States. That makes perfect sense, and is Stubblefield's tactic in his book, *Towards a history of adult education in America* (1988). But when Stubblefield constructs American adult education history as intellectual history of white males, he obviously rules out understanding how adults organized their learning in all historical times and places prior to the self-conscious emergence of "adult education." Interestingly, Stubblefield refers to social movements in his chapter. But, again, why should historians of adult learning write about social movements? Is this just an arbitrary decision on the individual historian's part? My argument would be that the identification of social movements as learning sites presupposes that we have a defensible meta-theoretical framework in place that includes social movements within its boundary, and secondly, that the inclusion of social movements presupposes that our framework enables us to understand the function of adult learning in the reproduction and transformation of social systems.

What interests me about Griffin's perspective on sociology and adult education is the way he moves uneasily between Adult Education as an Applied Practice (what do sociological studies offer to adult educators) and the Discipline of Adult Learning (learning understood as a social process). Griffin thinks that "adult education and adult learning are, in some respects, moving apart, and a sociology of adult education now needs to be systematically distinguished from a sociology of adult learning" (p. 277). Here Griffin appears to recognize that the primary task of sociological theory is to conceptualize the **educative** nature of our institutional life. How do institutions educate and form us? How do they enable or cripple our capacity to learn to be the persons we most want to be? By focusing on the educative nature of our institutional life, we have shifted away from thinking about what sociology has to offer to adult educators. Rather, adult educators are now challenged to see that their educational **practice** is irrevocably linked to institutional **learning environments**. An educator always intervenes in a preconstituted learning environment, and the meaning of this intervention is only comprehensible within the framework of a Discipline of Adult Learning. In other words, a sociology of adult learning would conceptualize the workplace as a complex learning environment. If an adult educator wants the workers to learn how to be self-directed, autonomous actors, then one would have to have a theoretical understanding of the institutional (or structural) constraints operating upon the individual workers and shaping how and what they learn in their prescribed roles and daily routines. Likewise in the realm of public discourse. Our political interactions in the public sphere can be structured such that we, as Canadian citizens, learn in distorted and ineffectual ways. If we do not understand how to conceptualize politics and our public life as a complex learning domain, we will have little or no idea what political education will, or could, mean.

There are many issues to comment upon in this text. Indeed, it is tempting, for instance, to examine if American adult educators think of Canada as America

North. Do expatriates like William Griffith believe that there actually could be significant adult education leaders and thinkers in Canada? Do our American colleagues imagine that our Canadian traditions could actually be quite different from those in the United States? I fear that a text like *Adult education: Evolution and achievement of a developing field* homogenizes Canadian into American experience, and represses the experience of so many people of colour.

On Friday afternoon, April 26, 1957, at a meeting of the Commission of Professors of Adult Education, Abbott Kaplan asked: "Are we all clear as to what the issue for discussion is? What is the content, the essential ingredient of adult education, that marks it off from other fields or disciplines?" (Knowles Collection, Box 18, October 1957). Kaplan's question continues to ring in our collective ears because we have not yet answered.

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Michael Welton
Dalhousie University

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Graduate Degrees in Canada—Adult Education and Cognate Subjects/Diplômes d'études supérieures au Canada—Éducation des adultes et sujets connexes - 1992.

Graduate degrees awarded by Canadian universities in adult education and cognate subjects in 1992/Mémoires et thèses en éducation des adultes ou sur des sujets connexes — 1992. Compiled by: G. Ambury, A. Blunt, B. Charbonneau, L.E. Devlin, D. MacKeracher, R.R. O'Reilly, M. Proctor, G. Selman, A. Stewart, D. Sullivan, M. Waldron, M. Welton.

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

Department of Adult, Career and Technology Education

Master of Education in Adult and Higher Education (Theses)

I. Banasch	Motivational orientation of adults in an upgrading program (Supervisor: A.G. Konrad)
P.A. Conrad	Learning American sign language: Learner's perceptions (Supervisor: D.A. MacKay)
K.S. Dhariwal	Computer-mediated communications in distance education (Supervisor: M.W. Petruk)
R. Fast	Adult education in rural Manitoba: D.J. Haughey 1836-1945 (Co-supervisors: E.B. Titley and D.J. Haughey)
S.A. Fisk	Curricular change: Nurse educators' concerns (Supervisor: P.A. Brook)
P.K. Godonoo	Skills upgrading policy development in Alberta (Supervisor: R. Pannu)
C.D. Little	The influence of learning styles on the effectiveness of interactive videodisk instruction (Supervisor: D. Collett)
M.C. Macdonald	Learning needs of inactive nurses in Alberta (Supervisor: D.A. MacKay)
J.E. Nnadi	Perceptions of needs and adequacy of adult education for immigrants in Edmonton (Supervisor: A.G. Konrad)
S. Norosky-Hurl	Outcome of a diabetes education outpatient program (Supervisor: D.A. MacKay)

H. Follis	Barrier to accessibility of women in non-traditional occupations in Alberta (Supervisor: C.H. Preitz)
M. Rac Laberge	Immigrant second language learning: The learner's point of view (Supervisor: C. Urion)

Master of Education in Adult and Higher Education (Project)

S.M. Kimaro	Assessment of occupational training unitize in the Tanzania/Canada wheat project areas (Supervisor: A.G. Konrad)
R.W. Mills	A worker's guide to job search (Supervisor: D. Collett)
T.L. Reynolds	Graduate students' reactions to journal writing (Supervisor: E. Miklos)

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

Department of Administrative, Adult and Higher Education

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Master of Education (Major Papers)

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E. Clausen	Barriers to participation for returning women in adult basic education classes: Some guidelines for instructors, counsellors, and institutions (Supervisor: G.R. Selman)
B.D. Davis	An improved evaluation approach for the Atii Inuit management training program (Supervisor: T.J. Sork)
P.A. Hartley	The history of practical nursing education at Vancouver community college (Supervisor: G.R. Selman)
J. Kelly	Long term care: History of voluntary boards and board development (Supervisor: G.R. Selman)
S. Lane	Learning and health promotion behavior (Supervisor: D.D. Pratt)
K. Raphael	Values clarification: An alternative to needs assessment in nursing continuing education when empowerment is the desired outcome (Supervisor: G.R. Selman)

W.L. Sankey	History of the North and West Vancouver School Board adult education: A success story (Supervisor: G.R. Selman)

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

Department of Educational Policy and Administrative Study

Doctor of Education

M. Baynton	Control of the learning process in distance education (Supervisor: P. Adams)

Master of Education (Theses)

Y. Hassam	Perspectives on English as a second language programs for adults in Calgary (Supervisor: S. Mitchell)
C. Jaques	The United Farmers of Alberta: A social and educational movement (Supervisor: C. Warren)
W. Mortis	Conversational analysis of nurse-patient talk in a Calgary hospital (Supervisor: R. Heyman)
D. Ohler	A phenomenological study of dispositional learning: An educational re-"vision" (Supervisor: J. Friesen)
K. Oliver	Splendid circles: Women's clubs in Calgary, 1912-1939 (Supervisor: S. Mitchell)

Master of Education (Projects)

L. Becker	Evolution of nonformal adult education programs (Supervisor: T. Pyrch)
T. Dewar	Part-time instructors—phantoms of the night? (Supervisor: T. Pyrch)
R. Folkman	Serving the needs of adult learners through distance education (Supervisor: D. Kirby)
J. Fortuin	A critical examination of school based staff development (Supervisor: H.K. Baskett)
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K. Morgan	Entrepreneurial education: A case study (Supervisor: T. Pyrch)
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L. Thompson	Employee assistance programs and management theory (Supervisor: S. Mitchell)

DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY

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I. Baatjes	A literacy policy for South Africa (Supervisor: M. Welton)

THE UNIVERSITY OF GUELPH

Department of Rural Extension Studies

Masters of Science (Thesis)

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J. Kirkham	State-sponsored adult education in Nicaragua, 1981-1989 (Supervisor: G. Filson)

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M. Grenon	Gestion intégrale de la qualité. Étude de besoins de formation sur mesure pour des petites et moyennes entreprises du secteur Lac-St-Jean Est inscrites à l'intérieur du Comité d'action pour maximiser les retombées Alcan (C.A.M.R.A.) (Directeur: A. Godin)
G.-P. Lussier	Pour une approche plus globale en alphabétisation des adultes. (Directeur: R. Fortin)

ST. FRANCIS XAVIER UNIVERSITY

Master of Adult Education

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S. Burley	The development of a personal managerial style: A case study (Supervisor: M. Gillen)
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R. Kavanagh	Towards proactive relations with clientele: A community college based needs assessment (Supervisor: D. Thompson)

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J. Matthew	Intercultural training: An approach to program design (Supervisor: M. Gillen)
P.G. McNamara	Empowerment of the educationally disadvantaged through educational brokering (Supervisor: M. Gillen)
H.O. Oyieke	Towards participatory co-operative education in Kenya (Supervisor: M. Gillen)
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R.A. Schlitt	Popular education: A search for the basics and the tools (Supervisor: I. Hunt)
B.A. Zegarac	Self-directed learning: Learner and facilitator process (Supervisor: M. Gillen)

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Master of Education (Projects)

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CALL FOR PAPERS

FEMINISM IN ADULT EDUCATION: CELEBRATION, CRITIQUE AND CHALLENGE

Submissions are invited to the Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education on the topic of "Feminism in Adult Education". This issue is intended to highlight the contributions to the advancement of women by adult educators, feminist contributions to adult education theory and practices, as well as the issues and problems faced by women in adult education. Papers will be considered for publication in the following areas:

- Accomplishments for women by adult educators
- Current models of feminist practice in adult education
- Critical analyses of adult education practice and theory from a feminist perspective
- Feminist contributions to adult education theory
- Feminist approaches and issues in the professional education of adult educators

Guest Editors for the issue are:

Dr. Marilyn Taylor, Concordia University, Montreal
Dr. Gaétane Payeur, Université du Québec à Hull
Dr. Catherine Warren, University of Calgary

All submissions will be required to conform to the publication guidelines of the Journal (APA or Chicago Style).

Papers should be submitted no later than June 1, 1993 to:

The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education/
La Revue canadienne pour l'étude de l'éducation des adultes
College of Education, University of Saskatchewan
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PROPOSITION DE TEXTES

LE FÉMINISME DANS L'ÉDUCATION DES ADULTES: CÉLÉBRATION, CRITIQUE ET DÉFI

Vous êtes invités à soumettre votre proposition à la Revue canadienne pour l'étude de l'éducation des adultes dont un futur numéro portera sur le thème "Le féminisme dans l'éducation des adultes". Ce numéro vise à faire connaître les apports des éducatrices et éducateurs d'adultes au développement des femmes, à la pratique et à la théorie féministes en éducation des adultes. Ce numéro a également pour objectif de faire connaître la situation et les problèmes des femmes en éducation des adultes.

Les textes à publier porteront sur les champs d'intérêt suivants:

- des réalisations des éducatrices et d'éducateurs d'adultes au bénéfice de la clientèle
- des modèles de pratique féministe en éducation des adultes
- des analyses critiques féministes de pratiques et théories en éducation des adultes
- des apports féministes à la théorie en éducation des adultes
- des approches et préoccupations féministes dans la formation des intervenants-es en éducation des adultes

Les éditrices invitées de cette publication sont:

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LA REVUE CANADIENNE POUR L'ÉTUDE DE L'ÉDUCATION DES ADULTES

May/mai, 1993, Vol. 7, No. 1

Table of Contents/Table des Matières

Articles

Étude exploratoire des bénéfices d'une visite au musée
Collete Dufresne-Tassé, Thérèse Lapoint et Hélène Lefèbvre 1

Educative or Miseducative Work: A Critique of the Current Debate on Work and Education
Mechthild Hart 19

Description de l'état d'identité d'étudiantes et d'étudiants inscrits en formation des maîtres
Yves Herry, Normand Robichaud et Jean-Claude Boyer 37

Un cadre théorique pour analyser les effets de la formation sur la satisfacton au travail
Antoine Lutumba Ntetu 49

A Political Economy of Adult Education in Comparative Perspective: A Critique of Mainstream Adult Education Models in Canada, Mexico and Tanzania
Carlos Alberto Torres and Daniel Schugurensky 61

Perspectives

Approche andragogique en France au 19e siècle
Jean-Marie Labelle 81

Book Reviews/Recensions

Self-Direction for Lifelong Learning
A Comprehensive Guide to Theory and Practice
Philip C. Candy
Judith Fretz 93

Guidelines for Contributors/Directives pour les collaboratrices et collaborateurs 97

124

ARTICLES

ÉTUDE EXPLORATOIRE DES BÉNÉFICES D'UNE VISITE AU MUSÉE[1]

Colette Dufresne-Tassé
Thérèse Lapointe
Hélène Lefebvre
Université de Montréal

Résumé

Une "analyse de besoin" ne semble pas une façon appropriée de rassembler les données nécessaires à la préparation d'expositions muséales à caractère éducatif pour l'adulte. Une "analyse de bénéfices" semble plus appropriée. Description d'une étude des gains, des bénéfices issus d'une visite à un musée de sciences naturelles réalisée par 45 adultes de 25 à 65 ans. Les principaux résultats de cette étude montrent que le bénéfice majeur d'une visite réside dans le fonctionnement même du visiteur, à cause de la série de plaisirs suscités par ce fonctionnement. Ces plaisirs forment des paires opposées: plaisir de la contemplation et plaisir de l'action; plaisir de la manipulation du monde extérieur et plaisir du retour sur soi-même; plaisir de ce qui se livre dès que l'attention est entière et plaisir de vaincre la difficulté; plaisir de l'imaginaire et plaisir du rationnel; plaisir de la nouveauté et agrément des habitudes. Implications de ces résultats pour l'éducation des adultes.

Abstract

An "analysis of needs" does not appear to be a suitable way of gathering data from which to prepare museum exhibits of an educational nature. An "analysis of benefits" seems to be more appropriate. This study describes the benefits perceived by 45 adults resulting from their visit to a natural history museum. The results indicate that the greatest benefit to the museum visitor is the opposing pleasures that are experienced: pleasure of contemplation and pleasure of action; pleasure of self-reflection and pleasure of interacting with the outside world; pleasure of thinking deeply about a problem and the pleasure of solving the problem; pleasure derived from the imaginary and pleasure of reality; pleasure of novelty and the pleasure associated with routine. Implications of the results for adult education are presented.

Traditionnellement, les éducateurs d'adultes conçoivent leurs interventions à partir des besoins des personnes auxquelles ils s'adressent. Cette approche est courante chaque fois qu'ils interviennent dans une institution d'enseignement ou qu'ils répondent à une invitation à travailler avec un individu ou avec un groupe. La situation muséale diffère des précédentes et offre à l'andragogue un contexte d'intervention particulier. Depuis l'origine des musées publics, depuis la fondation des premiers musées européens comme le Louvre (Blum, 1946), le British Museum

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[1] Cette recherche a été subventionnée par l'Université de Montréal, par le CRSH et le FCAR.

(Hudson, 1987), ou depuis celle des musées américains comme le Metropolitan Museum de New York (Zeller, 1989), on conçoit que le grand public va au musée dans ses moments de loisir et pour se distraire. Aujourd'hui, on considère ce phénomène comme normal et on s'emploie à en comprendre les causes (voir par exemple Graburn, 1980; Kimche, 1978; King, 1971; Miles, 1982 ou Wright, 1989).

Lieu de divertissement, le musée n'est pas un endroit où l'adulte vient pour combler des déficiences, c'est-à-dire des besoins au sens propre du terme, des besoins de base pour reprendre l'expression de Maslow (1954, 1968, 1971) et de Goble (1974). C'est plutôt un endroit vis-à-vis duquel il entretient des attentes. En d'autres mots, c'est un espace dont il anticipe plus ou moins justement certaines caractéristiques qui font de sa part l'objet d'expectations d'autant plus fortes qu'elles ont à ses yeux plus de probabilités de se réaliser (Lefèbvre et Lefèbvre, 1991).

Dans pareil contexte, une “analyse de besoins” classique (voir par exemple Kaufman, 1987 ou Witkin, 1984) ne semble pas une façon appropriée de recueillir l'information nécessaire à la préparation d'expositions ayant un caractère éducatif. Pourrait-on baser cette dernière sur une “analyse d'attentes”? Probablement pas car, aux yeux de la société occidentale, les objets muséaux sont parmi les plus beaux, les plus précieux, les plus rares ou les plus typiques que cette société possède. De ce fait, ils ont toujours pour le visiteur moyen un caractère de nouveauté qui prend ses attentes en défaut. Les anticipations du visiteur ne sauraient donc être utilisées directement pour assurer le caractère éducatif d'une exposition. La satisfaction ressentie à l'issue d'une visite non plus d'ailleurs, quoique pour des raisons différentes. Presque tous les musées possèdent des données sur la satisfaction de ses visiteurs car cette satisfaction est l'un des volets des évaluations sommatives qu'ils font de leurs expositions (voir par exemple Bitgood, Roper et Benefield, 1988; Griggs, 1984; Linn, 1983; Wolf, 1990 pour l'esprit, les outils et les modalités de réalisation de ces évaluation, leurs résultats étant rarement publiés). Mais le niveau de contentement est une donnée si globale qu'elle ne peut guider l'éducateur d'adulte dans son travail.

Il reste une “analyse de bénéfices”, une étude de ce que le visiteur retire de son passage au musée. Interrogé au moment de quitter celui-ci, l'adulte peut facilement parler de ce que lui apporte sa visite sur les plans cognitif et affectif. Pour peu qu'on l'aide à se remémorer ce qu'il a vécu devant les objets qu'il a observés, il dira comment son expérience contribue à son bien-être général et à son développement psychologique. En s'adonnant à de tels propos, il fournit des données sur la façon dont il a utilisé ce que les gens de musée ont préparé pour lui et le profit qu'il en a tiré. C'est, on le voit, un matériel très différent d'une série de besoins, mais aussi valable pour étayer une action éducative et c'est ce qui nous a décidées à entreprendre une étude systématique sur le sujet.

À notre connaissance, on n'a pas encore réalisé de recherche sur le thème des bénéfices d'une visite ou sur un thème voisin. Cette constatation s'impose à la suite de l'interrogation des banques de publications informatisées et d'une consultation périodique des ouvrages aussi bien que des articles publiés dans les revues consacrées à la muséologie et à l'éducation. C'est tout juste si, parfois, un auteur mentionne, en passant, le terme bénéfice, comme s'est le cas de Graburn (1980), Johnson (1981), Knox (1981), Koran, Morrison, Lehman, Koran et Gandara (1984), Monroe (1977), Saumarez-Smith (1989), Tinsley (1982) et Wright (1989), ou suggère quelques profits, comme le fait Lewis (1980) quand il mentionne l'apprentissage, la détente et la fuite des problèmes quotidiens.

Nous avons donc cru qu'une étude exploratoire était le type de recherche le mieux adapté à la situation. Nous avons réalisé cette étude auprès de 45 adultes des deux sexes, âgés de 25 à 65 ans, ayant trois niveaux d'éducation et trois habitudes de fréquentation muséale différents[2]. Nous avons interrogé ces personnes à l'issue d'une visite à un musée de sciences naturelles[3] où elles avaient vu une exposition de mollusques. Toutes étaient volontaires et leur visite avait duré de 15 à 20 minutes. Au cours d'un entretien post-visite portant sur leur fonctionnement psychologique durant la visite et sur ce que l'expérience vécue dans le musée signifiait pour elles, un chercheur leur posait une question générale sur les bénéfices qu'elles retiraient du quart d'heure ou de la demi-heure passé dans la salle d'exposition. Cette question était ainsi libellée: "À votre avis, qu'est-ce qui fait qu'une visite comme celle que vous venez de terminer est satisfaisante?" Suivant la réponse obtenue, deux types de sous-questions étaient posées. L'un amenait les visiteurs à préciser ou expliquer ce qu'ils venaient de dire, l'autre, à vérifier s'ils ne voyaient par d'autres profits à leur visite. Vu l'absence de recherches antérieures sur le sujet, il ne nous semblait pas prudent de fixer la forme précise de ces sous-questions, de sorte que cette forme était laissée à l'initiative du chercheur qui, par ailleurs, avait pour consigne de "coller" le plus possible au discours du visiteur et d'aider celui-ci à expliciter son expérience et le jugement qu'il portait sur cette dernière. Enfin, l'entretien étant enregistré sur bande sonore, il fallait forcément le dactylographier avant d'en faire l'analyse et des consignes précises devaient être données aux secrétaires de manière à assurer à la fois le meilleur passage possible de l'oral à l'écrit et une bonne constance dans la façon d'assurer cette transcription.

Nous présenterons ici la notion de bénéfice qui a guidé l'étude décrite, l'analyse des passages d'entretien post-visite pertinents et la signification que nous attribuons aux résultats de cette analyse.

Notion de bénéfice

On peut concevoir les bénéfices de deux façons: comme les événements positifs d'une visite et le profit qui les accompagne, ou comme ce profit et la satisfaction qui en découle. Une visite au musée étant habituellement une activité de loisir, c'est-à-dire une activité poursuivie pour le plaisir ou le bien-être qu'elle apporte, le visiteur n'a probablement pas vis-à-vis de cette expérience l'attitude analytique qui lui permettrait de dresser la liste de ce qui lui est arrivé et d'en dégager les avantages. Nous pensons qu'il est plutôt porté à percevoir les gains réalisés et le contentement qui accompagne ceux-ci. En conséquence, nous adoptons la définition suivante. Les bénéfices sont le produit d'une visite, ce qu'elle rapporte, c'est-à-dire les fruits, les gains, les profits qu'elle occasionne et la satisfaction qu'elle entraîne.

---

[2] Pour une description plus complète de cet échantillon, voir Chamberland (1990).

[3] Il s'agit du Musée d'histoire naturelle Georges Préfontaine de l'Université de Montréal.

Analyse des données recueillies

La principale question posée aux visiteurs sur ce qu'ils retirent de leur passage au musée et les sous-questions qui ont suivi amènent un très large éventail de réponses et peu de similitude d'une personne à l'autre; rarement plus de cinq individus parlent de la même chose de la même façon. Dans ces conditions, une analyse quantitative et une comparaison des sous-groupes formés selon le sexe, l'âge, les niveaux d'éducation et les habitudes de visite sont inutiles. Nous ne présenterons donc qu'une analyse qualitative, soulignant au passage les points sur lesquels dix visiteurs ou plus s'expriment de la même façon.

Nous avons procédé de la façon suivante pour étudier les propos des visiteurs. Une fois lu tout le matériel produit par ceux-ci, nous avons établi des thèmes qui représentaient les principaux angles sous lesquels ils avaient abordé la question des bénéfices. Vu l'importance de certains détails ou de certaines précisions, nous avons assorti les thèmes de sous-thèmes et parfois d'aspects de sous-thèmes (voir tableau 6). Nous avons ainsi créé une grille d'analyse. Nous avons utilisé cette grille de la façon suivante. Nous avons repris les propos de chaque visiteur, retenu chaque idée différente et inscrit celle-ci là où il convenait.

La façon de procéder pour classer une idée a varié suivant les caractéristiques de celle-ci. Dans la plupart des cas, l'idée a été classée dans un sous-thème. Cependant, les idées très générales comme: "Ma visite est bonne, moi, quand ce que j'ai vu m'intéresse beaucoup", ont été attribuées à un thème (voir tableau 1). Lorsque ce cas s'est présenté, le total d'unités contenues dans le thème s'est trouvé plus élevé que la somme des unités contenues dans les sous-thèmes (voir exemple au tableau 1).

Tableau 1
Condition essentielle à l'apparition de bénéfices

Thèmes abordés par les 45 visiteurs	Fréquence		
Le type de musée ou d'objet			
correspond aux intérêts du visiteur	7*+	1	9
à des éléments de son expérience		1**	
à des événements passés		1	
à des objets témoins des progrès d'une société	1		
suscite l'intérêt du visiteur	7+		
qui se sent attiré par ce qu'il voit		1	
qui se sent attiré par la présentation		1	
touche le visiteur	14		

---

* Fréquence d'apparition d'un thème

** Fréquence d'apparition d'un sous-thème

+ La fréquence d'un thème est supérieure à la somme des fréquences de ses sous-thèmes chaque fois qu'un visiteur se borne à aborder le thème sans entrer dans les détails des sous-thèmes.

La nature des idées analysées est telle qu'un autre cas s'est présenté: une idée correspondant à plusieurs sous-thèmes. Une telle idée a été portée au compte de chacun des thèmes pertinents. Exemple, l'idée: "j'aime découvrir des objets nouveaux que je peux voir rien qu'au musée et pis, j'aime découvrir. Je veux pas sentir que le musée veut me faire apprendre quelque chose" a été portée au compte de trois sous-thèmes du tableau 6.

Nous n'avons pas considéré la durée du discours du visiteur sur un thème; long ou court, nous l'avons noté de la même façon. Nous n'avons pas non plus retenu les redites. Un même thème abordé deux fois de la même façon n'a été noté qu'une fois.

Dans leurs propos, les visiteurs n'ont que très rarement fait référence à un autre musée qu'à celui dans lequel ils se trouvaient. Les données exposées plus bas sont donc propres à ce dernier type de musée, un musée de sciences naturelles. Ces dernières permettent d'identifier des bénéfices globaux, des bénéfices partiels, mais aussi, des conditions d'apparition de ces bénéfices. Nous aborderons ces sujets en commençant par le dernier. Pour chacun, nous présenterons une série de données, nous en ferons immédiatement une synthèse et lorsque c'est pertinent, nous ajouterons une interprétation. Cette façon de présenter les résultats, recommandée par Miles et Huberman (1984), pourra parfois sembler un peu répétitive. Elle a été dictée par le caractère très qualitatif des résultats décrits; elle était nécessaire pour permettre au lecteur d'apprécier la justesse des interprétations et des synthèses proposées.

Conditions d'apparition des bénéfices

Les données obtenues nous ont amenées à distinguer une condition essentielle et des conditions secondaires, celles-ci favorisant indirectement ou directement l'apparition de bénéfices.

Condition essentielle

> *Pour que la visite soit profitable, le type de musée ou d'objet doit correspondre aux goûts du visiteur ou susciter son intérêt et le toucher en quelque sorte* (voir tableau 1).

En d'autres mots, le type de musée ou d'objet doit correspondre aux goûts ou aux intérêts du visiteur pour l'atteindre, pour le toucher au point de déclencher en lui une activité. Le langage utilisé par le visiteur indique que cette activité ne peut être une simple réaction d'attraction ou de répulsion. C'est une activité importante qui semble engager complètement l'individu sur le plan affectif aussi bien qu'intellectuel.

Cette position ayant été prise spontanément 28 fois par les visiteurs (ici, les 28 propositions sont le fait de 28 individus différents), c'est-à-dire par plus de 60% d'entre eux, on peut donc penser qu'à leurs yeux c'est une condition importante. Nous allons plus loin. Nous pensons que cette condition est essentielle et nous croyons que plus l'implication de l'individu est profonde, plus grands devraient être les bénéfices qu'il retire de sa visite.

Conditions secondaires

Outre la condition précédente, nous avons identifié deux séries de conditions qui complètent cette dernière en favorisant indirectement ou directement l'apparition de bénéfices.

Conditions favorisant indirectement l'apparition de bénéfices

Les conditions qui favorisent indirectement l'apparition de bénéfices proviennent de deux sources différentes: le musée et le visiteur lui-même. Du côté du musée, il y a les caractéristiques du lieu muséal et celles de la présentation des objets. Du côté du visiteur, il y a ses dispositions au moment de la visite.

> *Les caractéristiques du musée favorisant indirectement l'apparition de bénéfices sont les suivantes: un accueil chaleureux, une température adéquate, des locaux propres, un mobilier qui permet le repos, une organisation efficace, une atmosphère paisible, des lieux spacieux, impressionnants, qui font paraître les objets importants* (voir tableau 2).

Cette énumération pourrait se résumer ainsi: un lieu confortable, qui favorise le bien-être physique et psychologique du visiteur, tout en mettant en relief le caractère exceptionnel des objets qu'il contient.

> *Les caractéristiques de la présentation des exhibits qui favorisent indirectement l'apparition de bénéfices sont: l'agrément, la variété, l'ordre, le fait que la présentation pousse à la manipulation, au jeu, à l'interaction. Le fait aussi qu'elle stimule tous les sens, qu'elle permet de bien percevoir les objets en les éclairant correctement, en les plaçant à bonne hauteur pour qu'ils apparaissent dans toute la beauté de leur forme et de leur couleur* (voir tableau 2).

En somme, une présentation qui facilite la perception des caractéristiques physiques des objets et qui met ceux-ci en valeur. Du coup, la présentation semble favoriser une perception agréable qui correspond probablement au goût du visiteur et à son habitude de trouver des objets ordonnés, variés ou sur lesquels il peut exercer une activité psychomotrice.

> *Les conditions réalisées par le visiteur sont: suffisamment d'énergie pour être à la fois réceptif et actif, une humeur propice, c'est-à-dire l'absence de préoccupations et le goût de prendre les choses comme elles viennent. Certaines situations sont favorables à l'apparition de ces dispositions. Les plus importantes sont celles qui offrent suffisamment de temps pour que la visite soit d'une durée optimale et celles qui permettent de faire la visite pour soi d'abord. Ces situations se produisent surtout en vacances et en voyage ou lorsque la visite a été préparée et qu'elle offre des possibilités d'échange avec d'autres personnes* (voir tableau 2).

En bref, être suffisamment calme et reposé pour se sentir à la fois réceptif et actif, ce qui se produit surtout quand la visite est de durée optimale et réalisée dans un contexte de loisir. À notre avis, en parlant ainsi, le visiteur reconnaît qu'il a, tout comme le musée, un rôle à jouer dans l'apparition de bénéfices.

Tableau 2
Conditions secondaires favorisant indirectement l'apparition de bénéfices

Thèmes et sous-thèmes abordés par les 45 visiteurs	Fréquence		
Éléments offerts par le musée			
propres au lieu muséal considéré globalement	18		
accueil chaleureux		1*	
température adéquate		3	
locaux nets		1	
locaux spacieux		1	
locaux impressionnants (font paraître les objets importants)		5	
atmosphère paisible (pas trop de visiteurs en même temps)		5	
mobilier favorisant le repos		1	
organisation efficace		1	
propres à l'arrangement des exhibits	30		
arrangement agréable		11	
bonne couleur des objets			5**
belle forme des objets			6
arrangement réussi		5	
bon éclairage			4
bonne hauteur			1
arrangement réaliste		2	
arrangement varié		1	
arrangement ordonné (objets regroupés par thèmes)		1	
arrangement stimulant		10	
affecte tous les sens			2
favorise la manipulation			2
favorise l'interaction			3
favorise le jeu			3
•Dispositions			
humeur propice	14*		
on prend les choses comme elles viennent		3**	
on se sent calme, sans préoccupation		4	
on se sent réceptif		2	
on se sent actif (en interaction avec l'objet)		5	
• Facteurs favorables à l'apparition de dispositions positives	18		
énergie suffisante		3	
temps adéquat		3	
visite centrée sur les besoins du visiteur		3	
visite de durée optimale		3	
visite réalisée en vacances		1	
visite réalisée en voyage		1	
visite préparée à l'avance		1	
visite réalisée en toute liberté		1	
visite réalisée avec un compagnon		2	

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* Fréquence d'apparition d'un thème

** Fréquence d'apparition d'un sous-thème

Conditions favorisant directement l'apparition de bénéfices

Ici comme plus haut, on retrouve des conditions réalisées par le musée et des conditions réalisées par le visiteur.

> *C'est au musée d'initier le visiteur, de respecter son rythme, son niveau de fonctionnement, ses habitudes, ses préférences en termes d'activité intellectuelle en lui offrant l'information qu'il désire ou dont il a besoin. Cette information peut être offerte avant, pendant ou après la visite. Elle doit être concise, facile à comprendre, importante, abondante, divertissante. Elle doit donner un contexte à l'objet, permettre de comprendre l'objet, d'établir des liens avec ce que l'on sait. Elle peut être présentée sur dépliant, sur cassette ou par un guide* (voir tableau 3).

Tableau 3
Conditions secondaires favorisant directement l'apparition de bénéfices

Thèmes abordés par les 45 visiteurs	Fréquence	
Conditions réalisées par le musée		
Initier le visiteur (sinon, il regarde rapidement et ne se souvient de rien)	3*	
Respecter le rythme du visiteur (lui offrir un nombre optimal d'objets)	11	
Respecter le niveau, les habitudes, les préférences de fonctionnement intellectuel du visiteur en lui offrant une information appropriée	41	
concise		1**
facile à saisir		1
divertissante		3
suffisante pour comprendre		2
suffisante pour faire des liens		2
suffisante pour donner un contexte		18
présentée avant, pendant ou après la visite	14	
sous forme de cassette		4
sous forme de guide (personne qui pose des questions ou à qui on en pose)		9
sous forme de dépliant		1
Conditions réalisées par le visiteur		
Être actif	4	
s'approcher		1
toucher		1
sentir		1
expérimenter		1
Se sentir proche de l'objet	5	
Être satisfait de son fonctionnement	5	

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* Fréquence d'apparition d'un thème

** Fréquence d'apparition d'un sous-thème

À notre avis, cette série de conditions peut se résumer ainsi. Le musée doit respecter non seulement les habitudes et les goûts du visiteur, mais également son rythme et ses préférences en termes de fonctionnement intellectuel. Ce désir, croyons-nous, vient du fait qu'il veut comprendre et retenir. Trois conditions semblent favoriser la compréhension et la rétention: être initié, voir une quantité optimale d'objets et obtenir l'information nécessaire à l'élaboration d'un contexte pour les objets observés. Ce dernier point semble préoccuper particulièrement les visiteurs qui ont participé à notre recherche car il est mentionné 18 fois (par 18 individus différents), donc par 40% d'entre eux (voir tableau 3).

> *Enfin, les conditions remplies par le visiteur sont les suivantes: être actif, s'approcher des objets, les toucher, si possible les sentir, expérimenter, se sentir proche de l'objet et être satisfait de son propre fonctionnement* (voir tableau 3).

Ces conditions pourraient être reformulées de façon plus générale en disant que, pour retirer des bénéfices de son passage au musée, le visiteur croit qu'il doit être actif, c'est-à-dire qu'il doit se donner les conditions pour bien percevoir, pour que ses sens soient stimulés au maximum et pour qu'il trouve que son comportement est adéquat. Ainsi, le visiteur reconnaît, comme plus haut lorsqu'il était question des conditions qui favorisent indirectement l'apparition de bénéfices, qu'il a un rôle à jouer dans l'apparition de ces derniers.

Description des bénéfices

Les bénéfices identifiés dans les propos des 45 visiteurs qui ont participé à notre recherche sont tantôt généraux, tantôt particuliers. Un bénéfice général est un gain qui affecte toute la personne du visiteur et un bénéfice particulier, un gain qui n'en touche qu'un aspect. Un bénéfice général possède un caractère global, en ce sens qu'il découle de la visite dans son ensemble, tandis qu'un bénéfice particulier possède un caractère partiel, ne découlant que d'un ou de quelques uns de ses aspects.

Bénéfices généraux

> *Les bénéfices qui découlent de la visite prise globalement et qui touchent l'ensemble de la personne se lisent ainsi: la visite est une expérience valable en soi. Elle "nourrit", procure un dépaysement salutaire, un bon moment ou du bien-être* (voir tableau 4).

Nous sommes tentées de relier ces bénéfices de la façon suivante: une visite peut être une expérience valable en soi lorsqu'elle procure détente ou dépaysement, ou lorsqu'elle alimente l'individu par ce qu'elle lui apporte. Ce type de bénéfice semble fréquent, puisqu'il apparaît 17 fois (chez 15 visiteurs différents) dans les propos des 45 visiteurs qui ont participé à cette recherche.

Bénéfices particuliers

Les bénéfices particuliers se présentent sous la forme d'états, de sensations ou d'impressions et sous la forme de comportements qui sont tantôt des bénéfices en soi, tantôt la source de bénéfices.

Tableau 4
Bénéfices généraux

Thèmes et sous-thèmes abordés par les 45 visiteurs	Fréquence	
Une visite est une expérience valable en soi	7*	
si on a vu des objets plaisants		6**
même si on n'a rien appris		1
Une visite est une expérience qui "nourrit"	1	
Une visite procure un dépaysement	1	
qui permet de sortir du quotidien		1
Une visite procure un bon moment	3	
un moment de détente		1
un moment de calme		1
un moment de tranquillité		1
Une visite est une expérience qui procure du bien-être	5	

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* Fréquence d'apparition d'un thème
** Fréquence d'apparition d'un sous-thème

États, sensations, impressions

Les états, sensations et impressions bénéfiques sont des réactions affectives plutôt qu'intellectuelles, provoquées par les objets observés. Ces réactions se lisent ainsi: l'impression de connaître l'objet ou de "se retrouver" en lui, la sensation d'être vivant, le désir de jouer ou d'agir, le plaisir esthétique et le plaisir de se poser des questions (voir tableau 5).

Tableau 5
Bénéfices particuliers: états, sensations, impressions favorisés ou induits par les objets observés

Thèmes et sous-thèmes abordés par les 45 visiteurs	Fréquence	
Impression de connaître l'objet	2*	
Impression de se reconnaître dans l'objet	2	
Sensation d'être soi-même vivant	6	
désir d'agir		1**
désir de jouer		5
Plaisir de se poser des questions	5	
Plaisir esthétique	5	

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* Fréquence d'apparition d'un thèmee
** Fréquence d'apparition d'un sous-thème

Autant dire le plaisir de reconnaître un objet et de se reconnaître en lui, le plaisir de se sentir vivant, de jouer, d'agir et le plaisir d'être en contact avec ce qui est beau.

Le plaisir de reconnaître un objet peut sembler élémentaire. À notre avis, il ne l'est pas. Au musée, les objets ont perdu leur contexte, de sorte qu'ils doivent tous être identifiés. Cette identification présente une difficulté et il nous semble normal que le visiteur ressente du plaisir chaque fois qu'il surmonte celle-ci. Que la difficulté soit grande ou légère, le visiteur en retire chaque fois une satisfaction, le plaisir d'avoir réussi.

Quant au plaisir de se reconnaître dans l'objet, il est fort compréhensible et multidéterminé. Nous croyons en effet qu'il est causé par le sentiment de se retrouver soi-même et, probablement surtout, par celui de s'identifier à un objet nouveau, précieux, rare.

Comportements

Les comportements provoqués, favorisés ou induits par les objets observés forment, de loin, la catégorie la plus importante de bénéfices. Celle-ci se subdivise en comportements bénéfiques et en comportements tantôt perçus comme des bénéfices en eux-mêmes, tantôt comme des conditions de l'apparition de bénéfices. L'importance de cette catégorie tient à la fois au nombre de ses composantes et au nombre de visiteurs qui les mentionnent (voir tableaux 6 et 7).

> *Les comportements bénéfiques sont les suivants: Se souvenir des objets, les regarder, les explorer, en découvrir de nouveaux, soit qu'il s'agisse d'objets jamais vus ou mal vus auparavant, d'objets connus uniquement par la lecture ou par ouï-dire, d'objets rares, surprenants, spectaculaires, originaux, importants, d'objets que l'on peut voir au musée seulement, ou au musée mieux qu'ailleurs, d'objets informatifs ou liés à un souvenir. Apprendre, parfaire ses connaissances, les élaborer, parfois en faisant appel à son jugement, parfois en s'amusant. Comparer ses idées, les vérifier. Vouloir en savoir davantage, s'ouvrir l'esprit, c'est-à-dire se préparer à d'autres expériences, réfléchir, comprendre, approfondir, sentir l'esprit des choses* (voir tableau 6).

En bref, le visiteur considère qu'évoquer des souvenirs, s'ouvrir à de nouvelles choses, découvrir des objets rares, surprenants, d'une grande valeur ou mal connus, acquérir des connaissances, les parfaire, les vérifier ou en avoir le goût, réfléchir, approfondir la signification des choses sont des activités bénéfiques en soi. Deux d'entre elles se détachent des autres par leur importance numérique. Il s'agit de découvrir des objets, qui revient 44 fois, et d'apprendre, qui revient 19 fois.

Notre attention a été attirée par l'importance de la nouveauté dans ces comportements et par l'explication de leur caractère bénéfique. Découvrir des objets, apprendre, s'ouvrir l'esprit, réfléchir, c'est-à-dire inventer une signification pour une chose ou pour un phénomène, nous semble des façons d'entrer en contact avec la nouveauté, de la traiter et de se l'approprier. Puisque ces comportements représentent la presque totalité de cette catégorie de bénéfices, nous en déduisons que le visiteur accorde un grand intérêt et une grande valeur à la nouveauté, nouveauté des objets que l'on propose à son observation, mais également, nouveauté que produit son propre fonctionnement. Ce goût profond pour la nouveauté paraît être la cause de l'insistance du visiteur qui demande que les lieux correspondent à ses goûts, à ses habitudes, et que les exhibits respectent son rythme et ses préférences en termes du fonctionnement intellectuel. En deux mots, le visiteur désire un environnement familier, qui le sollicite peu et lui laisse toute son énergie, toute son attention pour s'occuper de la nouveauté de l'objet ou de ses propres idées.

Tableau 6
Bénéfices particulier: comportements favorisés ou induits par les objets observés

Thèmes et sous-thèmes abordés par les 45 visiteurs	Fréquence		
Se souvenir		9*	
Regarder des objets, les explorer	5		
même des objets familiers		1**	
Découvrir des objets	44		
nouveaux (jamais vus, mal vus auparavant ou connus		14	
seulement par la lecture ou par ouï-dire)		7	
rares, surprenants, spectaculaires, originaux		7	
importants (d'une grande valeur)		3	
visibles au musée seulement ou au musée mieux qu'ailleurs		7	
informatifs		3	
liés à un souvenir		6	
Apprendre, parfaire ses connaissances, les élaborer	19*		
en faisant appel au jugement		2	
en s'amusant		5	
sans sentir que le musée veut faire apparendre quelque chose			1***
sans se préoccuper de retenir			1
Confronter ses idées	3		
Vérifier ses idées	2		
Vouloir en savoir davantage	1		
S'ouvrir l'esprit (se préparer à d'autres expériences)	1		
Réfléchir	5+		
penser à des choses auxquelles on n'aurait pas pensé si on n'était pas venu au musée			2
revenir sur son expérience passée, sur soi-même			2
Comprendre, sentir l'esprit des choses	3		

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* Fréquence d'apparition d'un thème
** Fréquence d'apparition d'un sous-thème
*** Fréquence d'apparition d'un aspect d'un sous-thème
+ La fréquence d'un thème est supérieure à la somme des fréquences de ses sous-thèmes chaque fois qu'un visiteur se borne à aborder le thème sans entrer dans le détail des sous-thèmes.

Tableau 7
Bénéfices particuliers: comportements tantôt perçus comme des bénéfices tantôt comme des conditions à l'apparition de bénéfices

Thèmes abordés par les 45 visiteurs	Fréquence
Se concentrer sur un objet, être fasciné	4
S'émouvoir, "vibrer", "vivre de belles choses"	20
Se sentir curieux	1
Imaginer	3
Retenir	5

Quant au caractère bénéfique des comportements mentionnés plus haut, nous l'attribuons au plaisir qu'il engendre. Comme les visiteurs ne font à peu près jamais allusion au produit de ces comportements, nous croyons que le plaisir qui les fait considérer comme désirables est le plaisir fonctionnel. D'un autre côté, vu l'importance accordée à la nouveauté, il nous semble que son traitement ne peut être que source de plaisir. Aux plaisirs identifiés précédemment: plaisir de la reconnaissance, c'est-à-dire du jeu avec les signes, plaisir esthétique, plaisir d'agir, s'en ajoutent donc deux autres: le plaisir fonctionnel et celui de jouer avec la nouveauté.

À la faveur de cette réflexion sur la manipulation des signes et de la nouveauté, un aspect du fonctionnement du visiteur non perçu auparavant a été mis en relief. Il s'agit de son goût du jeu, de son goût pour une approche libre et ludique de ce qu'il fait, que ce soit observer, raisonner, réfléchir ou s'émouvoir. Nous avons retrouvé plusieurs indices de ce goût, dispersés à divers endroits: dans les conditions secondaires indirectes (désir d'une présentation des objets qui favorise le jeu - voir tableau 2), dans les conditions secondaires directes (désir d'une présentation amusante - voir tableau 3) et dans les bénéfices particuliers (désir de jouer - voir tableau 5, et d'apprendre en s'amusant - voir tableau 6). Si bien que ce goût nous apparaît comme l'un des paramètres importants de l'expérience psychologique du visiteur adulte.

Quant aux comportements perçus tantôt comme un bénéfice, tantôt comme une source de bénéfices, ils consistent à se concentrer sur un objet, à se laisser fasciner, à s'émouvoir, à "vibrer", ou à "vivre de belles choses" au contact des objets, à se sentir curieux, à se servir de son imagination et à retenir ce que l'on voit (voir tableau 7).

L'un de ces comportements émerge parmi les autres à cause du nombre de fois où il est mentionné, c'est s'émouvoir, qui revient à 20 reprises (en fait, chez 18 personnes différentes) dans les propos des 45 visiteurs.À notre avis, ces données précisent le type de relation que le visiteur désire avec l'objet: une attention fascinée, émue, productrice de fantaisies ou d'une activité intérieure agréable, qui permet de retenir ce que l'on a vu. Ces données soulignent également l'importance de cette attention, garante d'une visite profitable.

Nous ne pouvons nous empêcher de voir ces données comme complémentaires de celles que nous avons présentées plus haut lorsque nous avons décrit les conditions qui favorisent l'apparition de bénéfices. Il nous semble que le visiteur explicite ici ce qu'il entend par l'état de réceptivité qui est, on l'a vu plus haut, sa façon à lui de contribuer à la réussite de sa visite.

Par ailleurs, comme l'attention est souvent considérée comme un bénéfice, nous sommes tentées de croire qu'elle s'accompagne d'un plaisir fonctionnel. Mais, étant donné les propos des visiteurs, il se pourrait bien que l'attention s'accompagne d'autres plaisirs, en particulier des plaisirs liés aux phénomènes imaginaires et émotifs qu'elle suscite.

Nous avons vu plus haut que le fonctionnement intellectuel du visiteur est source de plaisir fonctionnel. Nous basant sur nos données sur l'attention, qui n'est qu'une autre façon de nommer l'observation, nous prévoyons que le fonctionnement du visiteur devrait être le bénéfice majeur d'une visite au musée, du moins, d'une visite à un musée de sciences naturelles. Cette prévision s'appuie sur le plaisir que procure ce fonctionnement.

Paramètres du phénomène étudié

Le matériel recueilli a permis d'identifier non seulement un ensemble de bénéfices d'une visite au musée, mais aussi certaines conditions qui en favorisent l'apparition. Conditions et bénéfices constituent des ensembles organisés. Les conditions sont de deux types: essentiel et secondaire et les conditions secondaires possèdent deux modes d'action, l'un direct, l'autre indirect. Les bénéfices, eux, peuvent être généraux ou particuliers.

Conditions

Le visiteur de cette recherche veut être physiquement et psychologiquement confortable au musée. En d'autres termes, il aime que les objets qu'il voit correspondent à ses intérêts, il désire que le musée s'adapte à ses goûts et à ses habitudes, mais surtout à son rythme et à ses préférences en termes de fonctionnement intellectuel, préférences qui sont respectées si on lui offre un nombre optimal d'objets, faciles à percevoir, présentés de façon à mettre leurs caractéristiques en relief et accompagnés de l'information nécessaire à l'élaboration d'un contexte.

Le visiteur a des attentes face au musée. Cependant, il reconnaît avoir, lui aussi, un rôle à jouer dans l'apparition de bénéfices. Il considère que ses dispositions sont importantes au moment de la visite. Il s'agit de dispositions qui favorisent un haut niveau de réceptivité sensorielle et une bonne perception; elles apparaissent habituellement dans un contexte de loisir. Le visiteur désire en effet être réceptif, pouvoir consacrer à ce qu'il voit une attention fascinée, émue, qui provoque en lui des fantaisies; il désire être touché et pouvoir s'adonner à l'expérience que les objets provoquent en lui. Il désire également être actif, s'appliquer, mais de façon ludique, à l'activité déclenchée par ce que les objets lui suggèrent, en particulier: comprendre et retenir. Ce type de fonctionnement ne peut être qu'important pour le visiteur, car c'est ainsi qu'il profite au maximum de sa visite.

Bénéfices

La visite peut être une expérience valable en soi lorsqu'elle procure un bon moment, lorsqu'elle offre détente ou dépaysement, ou encore lorsqu'elle nourrit l'individu.

La visite peut également être source de bénéfices lorsqu'elle suscite des états, des émotions, des impressions ou des comportements qui engendrent du plaisir. Les principales formes de plaisir identifiées sont les suivantes:

- Le plaisir esthétique, issu de l'observation d'objets beaux et importants;
- le plaisir de se retrouver soi-même et de s'identifier à ce qui est beau, précieux, rare;
- le plaisir de se servir de ses capacités intellectuelles pour imaginer, se souvenir, acquérir des connaissances, les approfondir, réfléchir, modifier ses idées;

- le plaisir de vaincre facilement une grande difficulté;
- le plaisir d'entrer en contact avec ce qui est nouveau et de se l'approprier.

Si on examine ces plaisirs de plus près, on se rend compte qu'ils forment des paires opposées. Plaisir de la contemplation et plaisir de l'action. Plaisir de la manipulation du monde extérieur et plaisir du retour sur soi-même. Plaisir de ce qui se livre dès que l'attention est entière et plaisir de vaincre la difficulté. Plaisir des sensations, des émotions et plaisir de l'activité intellectuelle. Plaisir de l'imaginaire et plaisir du rationnel. Plaisir de la nouveauté et agrément des habitudes.

Ces plaisirs ne peuvent apparaître que si la nouveauté est convenablement abordée par le visiteur, ce qui n'est possible que lorsque ce dernier peut trouver au musée un bon niveau de confort physique et la sécurité de ses habitudes de fonctionnement intellectuel et émotif.

À l'issue de cette étude, il nous semble que les paramètres responsables de l'apparition de bénéfices sont l'attention du visiteur, une attention fascinée et émue, son intérêt pour la nouveauté, l'orientation ludique de son fonctionnement et le caractère hédoniste de son expérience. Chacun de ces paramètres est très complexe et son articulation avec les autres se réalise selon des relations multiples dont le présent travail suggère à peine les mécanismes.

Questions et implications

Les résultats qui viennent d'être présentés suscitent de multiples questions. Nous n'aborderons que les trois qui semblent les plus intéressantes, vu l'état de la recherche sur l'éducation des adultes au musée.

Expérience du visiteur et variables socioéconomiques

Plus haut, on aura certainement lu avec surprise qu'aucune des variables socio-économiques considérées dans cette recherche: âge, sexe, niveau d'instruction et habitudes de fréquentation des visiteurs ne s'accompagne de variations des bénéfices ou des conditions d'apparition de ceux-ci. Se pourrait-il que ces variations existent et soient même importantes, sans qu'on ait réussi à les déceler à cause du nombre trop restreint de sujets ou du nombre trop élevé de catégories d'analyse?

Se pourrait-il, au contraire, que ces variations soient si faibles qu'elles passent inaperçues? Nous ne connaissons pas de travaux qui auraient, à ce jour, montré qu'au musée, les femmes vivent une expérience différente de celle des hommes. D'ailleurs, Merrimam (1989) avait avant nous fait la même constatation. Pour ce qui est de l'âge, une étude précédente (Dufresne-Tassé, 1989) ne révélait aucune différence importante entre des visiteurs de 25 à 39 ans et d'autres de 40 à 65 ans. Quant aux habitudes de fréquentation, si on en croit Bourdieu et Darbel (1969), elles seraient étroitement reliées au niveau d'instruction qui, lui, entretiendrait des liens très forts avec les attitudes des adultes vis-à-vis de l'institution muséale. Cette corrélation vaut-elle également pour l'expérience du visiteur qui, une fois dans le musée, se retrouve devant un objet? À notre connaissance, la communauté scientifique ne dispose sur ce point que d'une série d'inférences tirées d'enquêtes réalisées sur un public adulte. Comme l'a montré Giddens (1989), ce type d'inférences contrevient à la rigueur la plus élémentaire, de sorte qu'à nos yeux, la question des variations du fonctionnement du visiteur en fonction des facteurs socio-économiques demeure encore sans réponse.

Expérience du visiteur, type de musée et type de présentation

Notre recherche a été réalisée dans un musée de sciences naturelles et avec des objets présentés de façon traditionnelle. Ses résultats sont-ils généralisables à d'autres types de musées et à d'autres types de présentations? Pour le savoir, il faudrait répéter l'investigation dans des musées différents, par exemple, dans un musée de peinture, de sculpture et dans un musée d'histoire ou d'ethnologie.

Si l'interprétation des données décrites plus haut est juste, les quatre paramètres identifiés, soit l'attention du visiteur, son appétit pour la nouveauté, l'orientation ludique de son fonctionnement et le plaisir que celui-ci lui procure devraient varier selon le musée et la présentation de celui-ci. Des recherches menées par Chamberland (1988; 1989; 1990 a,b) sur la façon dont le visiteur traite la nouveauté en élaborant un contexte pour les objets qu'il observe, celles de Lapointe (1990), de Larocque (1988), de Morelli (1988; 1989; 1990) et de Dufresne-Tassé, Morelli, Lapointe et Chamberland (1991) sur son fonctionnement rationnel, imaginatif et affectif, celle de Sauvé (1990) sur la façon dont il intègre ses acquisitions et celles de Lefèbvre (1991) sur les divers plaisirs attachés à une visite nous portent à croire que les quatre paramètres varient d'une situation muséale à une autre.

Bénéfices, besoins, attentes et préoccupations

En commençant cette recherche, il nous semblait que le visiteur adulte n'avait pas de besoins au sens propre du terme, puisqu'il n'allait pas au musée pour combler des déficiences. Les résultats obtenus nous amènent à modifier cette position, car nous ne pouvons nous empêcher de considérer comme des besoins les demandes que le visiteur adresse au musée pour rendre sa visite profitable: accueil chaleureux, locaux spacieux, information concise, facile à saisir, etc. Il ne s'agit évidemment pas de besoins fondamentaux comme de manger, d'aimer, de produire ou de comprendre, mais d'autres types de besoins que Saint-Arnaud (1974) appelle des besoins structurants et des besoins situationnels parce qu'ils sont, dans le premier cas, des moyens privilégiés de satisfaire aux besoins fondamentaux développés par l'individu au cours de son existence, et dans le second, la façon dont l'individu exprime son besoin, vu la situation dans laquelle il se trouve. Par exemple, lire (besoin structurant) un article plutôt qu'un livre (besoin situationnel) pour connaître et comprendre (besoin fondamental) les tendances les plus récentes dans un domaine.

Par ailleurs, dans nos données, nous avons pu identifier des attentes et des préoccupations. Par attentes, nous entendons les représentations que le visiteur entretient sur ce qu'il va voir, et par préoccupations, ce qu'il veut savoir sur un ou plusieurs objets. Nous faisons l'hypothèse que besoins, attentes et préoccupations, d'une part, entretiennent entre eux des relations complexes et, d'autre part, influencent le fonctionnement du visiteur, de sorte que les bénéfices en sont tributaires, mais de façon indirecte seulement.

Cette relation potentielle, qui permet de mieux saisir le processus d'élaboration des bénéfices, ne doit pas faire oublier l'importance du fonctionnement du visiteur. Celui-ci demeure primordial. Il est la source la plus importante de bénéfices et constitue en soi une série de bénéfices. Vu l'importance et le rôle que le visiteur s'attribue dans la réalisation d'une visite profitable, nous croyons que le musée aurait intérêt à traiter le visiteur en partenaire et à faire de ce "partenariat" la base de sa conception de l'éducation des adultes, ou si l'on préfère, de son andragogie.

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EDUCATIVE OR MISEDUCATIVE WORK: A CRITIQUE OF THE CURRENT DEBATE ON WORK AND EDUCATION*

Mechthild Hart
DePaul University

Abstract

The current debate on work and workplace education is characterized by two distinct but related approaches. The first emphasizes the training of skills for present and future job requirements, and is oriented towards maintaining or restoring the economic status quo. The second approach looks at the workplace itself as a learning environment where personal and job-related developments are integrated. It raises critical questions about what kind of work environments can be considered conducive to these developments and can therefore be called "educative" as well. In this article the argument is made that both approaches share the same overall framework of assumptions about work, the economy, progress and development. These assumptions directly undermine the critical intent of the second approach by blocking the view towards a fuller understanding of the cultural dynamics behind destructive and divisive economic and social arrangements. While the emphasis is on a critique of the shortcomings of these approaches, the beginnings of an alternative framework are suggested. Such a framework leads to different conceptions of work and progress, and opens the view towards equally different educational responses and programs.

Résumé

Le débat en cours sur l'éducation du travail et le lieu de travail est caractérisé par deux approches distinctes mais relatifs. Le premier accentue la formation des habiletés aux exigences de l'emploi présent et futur, et est orienté vers le statu quo de la conservation ou la restoration économique. La seconde approche examine le lien de travail liu-même comme un environnement d'apprentissage où des développements personnels et relatifs à l'emploi sont intégrés. Il soulève des questions critiques au sujet de quel type d'environnements de travail peut être appelé "éducatif" aussi. Dans cet essai l'auteur soutient que les deux approches partagent le cadre total des présomptions au sujet du travail, de l'économie, du progrès et du développement. Ces présomptions attaquent directement l'intention critique de la deuxième approche en bloquant la vue vers une pleine compréhension des dynamiques culturelles derrière l'économie distinctive et divisive et les aménagements sociaux. Tandis que l'insistance est sur la critique des points faibles des ces approches, on suggère le commencement d'un cadre alternatif. Un tel cadre mène aux différentes conceptions de travail et de progrès, et ouvre la perspective vers des réponses et programmes tout aussi différents.

In the wake of the many changes and developments taking place in the world of work and production, the theme of work and workplace education has become more prominent within the field of adult education. This has raised issues and concerns that transcend the usual division between workers' education, vocational education, and

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professional education. These discussions seem to be dominated by two relatively distinct, though not altogether different, approaches.

The first approach, which I will call the skills approach, emphasizes the skill requirements of the future work force in light of the need of corporate America to stay competitive in the world market, and looks at work and workers from the perspective of "human capital." It represents "conventional ideas about the education and training *of* workers" (Welton, 1991, p. 11), but places these ideas within the context of rapid technological and economic change. The second approach emphasizes new challenges and opportunities for learning in the workplace itself, and moves "to an analysis of the workplace as a 'cultural environment which has been selected as a set of possibilities for learning transactions'" (Welton, 1991, p. 11). Within this approach further distinctions exist. Marsick (1987a, 1988) and Marsick and Watkins (1990), for instance, operate within a framework of conventional, status-quo-oriented assumptions about current social and economic arrangements, and owe their legitimatory framework entirely to human capital theory. Welton (1991), on the other hand, draws on critical analyses of the current reality of postindustrial capitalism, and is explicit about the political nature of his suggestions.

Undoubtedly, the differences among these two groups of writers are considerable. In particular, Welton adds a number of new themes and perspectives to the debate, and his suggestion that work is an important "context for adult development and learning" (1991, p. 11) breaks with a tradition that sees the political arena or the sphere of leisure activities as "the primary site(s) for the development of human efficacy" (ibid., p. 9). His concepts of "the educative workplace" and "development work," part of a larger concern for processes of social democratization, are rich with suggestions and possibilities for critical adult education research and practice.

This essay claims that, despite considerable theoretical as well as political differences and discontinuities among writers contributing to the debate on work and education, there are also a number of continuities. I believe that this is due to the fact that all share the same overall framework of assumptions about what work is, what constitutes and drives "the economy," and how progress and development are defined. While these assumptions are explicitly expressed by the representatives of the skills approach, they are mostly silently assumed, and thus remain unexamined by writings focusing on workplace learning itself. As I will show in this essay, these unexamined assumptions creep into otherwise critical analyses. This is particularly troublesome in the case of Welton, who explicitly sets out to develop a critical notion of workplace learning, distancing himself intellectually and politically from Marsick's and Watkins' indebtedness to human capital theory. I share Welton's critical intent and believe that his concept of educative or developmental work opens up many important questions usually not associated with work-related education. At the same time, I also believe that concrete, positive suggestions for what constitutes good or educative work cannot solely be based on an analysis of existing workplaces, thus relying on conventional notions of work. Rather, I suggest we need to draw the concept of work into the orbit of critique as well, as the many problems associated with employment and workplace issues underlie our very conventional notions of work as well. For instance, troublesome issues relating to social hierarchies and divisions, forms of exploitation, alienation, etc. are reflected in complex and varied ways in general social ideas concerning what constitutes good work or bad work, glamorous or dirty work, and highly skilled or lowly-skilled work.

To perform a critique of the concept of work itself means to step outside the framework that defines the parameters of the current debate on work and education; to assume a broader, more comprehensive perspective; and to call into question the values, assumptions, and myths out of which this framework is constructed. Relocating one's point of departure has several advantages. First, it relieves the pressure of making a choice between a more "pessimistic" and a more "optimistic" interpretation of current changes and developments. For instance, in the current debate on the future of work, much energy is spent on deciding whether work is going to be more skilled in the future, or more de-skilled, with considerable evidence marshalled in favor of both positions. However, by examining the broader social context that gives rise to the division between skilled and unskilled work in the first place, one can identify its underlying logic and its relationship to a myriad of social divisions that not only determine the socially constructed meaning of skills, but also provide mechanisms for distributing opportunities for developing or practicing those skills.

This brings me to the second advantage of assuming a broader, more comprehensive view: it allows for an analysis where questions concerning social divisions along the lines of sex, race/ethnicity, or nationality can be fully integrated with class. In other words, questions raised by women, people of color, or Third World people are not merely added to an otherwise gender-neutral, color-blind, "general" analysis, but they provide its very foundation.

This essay highlights some of the basic features of the current debate on work and education from a perspective informed by feminist and Third world analyses of work, economic progress, and development. It begins by describing the overall framework of assumptions in which all current writings on work and education are embedded, and how the two approaches mentioned above link up with these assumptions. It proceeds to a critique of some of the issues raised in the current debates in light of a broader, more comprehensive framework characterized by different questions, and lead to a different view and analysis of the reality of work and production. The paper concludes with some suggestions for relocating the point of departure for our discussions on work and education.

The Current Framework

The current debates on work and education are based on a three-dimensional view of "the economy," or of what drives the economy: all economic decisions are determined by a worldwide structure of economic competition; the need to compete on the world market requires a constant increase of productivity (measured in abstract indices of input/output); and this competition also requires an ongoing drive to reduce labor costs.

The first group of writers, i.e. the proponents of the skills approach, establish a direct link between the need for increased productivity, the importance of ongoing technological innovations, and, as a result, changed and higher skills requirements for future workers. In light of these requirements, the future workforce is depicted as unprepared and generally functionally illiterate, seriously endangering economic competitiveness (*A Nation at Risk*, 1983; Bernstein, 1988; Dole, 1989; Johnston and Packer, 1987; Lee, 1988; Perelman, 1984).

These gloomy prognoses rest on two main assumptions. The first, mentioned above, is the belief that technological innovations affect the nature and organization of work in ways that require higher and more complex skills. The second is the assumption that the workforce of the future will primarily consist of a kind of "human resource" where "investment has been historically inadequate — women, minorities, and immigrants" (Dole, 1988, p. 12). This "startling demographic reality" (Carnevale et al., 1988, p. II) is blamed for a "widening skills gap," "emerging between the relatively low education and skills of workers entering the labor force, many of whom are disadvantaged, and the advancing skill requirements of the new economy" (Chynoweth 1989, p. 2).

The view outlined above leads to a relatively clearly defined role for adult education: to train "human capital" in the right kind of skills. Through close cooperation and "partnerships" the "needs of business and industry" could be identified and thus be better served by adult educators, trainers, or human resource developers.[1] Although the precise determination of required skills outside of the specifics of a particular workplace itself has traditionally been a rather elusive task, lists have appeared that try to specify "the skills employers want" (Carnevale et al., 1988). These lists are to provide clear guidelines and tools for the providers of training (ibid.), leaving little room for ambiguity about the function or purpose of such efforts: to help American business to keep or regain its competitive edge on the world market. The welfare or interest of the workers is seen as entirely merging with this purpose.

The analyses and suggestions of the second group of writers are similarly fed by arguments for new and more complex skills demands on workers. However, in addition to investigating technological changes, these writers also emphasize changes on the level of organization (Marsick), or draw on analyses of larger economic changes, such as the change from manufacturing to service (Welton). Organizational changes have occurred in the wake of massive corporate restructuring, such as mergers and "downsizing" processes (measures associated with the reduction of labor costs), all of which result in a slimming down of the ranks of middle managers, traditionally the rank charged with direct supervision. These changes are seen as opening up possibilities for greater worker autonomy, or more equal cooperation among workers.

Instead of determining and packaging work-related skills from the outside, this approach places the issue of skills and skill development in the broader context of the workplace or organization as a "learning environment" (Welton, 1991), or a "learning system" (Marsick, 1988). This broader context not only determines what kinds of skills and competencies are required for effective performance of the individual worker and the organization as a whole, but it also provides the enabling (or disabling) conditions for learning. Learning here means more than the acquisition of skills, but refers to a variety of processes, including

> a broadening of the instrumental focus of learning, integration of personal and job-related development, an organizational model that functions as a learning system, a focus on group as well as individual learning, a concern for critical reflectivity and for problem setting as well as problem solving, emphasis on informal learning, and development of the organization as a learning environment. (Marsick, 1988, p. 194)

In such a way, "the organization ... becomes a learning environment for the growth of individuals and groups vis-à-vis work, not primarily a factor to be manipulated to produce desired behavior" (ibid., p. 195). Marsick (1987a, 1988) and Marsick and Watkins (1990) broaden their understanding of the learning environment by emphasizing the importance of informal learning that is both ongoing as well as cumulative.

In his monograph *Toward Development Work: The Workplace as a Learning Environment* (1991), Welton takes up similar issues, but approaches them from a different angle. Above all, Welton is more explicit, and more differentiated in his effort to examine some of the larger social and economic changes that have opened up the possibility for looking at the workplace as a learning environment, and he addresses some of the problems associated with these changes. Marsick (1987a, 1988) and Marsick and Watkins (1990), on the other hand, place their analyses of workplace learning in a social context that is sketched out in somewhat formulaic terms. In fact, these authors draw their rationale for new workplace learning directly from the assessment provided by human capital theorists such as Perelman (1984). Consequently, their description of the social background for current work-related changes is very similar to that described earlier. Marsick writes, for instance (1988, p. 189), that "pressures to change come from both the external world of business, particularly the technological revolution and the increase in international competition, and the nature of the workforce itself." Changes in the nature of the workforce are attributed to "women entering the labor market in large numbers, a larger pool of both more highly-educated white middle class workers and less well-educated minorities and immigrants, and the mid-career glut" (ibid., pp. 189-190). However, Marsick does not systematically integrate these assertions into her analysis, and only very indirectly relates her description of the importance of dialogic, self-reflective, and instrumental learning to these broader social issues. She therefore also does not consider how the very social categorizations that underlie the divisions between women, minorities, and immigrants likewise underlie the social construction of skills or skill deficits, and determine employment as well as learning opportunities for these social groups.

Welton (1991, pp. 13-21), however, precisely makes such an attempt. First of all, he problematizes the very concept of skills, discussing some of the "political struggles" that determine definitions of skills or skill deficits, particularly with respect to women. Secondly, he points to some of the complexities and ambiguities that plague prognoses about future work-related skills, prognoses that often appear to totally contradict one another. Thirdly, he bases his own argument for designing "developmental" or "educative workplaces" on a critical evaluation of three different analyses of the current reality of "work in postindustrial society," providing different types of "curricular structures" (ibid., p. 21). He discusses Watkins' (1986) claim that Taylorist principles continue to reign supreme in the organization of work, and are often enhanced, rather than contradicted, by new technology. He essentially rejects Watkins' assertions, stating that "the picture Watkins paints of the world of work is, ... a partial one, and he does not see developmental possibilities inherent in the new technologies" (p. 23). In contrast, Welton looks favorably on Offe's (1985) description of the reality of work under current late capitalist conditions as providing a more "complete and complex picture" (ibid.).

Offe states, first, that work may no longer be *the* central organizing principle of society, and that the motor of social development has shifted to other spheres of life, such as "family, community, leisure activities or education" (Welton, 1991, p. 24). Secondly, he maintains that the shift from manufacturing to service has broken the monopoly of industrial rationality in the experience of work, instead creating more "reflexive" kinds of work "with a different form of rationality than that in industry" (ibid., p. 27). Taken together, Offe's two main points open up the view towards forms of resistance against industrial rationality, and towards ways of "humanizing" work.

This latter point is, according to Welton, affirmed by Hirschhorn's (1984) analysis of the "cybernetic workplace." Hirschhorn's main point is that modern, cybernetic technology requires the workers to integrate work and learning. He bases this claim primarily on the fact that "cybernetic systems introduce new and unexpected ways of failing" (ibid., p. 72). This situation requires from the worker complex diagnostic skills that combine three modes of knowing: dense perception of physical processes, an heuristic knowledge of production relationships, and a theoretical understanding of the production process (ibid., p. 93). Together, these skills represent an "orchestration of attention" (p. 91), drawing on the worker's "knowledge, attention, and watchfulness" as a way of "controlling the controls" (ibid., pp. 72-73).

Equipped with arguments provided by these analyses, Welton proceeds to synthesize "studies of work and personality formation, the application of learning theories to the workplace, and job redesign studies" as a way to answer his main question: "Can the workplace become a site for the development of worker cognitive, communicative, affective and somatic capacities?" (1991, p. 28). He essentially answers this question in the affirmative, but stresses the importance of further dialogue.

Whereas Marsick (and Marsick and Watkins) only indirectly express a concern with "humanizing" the workplace or "empowering" the workers, this concern is explicitly expressed by Welton. Because Welton sees worker empowerment as dependent on participatory structures, his outline of an educative work environment places greater emphasis on interaction and communication, and on organizational changes that would make such an environment possible. He draws on Pateman's (1970) theory of participatory democracy, which considers workplace interaction as "the training ground for participation in the wider political sphere" (Welton, 1991, p. 30), and on Kornbluh and Greene's (1989) "radical humanistic standpoint" (Welton, 1991, p. 36), which stresses interdependence and mutuality among the workers.

Where Welton has an openly democratic agenda, Marsick and Watkins legitimize their views primarily by emphasizing the greater effectiveness of an educative work

1265

environment, ultimately benefitting the maximization of profits (although Marsick chides those who focus extensively on the bottom line). Despite these differences, however, both Marsick's and Watkins' as well as Welton's descriptions locate the impetus for greater reflectivity, creativity, group learning, participation in decision-making, etc. as coming from larger social and technological changes that lie outside the immediate work environment. Welton therefore states that "with the evolution of cybernetic sociotechnical systems, workers are *forced* (so to speak) by these new settings to develop diagnostic skills — the ability to frame problems, infer causes from symptoms and check resulting hypotheses against one's analytic knowledge" (1991, pp. 25-26, emphasis added).

Where Do We Locate Progress?

It is certainly true that structural changes necessitate individual or subjective responses or adaptation, and Welton is clearly aware of this dialectical relationship. However, I believe that it is not the relationship between technological innovation and individual adaptation where the most important questions concerning progress are located. Instead, I propose to scrutinize the larger social context of values, priorities, and interests that continue to drive technological developments and that have traditionally distinguished technology as *the* undisputed realm of progress and development. In light of the rapid destruction of our planet, greatly aided by science and technology, I find it increasingly implausible to see radical democratic change coming out of an arena that from its inception has been wedded to power and domination (Lloyd, 1984), and thus to a wide-scale destruction of people and nature. Instead, many have begun to look at those areas, human experiences, and ways of living and working that have been systematically destroyed by scientific and technological progress and development as precisely those that contain the new and challenging categories we so badly need today. In other words, without needing to go "back" to perhaps "premodern" times, we can, and indeed must, explore and learn from the lessons of survival contained in these experiences. They provide "categories of challenge" (Harding, 1986), reveal different entry points for practice, enable us to locate new arenas for political struggle, and lead to a changed definition of what is considered "progressive" or "revolutionary."

For instance, while much has been said and written about the revolutionary potential of new technology for restructuring and humanizing the workplace, little has been said about the equally if not more revolutionary potential represented by the current trend of more and more women, most of whom are mothers, entering the workforce. This situation points in the most promising ways to the need to rethink the relationship between market and non-market work (i.e., in this case the raising of children), an issue that is also at the forefront of Third World debates on alternative economies and forms of development. Questions concerning what is truly important and productive work, measured against the life interests of society's members versus the profit interests of capital, point to the rather limited contributions of market work. In fact, most of the work directly contributing to the sustenance of life is performed outside of the market, and therefore without wages (Waring, 1988). By examining the progressive potential of this work, we discover other hitherto neglected dimensions: work's purpose of producing truly useful goods and services, and work's relationship to nature on whose resources we must draw on in our collective effort to survive.

Work's relationship to individual development and to the creation of specific forms of interaction or cooperation have been examined quite extensively in discussions on work and education, whereas questions concerning the usefulness of goods produced and the treatment of nature and natural resources have not been raised. However, these questions are integral to a critical examination of work, and of work's implications for education. It is these questions that most seriously challenge conventional notions about work, progress, and development, as they directly touch the core premises of our global economic structure: that production is, above all, production for profit; that nature is dead, malleable matter entirely at our disposal (Merchant, 1980); and that the immense social and environmental costs of our way of production can therefore be externalized, and do not figure into our calculations of growth and development.

In the beginning of this essay I claimed that women, people of color, and Third World people have most fundamentally challenged these myths, as they have been the ones disproportionately burdened with the costs of progress and development; and racism, sexism, and nationalism continue to justify or render invisible the super-exploitation and misery of these particular populations. At the same time, it is no coincidence that it is especially women, but also peasants, tribal people, and other subsistence producers, whose work and workplaces resemble least the kind of work or workplaces that are the focus of the current debates on work and education. Nor is it a coincidence that their work is oriented towards immediate sustenance of human life rather than towards the bottom line. As discussed in detail elsewhere (Hart, 1992), in the history of capitalism it has been precisely this kind of work that has been the hidden foundation of "truly" capitalist, i.e. industrial, wage work. Because the producers have been branded "backward," "uncivilized" (because closer to nature), or, in today's terminology, "premodern" or "undeveloped," their work and the super-exploitation of their work have equally been "naturalized"; i.e., they have become "naturally cheap labor."

Today, it is these "naturalized" groups and populations who are asking the most radical questions: Growth of what? Growth for whom? What is enough? What is the appropriate goal? What are the costs? Who is bearing the costs? And, because much of their work is subsistence work — i.e. oriented towards immediate use rather than exchange on the market — their experiences also challenge our conventional notions of "real" work as equivalent to waged work or, even more narrowly, to industrial work or work in large, bureaucratic organizations.

The following section examines three key issues most fundamentally questioned by the alternative debate outlined above: the role of technology and its connection with our views of progress and development, social divisions, and definitions of work. Because an alternative framework not only produces but is itself fed by a different view of reality, I will move back and forth between a critique of educational discourse and its terms and assumptions, and a presentation of information that challenges some of the myths entangling this discourse.

Technology, Progress, and Development

An evaluation of the role of technology in the restructuring of work needs to be based on an analysis of how technology functions — or is seen to function — in the larger

1267

social and economic context, and has to be seen in relation to a core of ideas that govern our views of the economy: that the economy is inexorably tied to global competition, that this race can only be won by continuously increasing productivity, and that such increased growth and productivity depend directly on ongoing technological innovations.

These two interrelated sets of assumptions are so powerfully entrenched in our collective consciousness that their validity appears to be beyond critical scrutiny. This is especially true for the first idea: i.e., the inexorable demand for participating in a race for economic supremacy that can only be won with the help of continuous scientific and technological innovations, which in turn guarantees ongoing growth and development. As Ulrich ("Mythos Weltmarkt") points out, the tremendous costs of this race are never calculated. These costs include, among many other things, increased national debts and huge government subsidies, but also the considerable damage to water, soil, and air caused by massive motorized transportation, which is a precondition of world market strategies. Furthermore, global economic competition means a war not just against nature, but also against cultural and economic autonomy. Wherever Western ideas of development have been put into practice, previously existing, relatively autonomous subsistence economies have been destroyed. A Western cultural definition of poverty branded these economies and their modes of production as backward, even though they were oriented towards the producers' own needs, were adapted to and preserved local and regional conditions, were controlled by the producers themselves, and cultivated a large genetic variety of plants and seeds. By transforming these economies into monocultural cash crops, they become dependent on the vicissitudes of a national or international market and on large chemical and technological inputs. Thus, the modern version of poverty, the "misery of deprivation" (Shiva, 1989, p. 10), so widespread in the Third world, was created (Bennholdt-Thomsen, 1982; Mies, 1986; Pereira and Seabrook, 1990; Shiva, 1989; *The World's Women*, 1991). We have to include this misery in the costs of progress and development.

Furthermore, ongoing growth and productivity depend on the systematic creation of needs as well as dissatisfaction with the alleged satisfiers of those needs so that new satisfiers can be produced and sold. The cultural, psychological, and environmental costs are tremendous. Many products are useless, harmful, or unnecessary, yet are highly demanding in terms of resource use, and contribute more to our garbage problem than to human well-being. The manipulation and exploitation of human needs becomes an economic necessity, and consumption becomes an end in itself, eroding the possibility for true happiness and a spiritually rich culture (Bahro, 1989; Bookchin 1982; Fromm, 1966; Hayes, 1986; Seabrook, 1986). Again, these are costs that are never calculated.

The second belief, that scientific and technological innovations are the motor behind progress and development leading to greater wealth and a better life, relies on a line of reasoning that links new technology to new products, to new jobs, to new income, to new wealth. As Ulrich ("Elektronische Informatisierung") points out, this logic has become rather brittle. Today, markets are fairly satiated and hardly any new useful products are being produced. Instead, old ones are continually replaced with "newer and better" versions. This "aimless, measureless race for the latest technology" (Ulrich, "Elektronische Informatisierung", p. 2) has verv little, if any, relationship to the needs for health, food, clothing, or shelter. In addition, the speed with which products become obsolete is intensifying, in turn adding to our continuously growing garbage heaps. Secondly, large-scale "economic-technological rearmament" (Ulrich) depends on the ruthless plunder of natural resources, leading to environmental disasters and forms of destruction that are becoming less and less reversible. Thirdly, new technology is becoming ever more risky, in terms of our ignorance about inherent dangers. Often new discoveries create as many problems as they solve — problems that are merely downplayed by calling them "side effects." Moreover, because technological and scientific innovations are seen as developing according to their own inner logic, and are set lose from any cultural norms or constraints, we have no moral framework for deciding whether we want to go on with certain innovations or not (Ulrich, "Elektronische Informatisierung"). Hirschhorn's (1984) suggestion that the increased (and increasing) riskiness of new technology provides an impetus as well as opportunity for integrating work and learning neglects a discussion of the kinds of risks that are involved, and the consequences and costs of failure. He likewise does not address the issue of who will most likely pay these costs. Besides, it seems to me the workers who have to monitor these technologies are disproportionately burdened with the responsibility of preventing failure.

Social Divisions

One of the functions of new technology is never explicitly mentioned in discussions on work and education: to assist in the search for "cheap labor." The new technologies of communication and transportation allow for high capital mobility, for relocating in so-called cheap labor countries, and for dispersing location as well as stages of production across the globe (Bluestone and Harrison, 1988; Haas, 1985; Safa, 1986). By undermining the bargaining power of workers, this global dispersement contributes to a reduction of labor costs, or to the "cheapening" of labor in industrialized countries themselves.

The search for cheap labor directly feeds on and creates a number of social divisions and polarities. In fact, existing divisions among the races or sexes are directly reinforced rather than alleviated by current economic developments, with employers relying on "broad cultural understandings about the type of work that it is appropriate for particular population groups to perform, whether they be women, racial minorities, or younger people" (Block, 1990, p. 116). There is little reason to believe that this will change, and evidence abounds that sexism and racism remain a primary organizing factor in distributing and structuring work (Bergmann, 1986; Gelpi et al., 1986; Hossfeld, 1990; Wilkerson and Gresham, 1989; Wilson, 1987).

The facile lumping together of such diverse groups as "women, minorities, and immigrants" into one big category of generally deficient human capital, deviating from the norm because it is "non-white," "non-male," and "non-young" (Ehrlich, 1988, p. 112), delivers much-needed ammunition for the war on wages. Depicting these groups as categorically unskilled or less worthy than others (i.e., white, male, adult) helps justify paying them lower wages. The fact that they are *socially* devalued provides a lever for greater economic exploitation.

New combinations of imperialist, sexist, and racist *exploitation of* "cheap labor" have emerged as well. A particularly striking example is the favored employment of Third World women in global factories and Free Enterprise Zones, often in areas where male unemployment is high, mainly because women are still cheaper than men (Fernandez-Kelly, 1983; Safa, 1986; Ward, 1990; *The World's Women*, 1991). As this often makes women the only income earners, the overall poverty level in these areas increases as well.

Far from being eliminated or even ameliorated by work-related changes and developments, social and international divisions are deepened, or new ones are created. These divisions, and the interlocking systems of oppression they signify, profoundly affect the educative or miseducative potential of work.

While it is undoubtedly true that workers in the kind of workplaces described by Hirschhorn (1984) or Zuboff (1988) are required to develop complex reasoning and diagnostic skills, Zuboff herself, as well as others, have pointed out that "there is clear evidence that as bureaucracies are restructured around computerized systems a bifurcation into expert and non-expert sectors tends to result" (Burris, 1989, p. 168). And, as the same author writes, "at the non-expert level, the tendency has been for tasks to become more routinized, fragmented, and automated by the system. ... Women and racial minorities predominate in the non-expert sector and are underrepresented in the expert sector, making such organizational changes gender laden" (ibid.; unfortunately, Burris here drops the category of race; see also Cockburn, 1983; Game and Pringle, 1983; Wajcman, 1991).[3] Thus, the revolution of the smart machine is propped up by "a very unrevolutionary industrial division of labor" (Hossfeld, 1990, p. 152).

An analysis of these divisions needs to be systematically integrated into a discussion of new learning opportunities at work in order to grasp the fact that these opportunities are fully tied to an all-pervasive structure of privilege, interlacing in systematic ways with the categories of sex, race, ethnicity, nationality, or class.

Definitions of Work

A conceptual framework that looks at issues in relation to rather than in isolation to each other will lead to an expansion of the meaning of work as well. The two approaches discussed above operate on the basis of a rather narrow conception of work, i.e., primarily wage work in large bureaucratic organizations. In this conception we still hear an echo of an ideal of wage work and of the wage worker whose empirical foundation is rapidly disappearing. It is the (masculinist) ideal of the "bread-winner" earning a decent "family wage" in a fairly stable job, with long-term prospectives for security and promotion. Never a majority in the Third World, this type of wage earner is rapidly disappearing in the First World as well (a phenomenon sometimes referred to as the growth of the informal sector; see, for instance, Ferman et al., 1987). We are today witnessing the mushrooming of work that "deviates" from typical wage work, as indicated by the precarious work relations of temporary, seasonal, and less-than-full-time forms of employment, all of which are characterized by high job insecurity, low pay, lack of benefits and promotional opportunities, and, frequently, hazardous working conditions (Christensen, 1988; *Working at the Margins*, 1986). As reported in *The New York Times* (Lohr, 1991), this trend is continuing, if not intensifying, as more and more companies "farm out more work to subcontractors or contract workers, who can be quickly hired or dismissed as demand rises or falls" (p. C9).

In light of this reality, Offe's idea (1985) that new forms of work, particularly service work, will lead to a new value orientation needs to be called into question. Offe (ibid., p. 139) claims that the new types of work associated with service produce a "new class" of workers that "challenges and questions the work society and its criteria of rationality (achievement, productivity, growth) in favour of substantive, qualitative and 'humane' standards of value." To recall, part of this argument depends on the observation that work has generally ceased to be central for society as a whole as well as for its individual members.

There are two problems with this suggestion. First, by operating entirely within a classical notion of wage work, Offe mistakes the diminishing of this type of work, and the wages along with it, with the diminishing of the importance of work per se. Such a conceptual short-cut is possible only because Offe's vision neglects the fact that other types of work have always existed next to and alongside the more typical or "normal" wage work, and that these forms, or new versions of these atypical forms of work, are on the rise. In other words, there is plenty of work, and most people, especially women, work more than ever before (Hochschild, 1989; Schor, 1992), but this work has either never assumed the form of classical wage work, or is now performed under the conditions of "informal" work. For instance, Offe counts "domains such as the family, sex roles" among those that "lie at the margin, or completely outside the realm of work" (ibid., p. 133). It is difficult to swallow a statement such as this in light of over twenty years of feminist analyses of women's work, especially the unpaid work within the household. As discussed elsewhere (Hart, 1992), it is precisely this kind of work, be it in the form of housework or other kinds of subsistence work, that has always provided the foundation for the more typical wage work and that has been subjected to particularly harsh forms of exploitation (see also von Werlhof, 1991).

To discuss service work without an analysis of the sexual division of labor as a prime organizing principle of this type of work grossly distorts an assessment of its humanizing potential. It leaves, once more, unmentioned that much of this certainly important work has been and is still socially devalued precisely because it is associated with women.[3] Ironically, the presumably new and more humane kinds of abilities required of the new service worker have traditionally been associated with "feminine" qualities, shaped and practiced by women in their unique experience of work, especially by the work of mothering and care-taking: "interactive competence, consciousness of responsibility, empathy and acquired practical experience" (Offe, 1985, p. 138). Are so-far-devalued abilities now seen as harboring humanizing potential because they have become attached to paid work and men are now performing this work as well? Predictably, "old" service work, likewise requiring the competencies listed by Offe, can remain obscured and unacknowledged by society at large. For instance, childcare workers, certainly immersed in work that requires sensitivity and strong interactive skills, are among the lowest paid workers in the U.S. (Modigliani, 1986). It is not a coincidence that 98-99% of childcare workers are women.

This example illustrates two important issues. First, it reinforces the fact that social divisions persist through the many changes that have occurred in the world of work, and continue to be prime organizing factors for the way this world is structured. Secondly, while it cannot be disputed that this type of work requires a rationality that differs from that of industrial production, it is nevertheless integrated into the overall rationality of the economy as a whole. In other words, service work is and remains exploited, and the conditions of exploitation not only directly contradict the nature of this work, but also inevitably erode its very substance. Thus, instead of "discovering" new value orientations in work where exploitation and devaluation have already most intimately settled, eroding the very possibility for sustaining such an orientation, we need to trace the history of this exploitation and devaluation. Such an historical examination will have to come to grips with the fact that it is precisely this kind of work that has been exploited the most, and in the process destroyed or seriously eroded; and the examination must investigate whether and how the dynamics behind this exploitation are still in operation.

While disagreeing with Offe's romanticization of service work, I agree with his basic idea that work that is structured by a communicative rather than technocratic rationality can indeed provide a model for alternative ways of working and living. As discussed elsewhere (Hart, 1992), such work can provide a model for education that is likewise characterized by a "subsistence orientation." Such an orientation would structure learning processes that draw out each individual learner's potential within an interactive and cooperative environment. While these themes are echoed in the writings discussed in this paper, they are kept in the confines of a conceptual framework that is not only characterized by omissions and distortions, but also, in the last analysis, contradicts the radical imperatives of these themes by remaining ensconced in the overall — decidedly strategic — context of profit maximization. This context precisely does not allow for a full unfolding of communicative structures, as they would explode its very foundation. Marsick (1987a, pp. 24-27), therefore (in my mind honestly and correctly), spells out some limits to workers' autonomy in the new paradigm of workplace learning, as they may conflict with the goals of "the organization." However, while marking the boundaries within which critical reflectivity is permitted to occur, Marsick does not see how the very existence of such boundaries erodes the substance of critique itself (for a more detailed discussion of this point, see Hart, 1992).

Likewise, her descriptions of "feelings" and the expression of emotions as an integral part of learning speak of a strategic, ultimately authoritarian context, turning any "dealing with feelings" into something that more closely resembles manipulation rather than free self-expression. At the same time, however, I believe that her descriptions adequately reflect what is possible in an organizational context that is itself "miseducative" when measured against the imperatives of critical reflectivity, reciprocity, cooperation, and the full development of individual potential. The overall miseducative context of work will continue to settle into the interior of relatively isolated, more "democratic" workplace organizations, which are often held together by however subtle (and sometimes not so subtle) forms of coercion. I believe it is no coincidence that the advanced work settings Hirschhorn describes are all non-unionized, and, at close scrutiny, have established an elaborate system of supervision that has transformed management control into a combination of internalized individual as well as mutual control and supervision. Combined with the "great pressure" on the work group due to the high probability of failure (Hirschhorn, 1984, p. 100), this situation closely resembles the one Parker and Slaughter (1988) describe in their critique of the team approach as "management-by-stress."

In contrast with Welton, I therefore find Hirschhorn's description of the cybernetic workplace profoundly "miseducative." His is a rather masculinist vision where anxiety and uncertainty vis-à-vis the potential dangers of technology are depicted as creating a kind of "tension" in the workers, allegedly a prime motivator for learning (1984, p. 128). The thrill of danger and of losing one's life in the battle with natural (or, in this case, technological) forces, strongly reverberates in this idea. While people may indeed be led (or forced) to learn under such conditions, it is a severely limited kind of learning, and certainly does not provide an alternative model for truly educative processes.

There is another contradiction that needs to be reconciled by a critical analysis of work and education, and of the miseducative context in which work and production occur. Particularly in discussions that emphasize the new learning potential of work structured by new technologies, certain abilities are celebrated as "higher" or more complex than those they replace. Ironically, it is often precisely those that Offe describes as harboring the potential for humanizing work and society that are destroyed by computerized or symbolically mediated work: experience-based knowledge, empathy, and other interactive capacities (Zuboff, 1988). It seems the "old" devaluation of these abilities is carried a step further by glorifying their elimination into higher forms of work or mental functioning. While Zuboff acknowledges the psychological pain experienced by workers who literally lose physical and emotional "touch" with their work, she sees this as a necessary transition to higher, more "intellective," ultimately superior kinds of work. Hirschhorn (1984), on the other hand, is not quite content with the elimination of all concrete, somatic dimensions of work in the cybernetic workplace. His vision allows him, however, only rather Orwellian solutions. He writes, for instance, that "for operators to develop good diagnostic skills in symbolically mediated environments, compensatory technological innovations should return 'feeling' to the operator's experience" (p. 96). This "sensing technology" can connect the worker's body to the plant in such a way as to become "a cybernetic extension":

> Her body would shake with plant vibrations reduced electronically to a human scale, and she would feel warmer or cooler as the factory temperature changed. Pressure and sounds could be similarly transmitted. (p. 96)

The challenge here is for the worker to "distinguish her own internal body cues from the messages of the plant," leading her to greater "self-awareness" (p. 97). A model for educative work? I believe not. Rather, these suggestions strike me as yet a step further in the worker's alienation from any concrete, sensual, and holistic involvement in her work.

We cannot reduce the loss of vital abilities that allow for a direct involvement with the material and organic conditions of production, and thus of life, to psychological pain associated with a temporary period of transition. These competencies and the knowledge that has been accumulated in work that allows for direct, sensual involvement, cannot simply be discarded as obsolete once we have reached a higher stage of technological development. In one of the most influential books dealing with the introduction of modern technology to the workplace, *In the Age of the Smart Machine*, Zuboff (1988) frames the multi-layered, complex transition to a technological workplace in terms of a "problem of the body" rather than in light of a *view of the body* as a part of nature and, as such, an obstacle in the way of technological progress. Her complex and at times highly convincing analyses entirely leave out the problems of the immense violence that is committed against the body, against nature and against those associated with nature (for instance women or Third World people). This violence is internally connected with the conventional Western view of progress, technology, and development.

Summary and Conclusions

The current debate on work and education has opened up questions and contains suggestions that are important and useful, but that, in the absence of a more comprehensive critique of the overall social and economic context of work and production, remain limited. No doubt, a workplace where learning and development of abilities can occur is better than one where this opportunity does not exist, and an analysis of the kinds of conditions that enhance or hinder such learning is useful as well. However, as I have tried to show in this essay, these opportunities constitute, once again, the opportunities of privilege enjoyed by a number that appears very small when seen within a global perspective. While it is certainly true that the content and organization of work is becoming more challenging, enriching, or "developmental" for some, it remains or is becoming more "miseducative" for others. In both cases, new technology may play an important part, i.e. may be used for "informating" or "automating" (Zuboff, 1988) the workplace. If we want to identify possibilities for fundamental change, we need to examine the mechanisms that underlie and reproduce this very division and the nature of the relationship that exists between these different kinds of work. Such an analysis has to proceed from an understanding of the complex, contradictory, and multifaceted nature of the current reality of work and production, and must examine the broader context that unifies this contradictory reality. As mentioned earlier, this means that rather than focusing exclusively on only one aspect of work, or on one type of work, we have to look at different kinds of work in relation to each other. For instance, we have to look at work that is deskilled in relation to work that is reskilled or highly skilled, but also at work that is relatively stable and long-term in relation to work that is unstable or precarious. And there are many other relationships that have to be considered together: for instance, work that carries social value and esteem needs to be looked at in relation to work that lives in the shadow of social recognition; or work that is oriented towards producing for immediate needs has to be understood in relation to work that is oriented towards the accumulation of capital. Within this comprehensive as well as differentiating framework the question of what constitutes "educative" or "miseducative" work will point beyond existing workplaces to the structure of privilege, a context of hierarchy and exclusion that infuses and thus impoverishes a notion of educative work that does not challenge this structure.

More fundamentally, however, in this essay I questioned whether we can find at all a model for good or educative work in an environment oriented solely towards the maximization of profits and driven by the need to employ the latest technology no matter what the environmental or social costs or risks involved; where questions regarding the usefulness of what is being produced are never asked. As I suggested here, it is precisely these concerns that must be at the core of a critical and future-oriented notion of educative work.

I therefore think we must begin to develop a concept of educative work that starts from an examination of the nature and ultimate purpose not only of work, but also of "the economy." In such a way we will assume a standpoint that allows for a thorough critique of current purposes and realities of work and production, a realistic assessment of their educative potential and the beginnings of an alternative vision for working and living.

Notes

[1] The journal, magazine or newspaper articles taking up the theme of a partnership between business and industry are too numerous to count. For a representative sample see Clark (1983), Fell (1989), Hersh (1983), and Wise (1981).

[2] Moreover, the exclusive focus on the demanding skill requirements of new and future technology leaves out the fact that the work at the actual production site of these new technologies is anything but glamorous. Work in the "clean rooms" of Silicon Valley and in the militaristically organized global factories in South East Asia is characterized by an intense lack of autonomy, is excruciatingly boring and stressful, with extremely low pay, and very hazardous to the workers' health (Hayes, 1989; Grossman, 1979).

[3] And, to the extent to which it is still performed by women, it will remain devalued. The history of the feminization of certain categories of work, like healing, clerical support, or teaching, amply testifies to the pervasive social bifurcation between men's and women's work. As women enter into previously male-dominated professions, the attractiveness of these occupations drops as well. For instance, Philipson (1991) describes the currently growing feminization of psychotherapy, seemingly inevitably leading to an "undervaluing" and "underfunding" of this profession.

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DESCRIPTION DE L'ÉTAT D'IDENTITÉ D'ÉTUDIANTES ET D'ÉTUDIANTS INSCRITS EN FORMATION DES MAÎTRES

Yves Herry, Professeur
Université d'Ottawa
Normand Robichaud, Professeur
Université Laurentienne
Jean-Claude Boyer, Professeur
Université d'Ottawa

Résumé

Cette étude descriptive a pour but de préciser le type ou les types d'identité développés par les étudiantes et étudiants inscrits à un programme de formation des enseignants. Elle tente d'établir la répartition des étudiants inscrits à un programme de formation des maîtres selon les quatre états d'identité de Marcia: l'identité achevée, le moratoire, la forclusion de l'identité et la diffusion de l'identité. Les sujets sont les 410 étudiants francophones inscrits aux programmes de formation des enseignants de la Faculté d'éducation de l'Université d'Ottawa et de l'École des sciences de l'éducation de l'Université Laurentienne de Sudbury. Chaque sujet a rempli un questionnaire portant sur son identité: Version revue et corrigée de la mesure objective étendue de l'état d'identité de l'égo. Les résultats indiquent qu'environ 80 pourcent des étudiants interrogés vivent une résolution positive de leur quête d'identité alors que 20 pourcent tendent vers le pôle négatif de résolution. L'étude a également pour but d'identifier des variables susceptibles d'être liées au développement de l'identité des futurs enseignants. Ces variables seraient l'âge, le statut parental, le statut marital et l'expérience de travail à temps plein. Cependant, le choix de l'université, le choix du type de programme de formation des maîtres et le choix du niveau de spécialisation d'enseignement ne seraient pas des variables liées au développement de l'identité des futurs enseignants.

Abstract

This study was designed to explore the type of identity developed by students involved in a teacher education program. The study attempts to determine the distribution of student-teachers according to Marcia's four categories of identity status (i.e., achieved, moratorium, foreclosed, or diffuse). A sample of French speaking students (N=410) registered in the teacher education programs of the University of Ottawa and Laurentian University completed a questionnaire assessing identity status development, the Extended Version of the Objective Measure of Ego Identity (Grotevant and Adams, 1984). Results indicate that nearly 80% of the students questioned are experiencing a positive resolution of their identity stage while close to 20% tend toward a negative resolution. The study also yields variables that can be linked to the identity development of future teachers. Age, parental status, marital status and full time work experience were found to be related to identity formation. The choice of university, type of teacher education program, and level of teacher specialization do not seem to be related to identity development of future teachers.

Contexte théorique et expérimental

Il est généralement établi que les grandes phases du développement et de l'adaptation de la personne que constitue l'évolution de l'identité sont largement déterminées par la présence ou l'absence d'événements critiques liés à l'existence (Colarusso et Nemiroff, 1981). Ces événements de vie sont à l'origine de transformations importantes de la personnalité et de l'établissement d'une identité personnelle.

On peut définir l'identité personnelle, à la suite d'Erikson (1963, 1968), comme un point de rencontre de l'individu dans lequel la personne puise le sentiment d'être un être unique et social et dans lequel elle se sent solidaire des autres et développe une continuité avec les expériences passées, présentes et à venir. Ce "système de sentiments et de représentations de soi" (Tap, 1981) qui prend appui sur des événements existentiels, constitue une structure dynamique interne qui régit, modifie et oriente l'établissement d'une identité personnelle. La construction de celle-ci se fait dans un contexte social qui exerce des pressions sur cette structure interne.

La prise de conscience d'une identité, particulièrement aiguë à l'adolescence, évolue cependant d'une manière continue (Artaud, 1985; Lécuyer, 1981). La quête d'une identité à l'adolescence dissimule plusieurs remises en question qui se manifesteront tout au cours du cycle de la vie. Plusieurs adaptations à de nouvelles situations provoqueront souvent d'importantes transformations de la personne au niveau des relations interpersonnelles et des idéologies.

Avant de poursuivre, il paraît nécessaire de déterminer les concepts opératoires que nous avons retenus pour étudier la construction de l'identité personnelle. Nous avons utilisé le système de classification proposé par Marcia (1966) auquel Waterman (1982) a apporté des précisions. Le modèle d'Erikson (1963) est à l'origine de ce système.

Erikson soutient que l'identité se résout positivement à la suite d'un délai ou d'une période de moratoire pendant laquelle le jeune explore diverses possibilités d'engagement d'ordre religieux, moral, politique, social, interpersonnel et professionnel. Il essaie plusieurs modèles, les analyse et, suite à ce moratoire, prend des engagements stables, sérieux et réfléchis sur une idéologie et un ensemble de valeurs interpersonnelles. L'absence de cette réflexion se traduit par une confusion de l'identité.

À partir des travaux d'Erikson, Marcia (1966) propose un système de classification qui, en tenant compte de la structure du moi et de son développement, comprend les quatre états d'identité suivants: la diffusion de l'identité, la forclusion de l'identité, le moratoire et l'identité achevée. Ces quatre états d'identité sont décrits et opérationnalisés en se basant sur les deux critères suivants:

a) la présence ou l'absence d'une crise, d'une remise en question, d'une période d'exploration et de recherche active en fonction de prises de décision et de position.
b) la présence ou l'absence d'engagement, d'une prise de position au niveau d'une profession ou d'un métier et d'une idéologie politique et religieuse.

À partir de ces deux critères, Marcia décrit comme suit les quatre états d'identité qu'il a retenus:

1. Identité achevée: la personne a vécu une crise et s'est engagée au niveau d'un travail et d'une idéologie politique et religieuse.
2. Moratoire: la personne vit une crise d'identité et est aux prises avec des problèmes d'idéologie ou de profession.
3. Forclusion: la personne s'est engagée politiquement et idéologiquement et a choisi une profession sans avoir vécu de crise.
4. Diffusion: la personne n'a pris aucun engagement idéologique ou professionnel, qu'elle ait vécu ou non une crise. Elle ne cherche donc pas (ou plus), contrairement à ce qui se passe à la période du moratoire, à préciser son idéologie ou à s'engager dans un travail qu'elle a choisi parmi d'autres.

C'est à partir de ces états d'identité que l'adolescent construit son identité personnelle en résolvant les problèmes liés à celle-ci. Ces événements dépassent cependant les sphères de l'occupation et des idéologies politiques et religieuses proposées par Marcia. D'autres études (Grotevant, Thorbecke et Meyer, 1982; Grotevant et Adams, 1984) ont étendu davantage ces états d'identité en y ajoutant la dimension des relations interpersonnelles (amitié, fréquentations, rôles sexuels, style de vie et activités récréatives).

À partir du modèle d'Erikson et des états d'identité de Marcia, Waterman (1982) propose quatre voies possibles pour la construction de l'identité dont le point de départ est l'un des quatre états d'identité de Marcia. Son modèle théorique décrit l'établissement de l'identité comme un développement progressif et positif si la personne passe de l'état d'identité de la diffusion aux états de la forclusion ou du moratoire, de la forclusion au moratoire et enfin, du moratoire à l'identité achevée (Artaud, 1990). Ces passages d'un état d'identité à un autre impliquent un effort de réflexion sur les possibilités qu'offrent chacun d'eux.

Les passages de l'état de l'identité achevée ou du moratoire ou de la forclusion à l'état de diffusion de l'identité sont considérés régressifs et négatifs; ils impliquent le retrait de toute confrontation aux questions relatives à l'identité. C'est en quelque sorte un retour à un état de confusion de l'identité.

Le passage de l'état de l'identité achevée au moratoire est par contre considéré comme une nouvelle remise en question de son identité et non comme une régression développementale. Il témoigne plutôt de la présence d'une structure dynamique ouverte aux changements sociaux, personnels et interpersonnels (Archer, 1989). Selon Marcia (1980), le processus demeure alors essentiellement le même mais acquiert plus de force, d'une remise en question à l'autre.

Quelques études quasi-longitudinales (Marcia, 1976; Waterman et Goldman, 1976; Waterman, Geary et Waterman, 1974) et transversales (Meilman, 1979; Stark et Traxler, 1974), menées auprès d'étudiants du niveau universitaire, semblent indiquer que l'âge de 18 à 21 ans est le plus critique pour la résolution de la crise de l'identité. Le milieu universitaire offre une diversité d'expériences qui soulèvent des questions sur l'identité tout en proposant diverses solutions. La plupart de ces études qui comparaient des étudiants de première année à ceux de troisième et quatrième année semblent aussi confirmer que la construction de l'identité se fait après des remises en question en suivant un modèle de développement progressif.

Problématique

Parmi les situations déterminantes de l'évolution de l'identité, les lieux de formation comme l'école (Lecacheur, 1989) jouent un rôle considérable, en raison de la diversité des modèles qui y sont présentés et affrontés et aussi des nouveaux liens qui s'établissent entre les acquisitions de nouveaux savoir-faire et un certain style de vie.

Dans quelle mesure s'établit-il des liens entre les situations affrontées dans un programme de formation des enseignants auquel sont inscrits des étudiants-maîtres et leur identité personnelle? Ceux-ci sont exposés à des conceptions éducatives variées de même qu'à des discours pédagogiques nouveaux qui les obligent à formuler ou à reformuler leur propres idées sur l'apprentissage, l'enseignement et leur futur rôle d'enseignant. L'affrontement entre ce discours pédagogique novateur qui met l'accent sur l'enfant, la créativité, l'autonomie et une pédagogie traditionnelle qui donne une vision fermée ou encyclopédique de l'apprenant et de l'enseignant est d'autant plus dérangeant que la plupart des futurs enseignants ont, avant d'entreprendre leur programme de formation, surtout connu un discours plus conservateur.

Ces nouvelles orientations pédagogiques qui font partie intégrante du discours officiel en ce qui concerne la programmation-cadre de la formation des enseignants obligent les étudiants en éducation à s'interroger et à remettre en question leur conception de l'apprentissage et de l'enseignement.

Ces années de formation universitaire constituent-elles une étape particulière de l'évolution de l'identité de ces étudiants-maîtres? Vivent-ils un développement progressif et positif de leur identité? Comment se répartissent ces étudiants en fonction des quatre états d'identité de Marcia? Peut-on identifier des événements existentiels qui seraient liés au développement de leur identité? La présente étude tente de répondre à ces interrogations. Il est important de se préoccuper de cette question car peu d'études se sont intéressées à une population de futurs-enseignants. De plus, certaines études (Walter et Stivers, 1977; Mc Nergney et Satterstrom, 1984) semblent indiquer que l'état d'identité auquel se situe un futur enseignant aurait des répercussions sur la qualité de ses rapports avec ses élèves et sur la qualité de ses interventions pédagogiques (Artaud, 1990).

Méthodologie

Sujets

L'échantillon expérimental compte 410 sujets dont 328 étudiantes et 82 étudiants, tous inscrits à un programme francophone ontarien de formation des enseignants. En Ontario, il existe deux universités francophones offrant un programme de formation des enseignants: l'Université Laurentienne et l'Université d'Ottawa. Les étudiants doivent posséder un baccalauréat, qu'il soit en éducation ou non, avant de s'inscrire à ce programme d'un an qui conduit à l'obtention d'un baccalauréat en éducation et du brevet d'enseignement de l'Ontario. À l'Université Laurentienne de Sudbury, les étudiants ont le choix entre deux programmes. Le premier est un programme de quatre ans dont trois sont consacrés à l'obtention d'un baccalauréat ès arts en éducation (B.A.Éduc) et la quatrième année est consacrée à l'obtention d'un baccalauréat en éducation (B.Éd). Le second programme est d'une durée d'un an dont l'exigence minimale d'admission est un baccalauréat (sans égard au domaine). Il conduit également à l'obtention d'un baccalauréat en éducation (B.Éd). L'Université d'Ottawa offre un seul programme, semblable au dernier programme décrit ci-haut. Parmi les sujets, 33 pourcent sont inscrits au B.A.Éduc de l'Université Laurentienne, 29 pourcent sont incrits au B.Éd de la même institution et finalement 38 pourcent sont inscrits au B.Éd. de l'Université d'Ottawa. L'âge moyen est de 25 ans et demie. Trente-deux pourcent des sujets sont mariés ou vivent en union de fait et 16 pourcent ont des enfants.

Instrument de mesure

Le questionnaire retenu pour identifier les quatre états d'identité est la version française (Boyer 1989) du Extended Version of the Ojective Measure of Ego Identity Status (EOM-EIS) élaboré par Adams et Grotevant (1983, Grotevant et Adams, 1984). Il permet de distinguer les quatre états d'identité (la diffusion, la forclusion, le moratorium et l'identité achevée) et offre aussi une mesure continue de l'identité en terme de progression d'une identité confuse à une identité achevée.

Cet instrument comprend 64 items. Pour chaque item les sujets doivent indiquer à quel point l'énoncé est conforme à leur perception. Pour ce faire, ils utilisent une échelle de type Likert à six points: la valeur 1 correspond à fortement en désaccord et 6 à fortement en accord.

Le questionnaire évalue deux composantes de la formation de l'identité: la composante interpersonnelle et la composante idéologique. La composante interpersonnelle traite des domaines suivants: amitiés, fréquentations, rôles sexuels et loisirs. La composante idéologique inclut les domaines suivants: occupations, religion, politique et style de vie. Ce sont tous des domaines intimement liés à la recherche d'identité. Pour chacun des huit domaines, deux items se rapportent à chacun des quatre états d'identité (la diffusion, la forclusion, le moratorium, l'identité achevée). Selon le cas, ils font référence à la présence ou à l'absence d'une période de crise et/ou à une prise ou à une non-prise d'engagement.

Les items du questionnaire ont été formulés à partir de données obtenues à l'aide de deux instruments: un questionnaire portant sur la profession, la religion et la politique (Adams, Shea et Fitch, 1979) et une entrevue semi-structurée qui évalue l'amitié, les fréquentations, les rôles sexuels et les activités récréatives ainsi que les styles philosophiques (Grotevant, Thorbecke et Meyer, 1982).

Voici des exemples d'items liés au domaine de l'occupation: J'ai eu du mal à décider, mais maintenant je sais vraiment quelle carrière je voudrais suivre (identité achevée). Je n'arrive pas à décider ce que je veux faire, il y a tant d'occupations qui offrent des possibilités (morato[illegible]). J'aurais pu penser à de nombreuses manières de gagner ma vie mais je n'ai jamais vraiment eu à choisir étant donné que mes parents m'avaient dit ce qu'ils voulaient que je fasse (forclusion). Je n'ai pas choisi le travail, la carrière que je voudrais avoir, et je ferai le travail que je trouverai en attendant mieux (diffusion).

Après avoir répondu au questionnaire, les sujets obtiennent, pour la composante interpersonnelle et la composante idéologique, un score pour chaque état d'identité. Chaque sujet est alors associé à un état d'identité, s'il obtient un score d'un écart-type au-dessus de la moyenne ou plus pour l' échelle de cet état et des scores sous ce seuil pour les trois autres états. De plus, un score au-dessous de ce seuil (d'un écart-type au-dessus de la moyenne) pour les échelles des quatre états d'identité place l'individu au niveau du moratoire. Finalement, il peut arriver qu'une personne soit dans une phase de transition entre deux états d'identité. Cette dernière obtient alors un score au-dessus du seuil pour les deux échelles de ces états d'identité.

Cueillette des données

La participation des étudiants à ce projet est volontaire. L'examinateur présente le questionnaire que doivent remplir les étudiants qui ont accordé leur consentement à cette étude. Le questionnaire est administré à 13 groupes-classes (7 à l'Université d'Ottawa et 6 à l'Université Laurentienne) constitués d'une trentaine d'étudiants chacun. Le temps requis pour répondre au questionnaire est d'environ trente minutes mais il n'y a pas de temps limite pour le compléter. Les consignes et instructions données aux sujets étaient les mêmes pour tous les groupes.

Présentation et discussion des résultats

Quatre cent dix sujets ont répondu au questionnaire. Les résultats de 80 sujets ont été rejetés: 45 à cause de données manquantes et 35 parce qu'ils étaient en phase de transition entre deux états d'identité. Le nombre de sujets varie donc entre 300 et 340, selon les analyses.

La répartition des sujets selon les quatre états d'identité

Les résultats indiquent que, pour la composante interpersonnelle (amitiés, rôles sexuels, fréquentations et loisirs), 10 pourcent des sujets se situent au niveau de l'identité achevée, 71 pourcent au niveau du moratoire, 9 pourcent au niveau de la forclusion et 10 pourcent au niveau de la diffusion. En considérant les deux pôles de résolution du stade identité identifiés par Erikson, il est possible de considérer le moratoire et l'identité achevée comme le pôle positif et la diffusion et la forclusion comme le pôle négatif. Quatre-vingt-une pourcent des sujets soit 245 étudiants tendraient alors vers une résolution positive du stade identité alors que 19 pourcent d'entre eux (60 étudiants) tendraient vers le pôle négatif. Pour la composante idéologique (occupation, religion, politique et style de vie), 14 pourcent des sujets se situent au niveau de l'identité achevée, 68 pourcent au niveau du moratoire, 11 pourcent au niveau de la forclusion et 7 pourcent au niveau de la diffusion. Quatre-vingt-deux pourcent d'entre eux, soit 251 étudiants, tendraient donc vers une résolution positive de la composante idéologique du stade identité alors que 18 pourcent des sujets soit 54 étudiants tendraient vers le pôle négatif.

Ces résultats sont encourageants dans la mesure où une forte majorité des sujets vivent, tant pour la composante interpersonnelle que pour la composante idéologique, un développement positif de leur identité. Ces résultats sont également inquiétants puisque près de 20 pourcent des étudiants semblent vivre un développement négatif de leur identité. De plus, selon Munro et Adams (1977) et Waterman (1982, 1985), les études universitaires auraient tendance à prolonger le moratoire. Mais une fois sur le marché du travail la plupart des sujets qui sont au moratoire atteignent l'identité achevée, alors que ceux qui se situent au niveau de la diffusion ou de la forclusion auraient tendance à s'y cantonner une fois sur le marché du travail (Waterman et Waterman, 1971; Waterman, Geary et Waterman, 1974; Waterman et Goldman, 1976). Ces résultats ont des implications pédagogiques importantes car certaines études (Walter et Stivers, 1977; McNergney et Satterstrom, 1984) semblent indiquer qu'il existe une corrélation positive entre le développement de l'identité d'un futur enseignant et la qualité de ses rapports avec ses élèves de même que la qualité de ses interventions pédagogiques. Ceci donnerait raison à certains auteurs (e.g. Leonard et Gottsdanker-Willekens, 1987) qui considèrent que l'éducation ne devrait pas seulement se concentrer sur les apprentissages d'ordre académique mais également sur le développement cognitivo-affectif de la personne.

L'identification de variables liées au développement de l'identité

La présente étude a également pour but d'identifier des variables qui sont susceptibles d'être liées au développement de l'identité des futurs enseignants. Les variables retenues sont le sexe, le niveau scolaire auquel ils se préparent à enseigner, le type de programme de formation, le statut marital, le statut parental, le fait de résider chez leurs parents, l'expérience de travail à temps plein et l' âge. Ces variables ont été retenues soit parce qu'elles représentent des événement existentiels importants (e.g. vie de couple, enfants) ou parce qu'elles sont considérées importantes par les recherches (e.g. âge) ou parce qu'elles sont liées à la population étudiée (e.g. type de programme).

Pour vérifier si ces variables produisent une répartition différente des sujets au sein des quatre états d'identité, nous avons utilisé des tableaux de contingence dont les résultats ont été soumis à des tests khi-carré. Dans l'éventualité d'un résultat significatif qui indiquerait que la variable étudiée produit une répartition différente des sujets au sein des quatre états d'identité, les scores continus de chacune des échelles ont été soumis à une analyse de variance Anova pour tenter d'identifier où se situent les différences significatives entre les groupes. Rappelons qu'après avoir répondu au questionnaire, les sujets obtiennent un score continu variant de 8 à 48 pour chaque état d'identité.

Le type de programme et le choix de spécialisation

Les analyses statistiques indiquent que le niveau scolaire auquel l'étudiant se prépare à enseigner de même que le type de programme de formation auquel il est inscrit ne seraient pas liés au développement de l'identité.

En Ontario, les étudiants-maîtres ont un choix de trois niveaux scolaires de spécialisation: le premier, les cycles primaire et moyen, inclut les élèves âgés de

4 à 11 ans; le second, les cycles moyen et intermédiaire, inclut les élèves âgés de 9 à 16 ans et finalement le troisième, les cycles intermédiaire et supérieur, regroupe les élèves âgés de 12 à 18 ans. Le test de khi-carré indique qu'il n'y a pas de différence significative entre les répartitions des trois groupes d'étudiants tant pour la composante interpersonnelle (Khi^2(6, N=297) = 3.4, ns.) que pour la composante idéologique (Khi^2(6, N=325) =2.38, ns.). Il serait donc faux d'affirmer que les étudiants qui se dirigent au niveau secondaire sont plus "matures" dans leur décision d'ordre idéologique ou interpersonnelle que les étudiants qui se destinent à l'élémentaire. Il en va de même pour le type de programme de formation auquel ils sont inscrits. Le test de khi-carré indique qu'il n'y a pas de différence significative entre les répartitions au sein des quatre états d'identité des étudiants qui sont inscrits au B.A.Éduc de l'Univeristé Laurentienne, de ceux inscrits au B.Éd. à l'Université Laurentienne et de ceux inscrits au B.Éd. à l'Université d'Ottawa. Ceci est vrai pour la composante interpersonnelle (Khi^2(6, N= 304) = 6.8, ns.) et pour la composante idéologique (Khi^2(6, N= 304) = 7.1, ns.).

Le sexe des sujets

L'influence du sexe des sujets sur le développement de leur identité est la plus floue des variables étudiées. En effet, les résultats du test de khi-carré indiquent que, pour les deux composantes (interpersonnelle: Khi^2(3, N= 305) = 11.4, $p<.05$; idéologique: Khi^2 (3, N= 305) = 10.2, $p<.05$), les hommes et les femmes se répartissent de façon significativement différente au sein des 4 états d'identité. Cependant, les analyses de variance Anova effectuées sur les scores bruts obtenus par les sujets aux quatre états d'identités n'ont pu situer les diférences significatives. Cela indique que même s'il y a une répartition différente des hommes et des femmes au sein des états d'identité, les moyennes obtenues par ces deux groupes ne sont pas significativement différentes; ce qui signifie que la moyenne d'un groupe (variable continue) peut être légèrement inférieure mais non significativement différente de celle de l'autre groupe. Cependant, cette différence de moyenne est suffisante pour qu'un groupe se situe à un état d'identité et l'autre à un autre (variable discrète). À la lumière de ces résultats, il semble que le lien entre le sexe et le développement de l'identité ne soit pas très clair. Les recherches qui se sont intéressées à cette variable trouvent parmi leurs données quelques différences significatives entre les deux sexes. Cependant, elles sont peu nombreuses et les chercheurs tendent à conclure que la variable sexe seule pourrait ne pas compter pour beaucoup dans la variance des résultats liés à l'identité (Archer, 1989; Cooper et Grotevant, 1987; Kroger, 1988; Waterman, 1982).

L'âge des sujets

Pour analyser la relation entre l'âge des sujets et les états d'identité, les moyennes d'âge des sujets appartenant à chaque état d'identité ont été soumises à une analyse de variance Anova. Pour les deux composantes, elle a révélé des différences significatives pour les deux composantes (interpersonnelle: $F(3,300)=7.4$, $p<.001$; idéologique $F(3,300)=5.3$, $p<.01$). Au niveau interpersonnel, les sujets qui ont une identité achevée (28.6 ans) et ceux qui ont une identité diffuse (30 ans), soit les deux extrémités du continuum du dévelopement de l'identité, constituent les groupes les plus âgés. Les sujets de l'identité achevée sont significativement plus âgés que les sujets de la forclusion (23.9 ans) alors que ceux de la diffusion sont significativement plus âgés que ceux de la forclusion et du moratoire (25.6 ans). Finalement, au niveau de l'idéologie, les sujets associés à l'identité achevée (29,3 ans) sont significativement plus âgés que ceux associés à la diffusion (24.5 ans), à la forclusion (24.1 ans) et au moratoire (26.4 ans). L'âge est donc un facteur qui est lié au développement de l'identité (Waterman, 1982). Il faut noter que les étudiants plus âgés ont probablement vécu plus d'événements critiques liés à l'existence.

Le statut parental

Le test de khi-carré indique que, pour les deux composantes, les étudiants qui ont des enfants et les étudiants qui n'en ont pas se répartissent de façon significativement différente au sein des 4 états d'identité. Pour la composante interpersonnelle ($\text{Khi}^2(3, \underline{N}= 304) = 11.3, p<.05$), plus d'étudiants avec enfants que d'étudiants sans enfant s'identifient à la diffusion et à l'identité achevée. En contre partie, il y a moins d'étudiants avec enfants que d'étudiants sans enfant au niveau du moratoire et de la forclusion. Ces différences entre le moratoire, la forclusion et l'identité achevée pourraient s'expliquer par le fait que plusieurs étudiants avec enfants ont pris un engagement suite à une réflexion (identité achevée) et donc que moins d'étudiants avec enfants sont en période de réflexion (moratoire).

En ce qui concerne la composante idéologique ($\text{Khi}^2(3, \underline{N}= 334) = 27.1, p<.001$), il y a moins d'étudiants avec enfants au niveau de la diffusion, de la forclusion et du moratoire. Cependant, ils sont plus nombreux au niveau de l'identité achevée. Les étudiants avec enfants semblent plus être ou avoir été en période de réflexion que les étudiants sans enfant au niveau du choix de carrière et des choix politiques et religieux.

Le statut marital

Le test de khi-carré indique que les étudiants mariés ou vivant en union de fait et les étudiants célibataires se répartissent de façon significativement différente au sein des 4 états d'identité (interpersonnelle: $\text{Khi}^2(3, \underline{N}= 305) = 14.9, p<.01$; idéologique: $\text{Khi}^2(3, \underline{N}= 335) = 12.3, p<.01$).

Pour la composante interpersonnelle, les personnes célibataires s'associent plus au moratoire (76%) que les personnes mariées (60%) alors qu'il y a plus de personnes mariées que de célibataires au niveau de la diffusion (respectivement 18% et 7%) et de l'identité achevée (respectivement 14% et 7%). Les différences entre le moratoire et l'identité achevée pourraient s'expliquer par le fait que plusieurs étudiants mariés ont pris un engagement suite à une réflexion (identité achevée) et donc que moins d'étudiants mariés sont en période de réflexion (moratoire). Cependant la différence au niveau de la diffusion est plus difficile à expliquer. Serait-ce une forme de régression qui conduit certaines personnes mariées à une confusion de l'identité interpersonnelle?

En ce qui concerne la composante idéologique, les personnes célibataires s'associent plus au moratoire (70%) que les personnes mariées (65%) alors qu'il y a plus de personnes mariées (12%) que de célibataires (8%) au niveau de la forclusion.

Les résultats ont également tenu compte du fait que les sujets demeurent ou non chez leurs parents. Le test de khi-carré indique qu'il n'y a pas de différence significative entre les répartitions des deux groupes d'étudiants tant pour la composante interpersonnelle (Khi^2 (3, N= 304) = 3.1, ns) que pour la composante idéologique (Khi^2 (3, N= 334) = 3.5, ns). Le seul fait d'habiter ou non chez ses parents n'est pas une variable qui influence la formation de l'identité pour la population étudiée. Cependant, il est intéressant de noter que le fait d'être marié ou de vivre en union de fait et celui d'avoir des enfants sont des variables qui influencent la formation de l'identité.

L'expérience de travail à temps plein

Pour analyser la relation entre l'expérience de travail à temps plein des sujets et les états d'identité, les moyennes d'années de travail des sujets appartenant à chaque état d'identité ont été soumises à une analyse de variance Anova. Pour les deux composantes, elle a révélé des différences significatives entre les groupes (interpersonnelle: $F(3,300)=5.0$, $p<.01$; idéologique $F(3,300)=4.2$, $p<.01$). Au niveau interpersonnel, les sujets qui ont une identité diffuse ont travaillé significativement plus longtemps (3.2 ans) que les sujets de la forclusion (1.2 an) et du moratoire (1.5 an). Les sujets de l'identité achevée ont travaillé à temps plein pendant une moyenne de 2.3 ans. Au niveau idéologique, les sujets associés à l'identité achevée ont travaillé à temps plein significativement plus longtemps (2.7 ans) que ceux associés à la forclusion (0.7 an). Les sujets de la diffusion et du moratoire ont pour leur part travaillé à temps plein en moyenne pendant respectivement 1.6 année et 1.8 année. Ces résultats semblent indiquer que, sur le plan idéologique (occupation, religion, politique et style de vie), plus la personne a travaillé à temps plein plus elle a de chances de développer une identité achevée. Dans le cas de notre population, cela pourrait être une indication que ceux qui s'inscrivent à un programme de formation des maîtres après quelques années sur le marché du travail ont choisi cette profession suite à une période de réflexion (moratoire).

Conclusion

Le questionnaire utilisé dans cette étude permet d'établir la répartition des étudiants inscrits à un programme de formation des maîtres selon les quatre états d'identité de Marcia: l'identité achevée, le moratoire, la diffusion de l'identité et la forclusion de l'identité. Les résultats indiquent qu'environ 80 pourcent des étudiants interrogés vivent une résolution positive du stade identité alors que 20 pourcent tendent vers le pôle négatif de résolution. Ces résultats sont semblables pour la composante interpersonnelle (amitiés, rôles sexuels, fréquentations et loisirs) et la composante idéologique (occupation, religion, politique et style de vie).

Outre le fait que ces résultats doivent être confirmés par d'autres études, il serait important sur le plan pédagogique de s'intéresser aux étudiants qui vivent dans un état de diffusion ou de forclusion de l'identité et de préciser comment la formation universitaire peut favoriser l'émergence du moratoire et de l'identité achevée.

De plus, il faudrait poursuivre les recherches portant sur la relation entre le développement de l'identité et la performance pédagogique de l'enseignant ou du futur enseignant de même que préciser comment l'identité de l'enseignant affecte la relation élève-enseignant de même que l'apprentissage chez les élèves.

La présente étude avait également pour but d'identifier des variables susceptibles d'être liées au développement de l'identité des futurs enseignants. Parmi les variables étudiées, le choix de l'université, le choix du type de programme de formation des maîtres et le choix du niveau de spécialisation d'enseignement ne seraient pas des variables liées au développement de l'identité (composante interpersonnelle et composante idéologique) des futurs enseignants. Cependant, des variables comme l'âge, le statut parental, le statut marital et l'expérience de travail à temps plein sont liées au développement de la composante interpersonnelle et de la composante idéologique de l'identité. Il est intéressant de noter que ces variables sont pour la plupart des événements de vie importants (Colarusso et Nemiroff, 1981) comme par exemple la vie de couple, la paternité ou la maternité, l'expérience sur le marché du travail. L'âge semblerait alors représenter le temps requis par ces événements pour être vécus.

La recherche, à cause de sa méthodologie et de son objectif, ne permet pas d'expliquer comment ces variables influencent le développement de l'identité. Cependant des recherches additionnelles devraient s'intéresser aux variables qui sont liées au développement de l'identité et tenter par des méthodologies cognitivistes d'expliquer le rôle de ces variables lors de la formation de l'identité. Finalement, la variable sexe, à cause des résultats ambigus qu'elle génère, devrait également faire l'objet de recherches systématiques.

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UN CADRE THÉORIQUE POUR ANALYSER LES EFFETS DE LA FORMATION SUR LA SATISFACTION AU TRAVAIL

Antoine Lutumba Ntetu, Ph.D.
Université du Québec à Chicoutimi

Résumé

Les relations entre la "formation" et la "satisfaction au travail" restent un phénomène peu expliqué et une préoccupation pour de nombreux chercheurs. Cette situation est due, en partie, à l'absence d'un cadre théorique approprié qui puisse aider à scruter ces relations. Dans leur état actuel, les cadres théoriques disponibles ne permettent qu'une analyse partielle, exclusivement centrée sur la satisfaction au travail. L'enrichissement d'un de ces cadres par l'introduction de la formation comme une variable principale, au même titre que la satisfaction au travail, est proposé comme une solution.

Abstract

The relationship between "training" and "job satisfaction" remains an almost unexplainable phenomenon and preoccupies many researchers. This situation is due, in part, to the current lack of a theoretical framework which would aid in examining the realtionship. The theoretical frameworks available permit only a partial analysis, solely centred on job satisfaction. This article proposes an enriched framework, focusing both on training and job satisfaction.

Introduction

Au cours de ce dernier quart du vingtième siècle, il est commun, en milieu organisationnel, de recourir à la formation[1] quand il est question de rehausser la satisfaction des employés. Cependant, peu de recherches sont effectuées pour étudier et expliquer les effets réels de la formation sur la satisfaction au travail. Celles qui abordent le sujet, le font en basant leur démarche sur l'un des nombreux cadres théoriques de la satisfaction qui existent: le cadre de Maslow (1954), d'Herzberg (1966), de Dawis et Lofquist (1984), de Wolf (1970), de Larouche et Delorme (1972), pour ne citer que ceux-là. Comme conséquence, des explications incomplètes qui ignorent presqu'ostensiblement la variable "formation" et qui se centrent exclusivement sur la variable "satisfaction au travail". D'où la nécessité de disposer d'un cadre théorique de référence qui intègre, simultanément et au même titre, ces deux variables, si on veut aboutir à des explications complètes, profondes et concluantes sur leurs interrelations.

L'enrichissement d'un cadre théorique déjà existant, que l'on rendrait ainsi plus approprié à l'analyse des effets de la formation sur la satisfaction au travail, constitue une réponse valable à cette préoccupation. Le présent article propose un cadre de ce genre et tente d'en démontrer l'efficacité opératoire.

Cadre théorique original de Larouche et Delorme

Pour amorcer la démarche, le modèle théorique de la satisfaction au travail, développé et mis au point par Larouche et Delorme (1972), va servir de cadre d'inspiration. Ce modèle s'appuie sur le postulat que l'individu, dont il est question dans l'étude de la satisfaction au travail, est un sujet engagé dans une situation de travail rémunéré; ce qui est l'une des caractéristiques des personnes concernées par la démarche présentée dans ce texte. Il y a également l'adhésion des auteurs de cette théorie à une conception de la notion de satisfaction au travail dans le sens d'un écart entre la situation de travail souhaitée par l'employé et sa situation de travail réelle. Cette conception rejoint l'optique que le présent article choisit pour expliquer les effets de la formation sur la satisfaction d'un individu, en fonction de l'aspiration (situation souhaitée) de ce dernier et de son intégration (situation réelle) dans un milieu de travail donné.

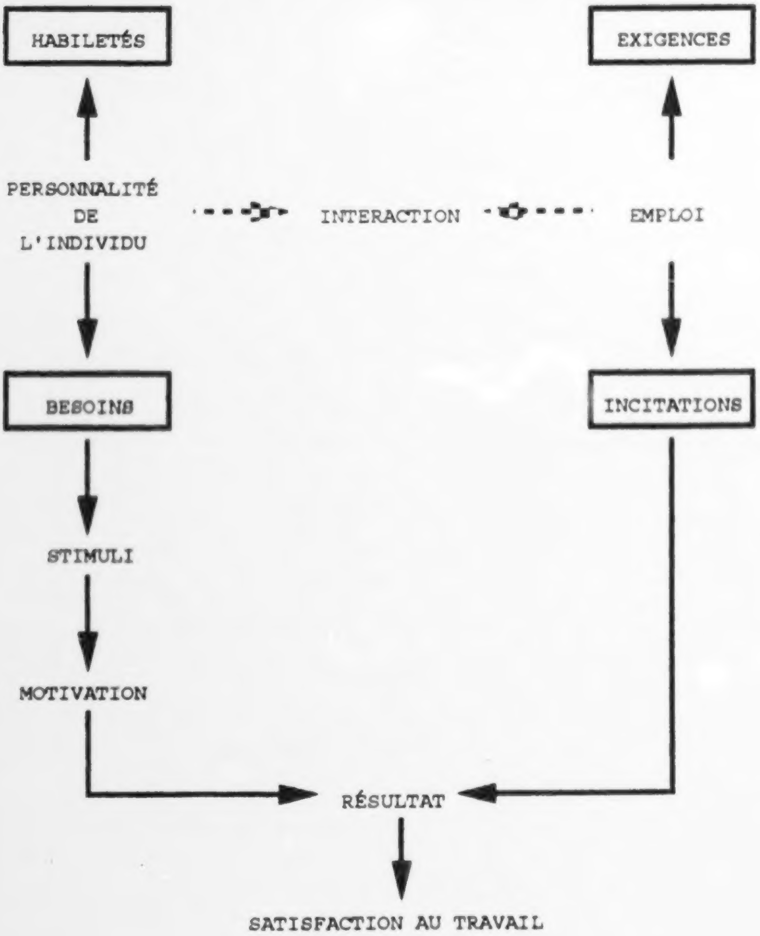
Dans leur modèle théorique, schématisé dans la figure I, Larouche et Delorme (1972) se représentent l'univers de travail comme un lieu où interagissent deux pôles: d'un côté, on a personnalité de l'individu et, de l'autre, on a l'emploi que cet individu exerce.

Le premier pôle, la personnalité de l'individu, est constitué de deux composantes: les habiletés et les besoins. Les habiletés englobent aussi bien la mémoire, l'intelligence que les instruments perceptuels; ce sont des dimensions psychologiques qui peuvent être mises en oeuvre pour exercer une action propre à satisfaire l'organisme. En d'autres termes, les habiletés sont des outils dont se dote et se sert l'individu pour répondre, de façon récurrente, aux situations objectives et subjectives qui appellent une action de l'organisme (Larouche et Delorme, 1972). Quant au concept de besoins, il désigne les états de déséquilibre et d'inconfort éprouvés par l'organisme par rapport à son milieu ambiant (Larouche et Delorme, 1972).

Le deuxième pôle, l'emploi, est également constitué de deux composantes principales: les exigences et les incitations. Le concept d'exigences désigne l'ensemble des demandes sociales et comportementales que requiert l'emploi pour être accompli adéquatement à la satisfaction de l'employeur. Quant au concept d'incitations, il est compris dans le sens d'un ensemble d'objets d'ordre matériel (salaire, conditions de travail en général, etc.) et psychologique (estime, relations interpersonnelles, autonomie, etc.) que l'emploi offre en retour à l'individu (Larouche et Delorme, 1972).

Les dimensions de "stimulus" et de "motivation" ont été introduites par les auteurs de la théorie pour montrer que l'individu, dont il est question dans l'étude de la satisfaction au travail, est un être dynamique. Sa personnalité est constamment sollicitée par des facteurs internes et externes de son emploi et ça lui prend un minimum de motivation pour réagir.

Figure I
Schéma du cadre théorique de Larouche et Delorme


HABILETÉS
EXIGENCES
PERSONNALITÉ DE L'INDIVIDU
INTERACTION
EMPLOI
BESOINS
INCITATIONS
STIMULI
MOTIVATION
RÉSULTAT
SATISFACTION AU TRAVAIL

Caractéristique et postulats du cadre théorique enrichi

La caractéristique fondamentale du nouveau cadre d'analyse, proposé dans le présent article, réside dans l'enrichissement du modèle original de Larouche et Delorme par l'addition d'un troisième pôle. Le nouveau pôle est représenté par la formation qui, à titre de variable indépendante, interagit avec la variable dépendante "satisfaction au travail". Cette dernière étant la résultante de l'interaction entre les besoins de l'individu et les incitations que cet individu reçoit de son emploi.

Le cadre, ainsi enrichi, repose sur deux nouveaux postulats de base. Le premier postulat assume que l'individu réagit aux stimulations de l'environnement dans lequel il se meut et qu'il possède un ensemble de réponses potentielles dont la portée est déterminée par son bagage héréditaire (Betz et al., 1966). Le deuxième postulat soutient que les activités de formation ne sont pas toutes pareilles, non plus les effets qu'elles peuvent générer (Galambaud, 1980, Ntetu, 1992a/1992b).

En effet, la réaction d'un individu à une stimulation et l'utilisation d'une réponse particulière sont fonction de l'environnement, lequel peut ou peut ne pas faciliter l'apparition de cette réponse. Comme l'individu fait usage d'une réponse, celle-ci s'associe à certains renforçateurs qui ne sont autres que les conditions environnementales favorables à son maintien en guise de réponse privilégiée. Avec le temps, cette réponse, à laquelle l'individu recourt fréquemment, finit par s'identifier à un ensemble d'habiletés primitives. Au même moment, des renforçateurs présents dans l'environnement et apparaissant souvent dans le processus de consolidation de la réponse qu'utilise l'individu, s'identifient à un ensemble de besoins primitifs. Les habiletés et les besoins, ainsi assimilés, jettent les bases de la constitution de ce qui est connu sous le vocable de la "personnalité au travail" (Betz et al., 1966).

Mais, comme l'individu grandit et se développe, les besoins et les habiletés subissent des changements. Certains d'entre eux se renforcent, d'autres, par contre, disparaissent pour laisser la place à de nouveaux qui émergent. La force des besoins et des habiletés devient stationnaire quand l'individu développe un style de vie de plus en plus stable. Il arrive alors que les besoins et les habiletés se cristallisent à un tel point que des mesures répétées ne décèlent plus de changement significatif. A partir de ce moment, l'individu peut être considéré comme ayant acquis une certaine stabilité de sa personnalité au travail (Betz et al., 1966). Dans ce sens, la personnalité au travail peut être perçue comme un tout unifié, stable, formé d'habiletés et de besoins (Larouche et Delorme, 1972).

De ce qui précède, on est amené à constater que les habiletés et les besoins sont des variables interdépendantes. En effet, le développement de certaines habiletés peut générer des besoins spécifiques et, inversement, certains besoins peuvent être associés au développement des habiletés spécifiques. Un parallèle peut donc être établi entre, d'un côté, les résultats qui découlent de la mesure des habiletés et, de l'autre côté, ceux qui procèdent de l'évaluation des besoins (Weiss, Dawis, Lofquist et England, 1966).

D'un point de vue pratique, il est du ressort de l'employeur de spécifier les comportements requis pour l'atteinte des buts de l'organisation, de déterminer les conditions du stimulus dans lesquelles ces comportements devront se manifester, de préciser les renforcements attendus en vue de les stimuler et de choisir les outils qui devront permettre d'apprécier la correspondance entre les habiletés qu'un employé possède et les besoins que ce même employé manifeste (Dawis et Lofquist, 1984).

Opérationalisation du cadre théorique enrichi

Dans cette partie du texte, il est question de déterminer les effets de la formation sur la satisfaction au travail. Une telle démarche n'a de sens que si, *à priori*, il est admis, d'une part, que l'un des deux premiers pôles en interaction (individu *versus* emploi) est susceptible de subir des modifications et, d'autre part, que des actions de formation peuvent avoir un impact sur l'un de ces deux pôles.

Les deux postulats, énoncés dans le paragraphe précédent, peuvent être mis à l'évidence, du moins en ce qui concerne le pôle "individu". En effet, la formation, en plus d'être un moyen d'apprentissage des habiletés, se présente aussi comme un moyen efficace de les améliorer et de les adapter aux exigences d'un emploi (Bédard, 1988, Davies et Shackleton, 1975, Kahn, 1981, Savoie, 1989). Elle est un moyen qui permet également à l'employé d'atteindre plus rapidement les standards de performance dans le développement de ses compétences (Rhéaume, 1981).

Les affirmations de tous ces auteurs sur le rôle déterminant que joue la formation dans le développement des habiletés, corroborent les arguments de Dawis, Lofquist et Weiss (1968). Ces derniers soutiennent que les expériences éducatives et les expériences sociales jouent le rôle le plus déterminant dans les modifications subies par les habiletés et les besoins, au fur et à mesure de la croissance de l'individu (Dawis, Lofquist et Weiss, 1968). Il en serait de même des attitudes et des intérêts qui, en fait, n'apparaissent pas spontanément chez un individu, mais sont plutôt les résultats de l'éducation que ce dernier reçoit, dès sa tendre enfance, et qui se poursuit tout au long de sa vie (Evans, 1965).

Naturellement, toute réponse à laquelle recourt l'individu, comme réaction aux sollicitations extérieures, prend naissance dans un contexte environnemental. Durant la période productive de sa vie, beaucoup de réponses utilisées par un individu naissent dans son environnement de travail, tandis que les renforçateurs qui contribuent au maintien de ces réponses, prédominent dans l'environnement social et l'environnement éducatif de cet individu (Dawis et Lofquist, 1984). Comme le soutient également Proulx (1985), c'est sur le lieu de travail que les qualités d'intégration de la personne aux processus de travail sont plus aisément acquises. Le même point de vue est partagé par Savoie (1989) qui affirme que le milieu de travail s'avère un milieu d'apprentissage, d'acquisition, de changement et de transformation de tout premier ordre et est, après la famille, le milieu par excellence de la relation éducative.

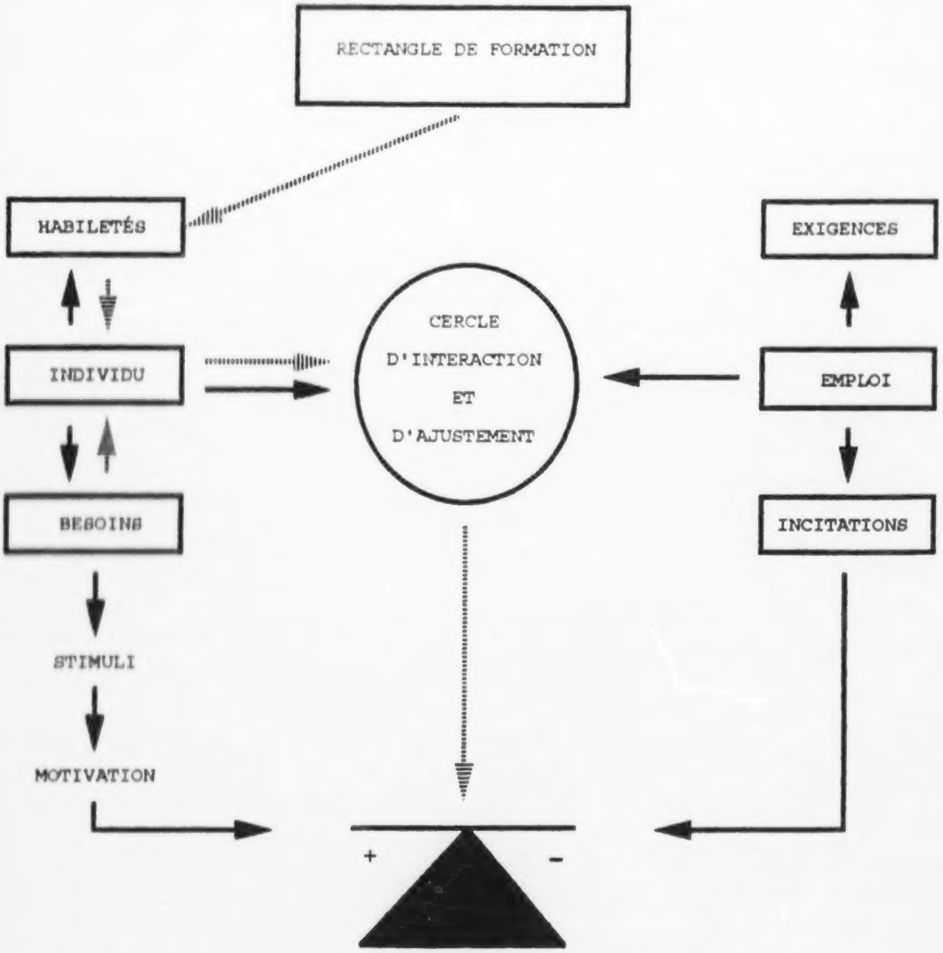
L'impact de la formation sur l'individu devenant manifeste à ce stade de la démarche, il reste à démontrer que les transformations subies par ce dernier pôle, l'individu, influent sur son interaction avec l'autre pôle qu'est l'emploi.

A ce sujet Berbaum (1984) explique que l'univers des interactions entre un sujet et un environnement peut être considéré comme un système, puisqu'il met en oeuvre des composantes et que celles-ci interagissent entre elles. Par ailleurs, un système étant une structure, les modifications d'une composante peuvent impliquer une réorganisation de l'ensemble du dispositif.

Dans le contexte de l'univers de travail et en référence au modèle théorique original de Larouche et Delorme (1972), les composantes du système seraient les habiletés et les besoins pour le pôle "individu", les exigences et les incitations pour le pôle "emploi". Dès lors, il serait possible que des modifications subies par la composante "habiletés" aient pour conséquence la déstabilisation du système et, *à fortiori* , un certain déséquilibre de l'interaction entre l'individu et son emploi. Finalement, ce déséquilibre se traduira, selon le cas, soit en termes de satisfaction au travail, soit en termes d'insatisfaction au travail.

La figure II présente, de manière simplifiée, la façon dont la formation agit sur la satisfaction au travail. Chacun des deux pôles considérés (individu *versus* emploi) est constitué de deux composantes: les habiletés et les besoins pour le pôle "individu", les exigences et les incitations pour le pôle "emploi". Le cercle au centre de la figure représente la zone où interagissent les deux pôles à la recherche d'un certain ajustement. Les résultats consécutifs à un ajustement réussi ou non réussi sont traduits, entre autres, par les sentiments de satisfaction ou d'insatisfaction ressentis par le travailleur à l'égard de son emploi. Le "fléau mobile de satisfaction", au bas de la figure, représente la zone de perception et de mesure du degré de satisfaction ou d'insatisfaction ressentie par le travailleur. La mobilité du fléau traduit le caractère dynamique et relatif du phénomène de la satisfaction au travail. Au sommet de la figure se retrouve le rectangle représentant la formation, troisième pôle du modèle théorique enrichi, dont l'impact sur l'interaction entre les deux premiers pôles (individu *versus* emploi), est schématiquement visualisé par le tracé rainuré. Le circuit du tracé montre que la formation modifie les habiletés et provoque un déséquilibre de l'intégrité de l'individu comme pôle. Le dérèglement de son intégrité va inciter l'individu à réagir et à chercher les moyens de la rétablir. Dans cette tentative, l'individu cherchera à négocier avec l'emploi l'établissement d'un nouveau contrat d'interaction plus conforme à son nouvel état résultant de la modification de ses habiletés. Une réponse positive ou négative à cette tentative de négociation va faire que l'individu retrouvera son harmonie ou, au contraire, demeurera en déséquilibre avec lui-même et avec son emploi, ce qui se traduira par une amélioration ou une réduction de sa satisfaction au travail. Larouche et Delorme (1972) sont formels, c'est dans la mesure où s'établira une harmonie ou une discordance entre les besoins qu'il éprouve et les incitations que lui fournit son emploi, que le travailleur ressentira de la satisfaction ou de l'insatisfaction.

Figure II
Vue partielle du cadre théorique enriche


RECTANGLE DE FORMATION
HABILETÉS
EXIGENCES
CERCLE D'INTERACTION ET D'AJUSTEMENT
INDIVIDU
EMPLOI
BESOINS
INCITATIONS
STIMULI
MOTIVATION
+
-
FLÉAU MOBILE DE SATISFACTION

Comme il a déjà été souligné, les activités de formation diffèrent selon les effets qu'elles génèrent (Galambaud, 1980; Ntetu, 1992b) mais, aussi, selon les stratégies[2] qui les sous-tendent (Ntetu, 1992a/1992b).

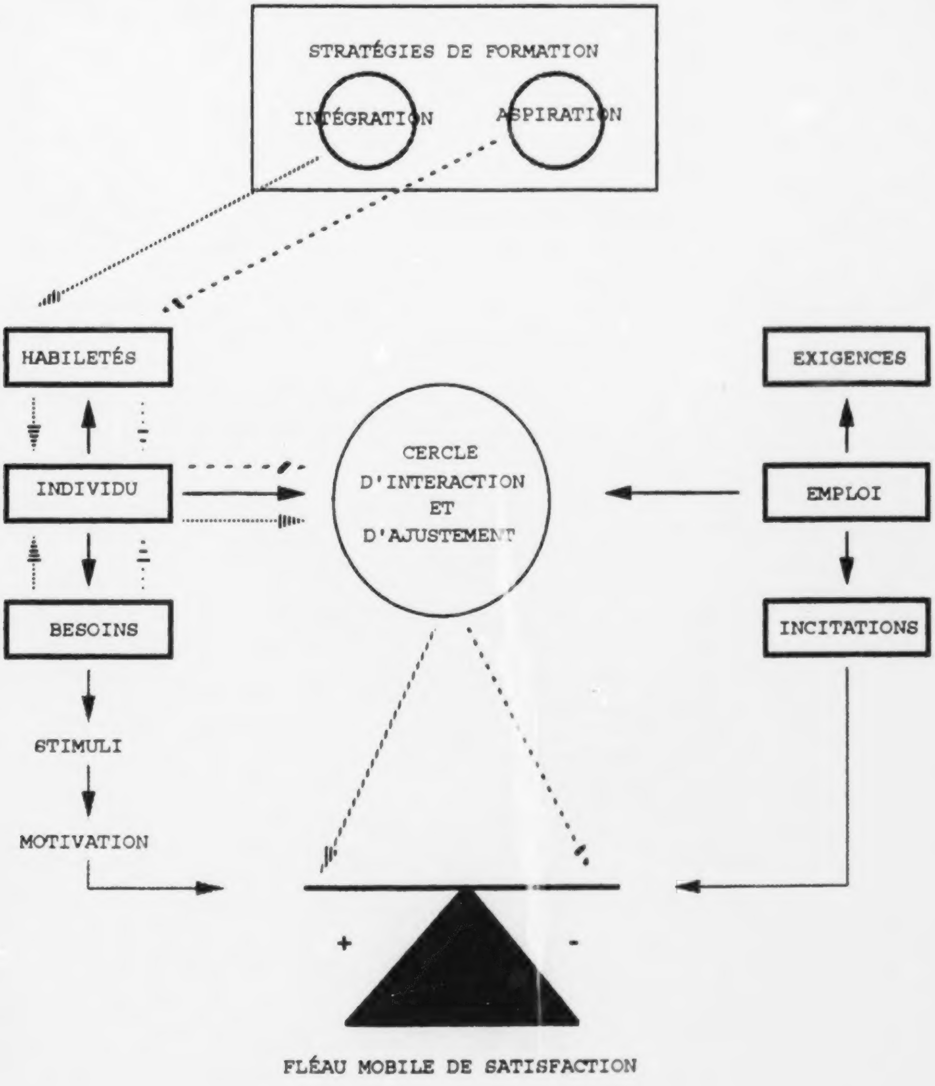
Envisagées du point de vue des finalités de l'éducation des adultes, en fonction de l'intégration et de l'aspiration en milieu de travail, les activités de formation peuvent être classifiées dans deux catégories: 1) la première catégorie est celle des activités que l'on conviendrait d'appeler "activités de type intégration" puisqu'elles mettent l'accent sur l'acculturation de l'employé au modèle de vie véhiculé dans et par l'organisation qui l'emploie et qui cherchent, par ce fait, à répondre principalement aux besoins de l'organisation; 2) la deuxième catégorie regroupe les activités que l'on nommerait "activités de type aspiration" puisqu'elles cherchent à éveiller chez l'employé des attentes qui dépassent le cadre restreint de son milieu de travail, se préoccupant de répondre prioritairement aux besoins exprimés par l'employé en matière de formation (Ntetu, 1992a/1992b).

Aux deux catégories d'activités de formation qui viennent d'être décrites, correspondent deux types de stratégies de formation qui les sous-tendent, à savoir: 1) la "stratégie de formation de type intégration" et 2) la "stratégie de formation de type aspiration" (Ntetu, 1992a/1992b).

La première stratégie, de type intégration, repose sur une philosophie fonctionnelle, guide dans l'élaboration des activités de formation visant à transmettre un contenu spécifique pour atteindre des objectifs essentiellement économiques. La deuxième stratégie, de type aspiration, s'inspire plutôt d'une philosophie humaniste, guide dans la production des activités de formation visant à transmettre un contenu à caractère général en vue d'atteindre des objectifs essentiellement de développement de la personne (Ntetu, 1992a/1992b).

La figure III présente une vue plus complète du cadre d'analyse enrichi avec des détails sur l'agencement entre une stratégie donnée et des activités de formation qui en découlent. Au niveau du rectangle de formation, on retrouve les deux stratégies de formation qui viennent d'être identifiées. Chaque stratégie génère des activités qui influencent différemment les habiletés de l'individu. Ces différences sont marquées par un tracé rainuré en ce qui concerne les activités de formation de type intégration et par un pointillé pour ce qui est des activités de formation de type aspiration. Les modifications des habiletés, consécutives à la formation, impliquent, de la part de l'individu, un réajustement à deux niveaux: au niveau personnel, l'individu est amené à adapter ses besoins compte tenu de nouvelles habiletés acquises, et, au niveau de son interaction avec le pôle emploi, l'individu doit négocier des nouvelles conditions qui satisfont davantage à ses attentes.

Figure III
Vue complète du cadre théorique enrichi


STRATÉGIES DE FORMATION
INTÉGRATION
ASPIRATION
HABILETÉS
INDIVIDU
BESOINS
STIMULI
MOTIVATION
CERCLE D'INTERACTION ET D'AJUSTEMENT
EXIGENCES
EMPLOI
INCITATIONS
+
-
FLÉAU MOBILE DE SATISFACTION

Or, comme le spécifie clairement Kahn (1981), l'actualisation de soi comporte deux aspects importants: 1) le développement des aptitudes et des habiletés latentes, et 2) l'utilisation des aptitudes et des habiletés déjà développées. La formation peut agir sur le premier aspect de l'actualisation de soi, tandis que le deuxième requiert des opportunités de mise en pratique. Si une organisation offre de telles opportunités, la formation peut contribuer substantiellement à harmoniser les rapports entre l'employé et son emploi. Dans le cas contraire, la formation risque d'élargir le fossé qui existe entre les attentes de l'employé et les exigences de l'organisation. Dans le même sens, O'Brien (1982) affirme qu'il existe une corrélation positive entre les perceptions que l'employé a des possibilités de réinvestissement de ses acquis à l'intérieur de l'organisation et la satisfaction qu'il éprouve à l'égard de son emploi.

En référence aux éclaircissements apportés par Kahn (1981) et O'Brien (1982) et auxquels il est fait allusion dans le paragraphe précédent, il apparaît que la stratégie de formation de type intégration s'insère dans la logique de donner à l'employé des outils et de lui faire acquérir des habiletés qui correspondent aux opportunités de l'utilisation existant dans l'organisation; une garantie que n'offre pas la stratégie de formation de type aspiration.

Quant aux résultats du réajustement de l'individu, aussi bien au niveau personnel que dans ses rapports avec l'emploi, ils se reflètent sur le "fléau mobile de satisfaction". Etant donné que les deux stratégies sont différentes, on peut s'attendre à ce que les activités de formation qui en découlent, produisent des effets qui soient également différents en termes de satisfaction au travail. Effectivement, comme le supportent les résultats d'une recherche récente (Ntetu, 1992b), en milieu organisationnel, l'activité de formation de type intégration et l'activité de formation de type aspiration agissent différemment sur la satisfaction des employés. Le premier type d'activité a une influence positive certaine sur la satisfaction au travail, tandis que le deuxième n'aurait aucun impact statistiquement notable.

Conclusion

Tout au long de ce texte, il est démontré, du moins théoriquement, la pertinence et l'opérativité d'un cadre théorique qui intègre simultanément les variables "formation" et "satisfaction au travail". Non seulement, le nouveau cadre d'analyse aide à expliquer en profondeur les relations entre ces deux variables mais, en plus, il permet de déterminer les effets spécifiques d'une stratégie de formation donnée ou d'une activité de formation donnée sur la satisfaction au travail des employés.

Il est souhaitable de voir se multiplier les situations concrètes de vérification de l'opérativité de ce cadre théorique, c'est-à-dire une multiplication des recherches qui s'y référeront comme cadre pour analyser et apprécier les effets de la formation sur la satisfaction au travail.

Il y a avantage à utiliser ce nouveau cadre théorique dans des études d'évaluation de la qualité de la formation donnée aux travailleurs, des études visant à justifier la place de l'organe de formation à l'intérieur des entreprises, des études ayant comme préoccupation l'augmentation de la qualité de vie au travail ou encore celles initiant une décision de réallocation des ressources de formation et, à la rigueur, des études effectuées en vue d'avoir une base scientifique d'argumentation en perspective de renouvellement d'une convention collective. Bref, ce cadre théorique peut servir de référence à toute étude visant à aider une organisation à concilier sa double mission de lieu de production et de lieu de développement des personnes.

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Notes

[1] Dans ce texte, la formation est définie comme "toutes les activités éducatives auxquelles pourrait s'adonner l'adulte, qu'il s'agisse d'études générales ou professionnelles, de recyclage

ou de perfectionnement, de matières pertinentes à son travail comme à sa vie de citoyen" (Institut Canadien d'Éducation des Adultes, 1972).

[2] L'expression de "stratégie de formation" est utilisée, dans ce texte, pour désigner l'ensemble d'activités mises en place et de moyens pris par une organisation en vue de mettre au point un programme de formation.

A POLITICAL ECONOMY OF ADULT EDUCATION IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE: A CRITIQUE OF MAINSTREAM ADULT EDUCATION MODELS IN CANADA, MEXICO AND TANZANIA*

Carlos Alberto Torres
University of California, Los Angeles
Daniel Schugurensky
University of Alberta

Abstract

There are two striking features of mainstream adult education models. First, they are based on a conspicuous ideology of liberal individualism—although sometimes at the service of political legitimation and control. Second, for many teachers and policy makers adult education is an area apparently detached from the realm of values and devoid of ideological confrontations. This article reviews evidence from research on adult education and skill upgrading programs inspired by conventional, mainstream adult education in Tanzania, Mexico and the province of Alberta in Canada. Three mainstream adult education models are identified: a therapeutical model in Alberta, a recruitment model in Mexico and a forced modernization model in Tanzania. A central feature of all three models is the lack of a participatory rationale.

Résumé

Il existe deux traits frappants aux modèles courants de l'enseignement des adultes. D'abord, il sont basés sur une idéologie apparente d'individualisme libéral—bien que quelque fois au service de la légitimation et du contrôle politique. Puis, pour beaucoup d'enseignants/es et de responsables de ligne de conduite l'enseignement des adultes est un domain apparemment détaché du domaine des valeurs et dépourvu des confrontations idéologiques. Cet article examine l'évidence à partir des recherches sur l'enseignement des adultes et des programmes d'amélioration des habiletés inspirés par des modèles courants de l'enseignement des adultes conventionnels en Tanzanie, au Mexique et dans la province d l'Alberta au Canada. Trois modèles courants de l'enseignement des adultes sont identifiés: un modèle thérapeutique en Alberta un modèle de recruitement au Mexique et un modéle de modernisation forcé en Tanzanie. Un trait central aux trois modèles est le manque d'une analyse raisonnée participatoire.

The State and Adult Education

This research employs a state-institutional approach to adult education and literacy training.[1] It does not address non-formal educational policies, programs

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and practices that are initiated, financed, implemented, supervised and evaluated by agencies from the international system, or by non-government organizations.[2]

Rather than attempting a complete and systematic picture of the overall process of policy making in adult education, we concentrated on the different social actors (policy-makers, teachers and learners), their expectations and value orientations, and the interactions (contradictions, conflicts, basic agreements) among them. The study of this interaction does not involve a role-status or a psychological-attitudinal approach. Instead, we focused on the actors' world view (e.g., behavioural ethics, language patterns and narratives) as three sharply differentiated "cultural capitals." On the basis of previous empirical research, we anticipated that the different social actors in adult education would have opposing value orientations, but there would also be contrasting cultural capitals interacting in the same set of institutions and programs. The underlying assumption is that personal goals and the values of individuals (actors) in different roles in adult education, as well as alternative cultural capitals, make a difference in the way the system is organized and operates. Although the study has the limitation that it was not designed as an historical-chronological analysis, it offers a provocative analytical perspective due to our focus on the state, political economy and the institutional configurations of adult education programs as the locus where social actors interact.

At an abstract level, understanding the role and nature of the state, its position in the world system and its functions in supporting or enhancing capital accumulation and political legitimation seem to be analytical preconditions to understanding educational policy formation.[3]

The notion of the state employed here is "the totality of the political authority in a given society (governmental or otherwise) regardless of the level—national, subnational, or local—at which it may operate."[4] Thus, it has been argued elsewhere that:

> Political authority implies the capacity to impose a political voluntarism-elaborated on the basis of the perceptions of the fundamental determinants for the continuation of the accumulation of capital and the imperatives of the political legitimation of the nation-state—by means of a system of decisions in a social formation that is highly heterogeneous and characterized by very contradictory interests. In analytical terms, therefore, the state can be considered as a pact of domination and as a self-regulated administrative system that constitutes itself in an arena of struggle—and at the same time is an important actor—in the confrontation between alternative political projects.[5]

Adult education and literacy training have usually been co-opted by the state and employed as instruments of social legitimation and the extension of state authority.[6] A number of issues intervene in adult education policies and programs, including the patterns of selectivity of state action, and the modes, means and methods of state intervention.[7] However, it is not the purpose of this article to discuss adult policy formation,[8] but to explore the models of adult education being pursued in the different societies, the predominant rationalities used in justifying the adoption or implementation of a given model and some of the key values or system of meanings underlining those models and/or rationalities. A state-institutional approach to adult education research is based on a political economy perspective, which provides the rationale for comparisons.

It is important to emphasize that this is a conceptual and comparative article with evidence from three very different countries with different cultures, histories and traditions. This article indicates the increasing world dominance of technocratic/rational approaches, paradigms, modes of thinking and action that conceal a drive for power and the reproduction of inequities rather than their reduction. Yet, while the models we have identified are useful for comparative discussion, like most models they can be rather mechanical. These models, like any synthesis of complex realities, could be open to charges that they simplify histories and cultures of resistance and critiques within each country, region and program. Theoretically, even our notion of development, looking at "stages," "levels" or "positions" in the world system, could be challenged, arguing that it is too mechanistic and linear, leaving out deeper historical and cultural analysis. Even the notion of "political culture" used here as an heuristic rather than a normative theoretical device can be considered inadequate for a grasp of the cultural and political sophistication of adult learners, teachers and policy makers. We argue that the measures of political culture incorporated in our analysis are suggestive of patterns of understanding and systems of meanings. While these measures of political culture serve to outline key features of an actor's political and cultural thinking, they cannot fully encompass people's intellectual, cultural and political understanding or people's political actions. While we are aware of the limitations of political economy approaches, even combined with political culture perspectives, we believe that work of this kind is required if cultures of resistance and critiques leading to a progressive and democratic change are to be achieved. In this regard, we hope that this article provides a useful approach and method for analysis of other programs and countries, and has potential for further development.

A Political Economy Perspective: Canada, Mexico and Tanzania as Research Sites

In terms of socio-economic development, participation in the world economy, political system and prevailing ideology, the three countries are quite different. It could be said loosely that in terms of economic development and growth, Canada is in one extreme, Tanzania in the other extreme and Mexico somewhere in between[9] (see some indicators in Table 1). However, an important factor to be stressed is the difference not only in socio-economic development but in terms of national autonomy: to a greater extent, Canada is a major player in the world system while Mexico and Tanzania are still dependent societies—a situation that does not preclude capitalist development, but in which such development is, to borrow the fortunate phrase of Peter Evans, dependent-development.

Table 1: A Comparison of Some Basic Indicators

Indicators	Canada	Mexico	Tanzania
GNP per capita (US dollars)	13,680.0	2,080.0	290.0
Life expectancy (years)	76.3	65.4	53.7
Illiteracy rate (%)	7.0	8.0	53.7
Educational expenditure (%)	8.2	6.4	15.3
Radio receivers (per 1000 inhabitants)	825.0	173.0	29.0
TV sets (per 1000 inhabitants)	481.0	108.0	--

Source: *Third World Guide, 1989-1990: Facts-Figures-Opinions*. (Montevideo: Third World Editions, 1990).

From the perspective of socio-economic development, these countries represent different stages, levels or socio-economic situations. Canada, with a GNP per capita of $13,680 and a life expectancy of 76.3 years, is considered a developed country. Mexico, with a GNP per capita of $2,080 and a life expectancy of 65.4 years, is characterized as a developing country. Finally, with a GNP per capita of only $290 and a life expectancy of 53.7 years, Tanzania is considered a least developed country—one of the poorest 25 countries in the world.

The classification by UNCTAD characterizes Canada as a developed market economy, Mexico as a major petroleum exporter and Tanzania among the least developed economies.[10] Taking into account Wallerstein's World system approach,[11] these countries also have different positions within the world capitalist system: a central or core state (Canada), a semi-peripheral state (Mexico) and a peripheral state (Tanzania).

In political terms, Canada has a welfare state, a parliamentary democracy, pluralist party competition and a federal system based on provincial autonomy in many welfare areas, including education, housing and health. Mexico has a peculiar political structure resulting from the first social revolution of this century, where the state has developed corporatist features[12] but at the same time has many characteristics of a liberal parliamentary democracy. The party in power has ruled the country for the last sixty years, but allowing political competition in the parliament, the government of three (small) provinces to an opposition party and private control of the mass media. Finally, Tanzania has a strong corporatist structure and a one-party political system with the Chama Cha Mapinduzi as the ruling party.[13] Political parties other than the official one are forbidden. Access to information is controlled by the state. Newspapers and radio stations are controlled by the state.

Prevailing ideologies in these countries are related to the aforementioned political and economic structures. In the case of Canada, the society's prevailing ideology can be seen as individual liberalism. In Mexico, the federal government's prevailing ideology is shaped both by a blend of its corporatist cultural and political experiences and (Mexican) liberalism.[14] The prevailing ideology in Tanzania is shaped by corporatism, resulting in a sort of Fabian-socialist model known as "Ujamaa," which may be translated as "communal socialism" for self-reliance.[15] While in Tanzania the prevailing ideology may be labelled as a "closed," highly coercive state corporatism, the Mexican state operates in a relatively more "open" societal corporatism.

Despite the particular history of each society, all of them have experienced important changes in adult education policies. Within Canada, the province of Alberta is at the forefront of adult education experiences. Although it represents only 10 percent of the Canadian population, the province apparently trains 25 percent of Canada's tradesmen.[16] In the national study conducted by the Southam news organization, Alberta ranks second-best in literacy training and is clearly one of the best in terms of resources devoted to adult education.[17] In academic programs, but especially in career development, the province is continuously evaluating the outcomes of programs applied in countries with similar characteristics, particularly European nations and the U.S.. By comparing its own programs with other programs, argue Alberta's policy makers, the adult education system in Alberta integrates the best elements of different experiences, improving its efforts year by year.[18]

In 1944 Mexico undertook one of the first successful mass literacy campaigns of this century with the result that 1.5 million people were literate, setting an example for campaigns to be carried out in Latin America. The involvement of Jaime Torres Bodet—the mastermind of the Mexican campaign—in the founding of UNESCO probably influenced the earlier orientation of the institution towards supporting literacy training, and it became one of the main advocates for literacy training in the world system. In the 1980s, Mexico developed a highly sophisticated adult education system, being one of the first countries to produce books specifically for bilingual literacy training of its indigenous adult population.[19]

Tanzania's mass literacy campaign was one of the most successful experiments in literacy training in the World Experimental Plan for Literacy carried out by UNESCO,[20] and its ongoing series of campaigns, despite mixed reviews, is considered among the most efficient in the world.[21] The speeches and writings of Tanzania's former president, Julius Nyerere, have been highly influential in international circles, particularly for linking education (particularly adult education) to self-reliant economic and social development.[22]

In the context of the Commonwealth Association for the Education and Training of Adults (CAETA), Paul Fordam and a number of adult educators argue that Tanzania

> ...was the first African country to mount a successful literacy campaign, and the first country to do so before aiming for universal primary education; it is the only country in Africa to create a large cadre of generalist adult educators, mainly, but not exclusively as part of the literacy programs of the early 1970s; these achievements were followed very rapidly by a decision to try and achieve universal primary education by 1977.[23]

Common Policy Patterns

A central concern of this comparative study was to relate the characteristics of each state and its position within the world capitalist system to adult education policies and practices. The character of the state was related to the predominant ideologies in society and the prevailing philosophy in adult education. The latter was explored through the analysis of the values, perceptions and expectations expressed by the main actors in adult education, namely policy makers, adult educators and adult learners.

It is interesting to note that, despite important social, political and ideological differences in Alberta (Canada), Mexico and Tanzania reflected in the organization of their adult education programs, some common patterns were observed.

There is a clear social distance between policy makers, on the one hand, and teachers and learners, on the other. This social distance can be attributed, especially in the cases of Mexico and Tanzania, to differences of income and schooling. Tanzanian policy makers receive an average income equivalent to fifteen times the national minimum salary, while Mexican policy makers receive five times the national minimum salary. Teachers, on the other hand, receive 1 to 3 times the minimum salary in Tanzania and 0.25 to 3 times the minimum salary in Mexico. Learners in Tanzania receive an average of 0.25 of a minimum salary, and 70 percent of learners in Mexico receive no income at all. In Canada, income distribution among the three groups is less uneven. The difference between policy makers and teachers is minimal, since both groups receive between 3 and 4 times the minimum salary, and seniority for income purposes is important. Learners, however, receive on average approximately half of a minimum salary, but in many cases they earn their living through students' allowances, training allowances and the like.

In Tanzania, the income gap between policy makers and teachers is the greatest of the three countries. However, in the three countries policy makers do not differ so much from teachers and learners in terms of their parents' occupation and education.[24] Many parents of Canadian policy makers have working class occupations, and 40 percent of teachers' parents are blue collar workers. Although parents of Mexican policy makers have a more heterogeneous social origin, 50 percent of teachers' parents were peasants (of the 28.4 million Mexicans who in 1992 resided in rural areas, 6.3 million worked in agricultural activities) and 22 percent have blue collar occupations. Finally, most Tanzanian policy makers' parents have a middle class background, while 90 percent of Tanzanian teachers' parents were either peasants, craftsmen or blue collar workers. Learners' social origins were consistent across the board: 56 percent of Canadian learners, 66 percent of Mexican learners and 87 percent of Tanzanian learners have blue collar or peasant parents. Since few parents of policy makers or teachers have performed occupational professional roles, and considering that almost no policy makers' or teachers' parents have been educated beyond high school, policy makers, teachers and adults in adult education seem to share similar social origins.

Interestingly enough, teachers of both academic and skill upgrading programs in all three countries have virtually no pre-service training in adult education. Similarly, adult learners, as measured by income, schooling and parents' socio-economic status, belong to the poorest population groups in the three societies.

The characteristics of adult learners vary according to the program in which they are enrolled. In all three countries, skill upgrading students are predominantly male, on average younger and with higher socio-economic background, cultural capital, political culture, work experience, expectations and aspirations than academic upgrading students. Academic upgrading programs, on the other hand, have more females and senior people whose socio-economic status, political culture, aspirations and expectations are lower than the sample average. Gender differentiation varies per country; while in Alberta, Canada, distribution of students by gender follows the demographic distribution of the population, in Mexico and Tanzania learners are predominantly women. In general terms, skill upgrading programs tend to have male teachers, while female teachers tend to work in academic upgrading programs, although in Canada the picture is a little more balanced than in the other two countries. Policy making in all three countries is an activity almost exclusively commanded by men.

Actors across the board are not very critical about their own performance in the programs nor about the efficiency of the programs in achieving the proclaimed goals. With a few exceptions, and with different degrees of elaboration, the three actors share the view that the programs are working properly, and efficiency is seldom questioned. This view is complemented by an apolitical perception of the role of adult education.

At the level of policy makers' language, it is technically aseptic. In Alberta, particularly, the rationale for adult education is raceless, genderless and stateless. Aseptic, non-controversial language is used, with a great deal of borrowing from organizational theory, and educational administration behaviourist-oriented theory. Key categories used in their administrative language are inspired by system theories, human capital and functionalist paradigms.[25]

In the context of vertical organizational structures in the three countries, programs are considered trouble-free. For policy makers, if a problem is found in a given program, teachers and students are more likely to be blamed. Policy makers have seldom questioned their own performance. Policy makers, showing a patronizing and paternalistic attitude, tend to systematically underestimate learners' knowledge and concerns. For instance, a Tanzanian policy maker, arguing the importance of adult education in socializing people in the new values of the system, emphasized that "It is important for the people to understand our policy of socialism and rural development. They should also learn the political systems of other countries in order to compare them with our system and see how our system is better than other systems." These are indeed curious remarks. Learners, as the "common people" in the semantics of the sentence, are "outside" the policy of socialism and rural development in the country. Thus, learners might not be at all clear about the virtues of Tanzania's socialist system, which in the view of this policy maker, is far better than other political systems. Parallel concerns—with different ideological orientation—are found in statements by Albertan and Mexican policy makers.[26]

Teachers tend not to see shortcomings in programs and, when they do, students are the first to be blamed for them. When lack of support from policy makers is perceived, some teachers welcome this lack, of involvement from the upper levels of management. A Canadian teacher, satisfied with policy makers' lack of knowledge about her work in education programs, commented that "I make the decision on what to teach and how to teach since in essence my decisions are the curriculum."

Adult learners are even less likely than policy makers and instructors to identify problems within the programs. They are grateful for the opportunity to learn, accepting it as charity, and everything seems to be fine. Adult learners also participate in the process of "blaming the victim"; given the organizational structure, like in a self-fulfilling prophesy, they tend to blame themselves for any learning problem they might encounter.

Taking into account indicators of political culture in the three countries,[27] the political culture of learners seems not very sophisticated. However, differences in knowledge and information are present since political culture seems to be more sophisticated among urban, male, older and skill upgrading students.[28]

Teaching methods are based on traditional techniques such as lecturing by the teacher. Group work and collaborative approaches were barely implemented in the classrooms. In the three countries the perceptions of teachers and students vary along program lines. Academic upgrading and literacy training teachers tend, in a much higher proportion than skill upgrading teachers, to think that their students are not able to cope well with their studies. Quantitative and in-depth interviews clearly indicate that students with higher attendance, work satisfaction, expectations and aspirations, and a more refined political culture are those enrolled in skill upgrading programs and living in urban areas. Factors such as gender, work experience and years of schooling seem to have a more limited influence in forming those expectations and aspirations.

Main Policy Differences

A first distinction to be made is that in Alberta, Canada, learners are full-time students. In addition, a great number of them receive financial support from the state. In the other two countries, learners do not receive any financial support, and the majority are part-time students. In Canada, the social distance between instructors and learners (measured by indicators such as income, political culture, schooling, perception of the program's goals, etc.) is wider than in Mexico and Tanzania.

Teachers' institutional profiles differ in the three countries. In Alberta, adult education programs have very low job turnover and employ professional, university-educated teachers who have worked in adult education for an average of more than 8 years. Mexican adult educators are usually volunteers who earn a symbolic remuneration. They have little experience in educational matters, having worked on average only two years in adult education, with high rates of absenteeism and job turnover. As one Mexican teacher said ironically: "the state pretends that it pays us, and we pretend that we work." In Tanzania instructors are usually school teachers in regular day schooling, and who supplement their income by teaching adults in the evening. They have no training for teaching adults, but given the lack of other occupational opportunities, there is very little job turnover.

One of the main responsibilities of the teacher in Mexico is to recruit students and incorporate them into the programs. Many teachers recruit their own groups of students and receive a small honoraria. Since payment varies according to the numbers of students and groups enrolled, enlisting students for literacy training courses is a priority for teachers. This system leads sometimes to corruption and the "inflation" of enrolment figures or the creation of "phantom" groups.

While in all three countries adult education attempts to integrate the adults—who are perceived as "marginals" or "left behind"—into mainstream society, the characteristics of the process vary by country. In Mexico and Tanzania the emphasis is placed on massive integration of the adults into the political and economic projects of the state. In Alberta, Canada, an economic rationale—to prepare qualified personnel for the needs of industry—is combined with a culture of professionalism developed by highly credentialized teachers. This, combined with the low cost of the studies, given government allowances and fellowships, usually results in a highly selective process, with adults filling lengthy waiting lists, particularly at times of economic recession, to access the system as students—obviously a much better prospect than being unemployed.

Teachers' views also differ. While in Mexico they relate adult education to the ideas of social justice, community development, national integration and economic growth of the nation, and in Tanzania they also add to the above the notions of socialism and self-reliance, Canadian teachers emphasize a liberal-individualist perspective, pointing out their contribution to the preparation of individuals for their smooth integration into the market, increasing learners' abilities, work ethics and labour skills.

Mexico's and Tanzania's curricula are usually prescribed by central agencies in charge of adult education and tend to have a national (centralized) orientation. Although in Canada adult education institutions seem to be as hierarchically organized and perhaps as bureaucratic or more so than the Tanzanian and Mexican ones, highly credentialized teachers enjoy relative autonomy to select—or even produce—their own instructional content and strategy. This, again, probably relates to the dominant political philosophy, which is based in the notion of liberal-individualism, and the teachers' culture of professionalism—and hence a corporatist behaviour, in the Gramscian sense.[29]

There is an association between state apparatuses, prevailing ideology and adult education models in all three societies. Indeed, taking into account the views (including perceptions, aspirations and rationalization of their action) of the three actors, three models of thinking and implementing adult education were identified. These models were not identified a priori in our research design, but emerged from concrete empirical study as "grounded theory."[30]

For lack of better labels and according to the most salient aspects, they may be named as the Canadian therapeutical model, the Mexican recruitment model and the Tanzanian forced modernization model (see Table 2).

Table 2: Policy Models

Policy Rationale	***Therapeutic Model* Alberta, Canada**	***Recruitment Model* Mexico**	***Forced Modernization Model* Tanzania**
Dominant philosophy of the state	*Liberal individualism*	*Inclusionary corporatism*	*"Ujamaa" socialism*
Main rationale of adult education programs	*Employability of labour force*	*Cultural modernization of disenfranchised populations, increasing political control*	*Increasing cash crop production and preventing rural-urban migration*
Policy rationale	*Supply-side economics*	*Ideological political projects*	*Legitimization of the political party*
Main need addressed	*Individual deficit and business needs*	*Constitutional mandate*	*Rural-urban migration*
Enrolment procedure	*Adult's initiative*	*Teachers' initiative*	*The party's initiative*
Enrolment policy	*Selective (criteria of professionalism)*	*Massive (invitation)*	*Massive (coercion)*
Structure of Programs	*Fairly decentralized*	*Fairly centralized*	*Highly centralized*
Document's rhetoric	*Functionality of adult education*	*Education for social justice*	*Education for self-reliance*
View of the Adult			
Benefit to adult in academic upgrading	*Cultural and economic*	*Daily life activities*	*Political, economic and cultural*
Perception of the adult	*As an individual acting freely in labour markets*	*As part of a deprived group*	*As part of a nation*
What is the problem of the adult?	*Low self-esteem*	*Socially "left behind"*	*Low rural productivity oriented to self-consumption rather than cash crops*

Table 2: Policy Models (Continued)

View of the Adult	*Therapeutic Model* *Alberta, Canada*	*Recruitment Model* *Mexico*	*Forced Modernization Model* *Tanzania*
Main benefit for adults (teachers' and policy makers' perspectives)	*Confidence and self-esteem*	*General knowledge*	*Self-employment and cash-production*
Means of integrating the marginalized adult into society	*Labour market*	*Political system*	*Economic strategy*
Teachers (Instructors)			
Academic upgrading of literacy instructors	*Professional with academic credentials*	*Volunteer para-professional instructor*	*Regular school teacher*
Teacher's job stability	*Low job turnover*	*High job turnover*	*Low job turnover*
Content selected by	*Teacher*	*Prescribed by Institute of Adult Education (INEA)*	*Prescribed by Adult Education Agencies with close monitoring by the party*
Teacher's rhetoric	*Personal development*	*Community development*	*National development*
Teacher's qualifications	*University level*	*Virtually none*	*Post-secondary teacher's training*
Teacher's motivation	*Highly motivated professional with good salary*	*Motivated para-professional with symbolic income*	*Overworked and poorly paid teacher*

Source: Elaborated with information from Carlos Alberto Torres et al. Adult Education Policy Implementation in Canada, Mexico, and Tanzania, Final Report. (Edmonton, Alberta: 1992).

Canadian Therapeutical Model

The Canadian state is a welfare state, a socio-political structure that through welfare policies offers the protection of minimum standards of income, nutrition, health, housing and education, which are assured to every citizen as a political right rather than as a charity.[31] A therapeutical model of adult education is based on a "clinical approach" to deal with social problems that have emerged in welfare states.[32] A clinical approach treats social problems as social pathologies. In so far as "social deviance," lack of adaptation and resistance practices are seen as a series of pathologies, there is a tendency in this approach towards the maintenance of the status quo. Deviation from the dominant social norms constitutes failed or incomplete socialization. Such a treatment of social problems usually ignores a range of relevant factors accounted for by a political economy. In trying to explain education in the context of economic development, and therefore the relationships between poverty, unemployment and education, a political economy approach will include income distribution patterns, state prices, wages and inflation, state policies or issues of equality of educational opportunities as powerful predictors (variables) in explaining social problems.[33] The "victim-blaming" thrust of deficit models that seem to underlay therapeutical models of policy making overlooks the material underpinnings of any theory of cultural deprivation, and most of the policy recommendations are based on methodological individualism—i.e., having the individual as the unit of analysis, following rational choice theory and centering on purposive rational agents who act with a set of preferences in the context of institutional and environmental constraints.

In the therapeutical model prevailing in Alberta, policy makers and teachers interviewed were not concerned with the organization and mobilization of minorities, the empowerment of disadvantaged groups, affirmative action policies or progressive politics. One may wonder whether this finding is a function of the sampling—public institutions operating under the constraints of a populist-conservative political party—or whether this is indicative of a trend in the Canadian public sector in general. Albertan (and perhaps most Canadian) policy makers share a basic instrumental rationality based on a technocratic perception of the social world, a social world that can be manipulated at will.

Technocratic thinking constructs a model of the world with a system of categories that come to expect certain relationships and behaviour to occur according to certain laws. Technocratic thinking also assumes that social problems can be solved through technical measures, which implies adequate planning and available resources.[34] Thus, adult education is seen as helping to solve problems of unemployment, work efficiency and adult marginality. Teachers and students are constituent elements in the model designed by policy makers, without much autonomy on their own.

In Habermas' terminology, the therapeutical model is closer to a technical guiding-knowledge interest than to a practical or to an emancipatory one.[35] A technical guiding-interest focuses on the notion of work and control of the environment and in effective planning and forecasting. The problem of poverty is usually a result of individual deficits, and sometimes even genetic or social deviance explanations are given.

In short, the therapeutical model is based on a doctor-patient relationship in which the role of the expert is to find the exact nature of the training to be provided to the individual, counting on a system of highly elaborated referral institutional agencies that are used to treat the patient.

Mexican Recruitment Model

The Mexican "recruitment" model operates in the framework of a corporatist state and a nationalist ideology emerging from the powerful symbolism of the Mexican Revolution (1910-1917). Corporatism refers to a process of structuring interest representation through a particular set of policies and institutional arrangements that (a) emphasize co-operation rather than competition at the leadership level, and (b) use social control through carefully articulated mobilization of the masses. In the context of an "inclusionary corporatist"[36] form of state in Mexico, a recruitment model operates in adult education. Inclusionary corporatism refers to a state that aims to incorporate salient working class groups and marginal forms of labour into the economic and political model. The capacity of the state to recruit disenfranchised population becomes a centrepiece in the strategy of political control. Unlike Tanzania, in Mexico this recruitment is not performed exclusively by the political party but by a large set of governmental institutions and mass organizations.

In this model, education is understood as a service offered by the state, with the main function of guaranteeing to the population access to the basic culture of the nation, prescribed as a constitutional mandate. A key characteristic of this model is that the pattern of incorporation of adults into the programs relies on government agencies rather than on the free initiative of the individual. In this model, the clientele is considered a segment of the population that has been left behind as a result of socio-economic inequalities originated in dysfunctionalities of the socio-economic model. Since the core of the discourse is to promote social equality, the notion of adult education as an opportunity for a second chance and the construction of a massive system are fundamental. Indeed, the main rationale is to offer a second opportunity to those who have failed to enter schooling or have dropped out. To engage the large numbers of adult educators that Mexico needs—estimates in the early 1980s were roughly 7 million illiterates and 15 million adults who had not completed primary or secondary education—the system relies on volunteers and recruitment strategies based on the people resorting to adult education to fulfil civic requirements (i.e., military service, unpaid social service for university students). In fact, only 7 percent of Mexican teachers joined the program because they were interested in the intrinsic characteristics of the job. The operation of a massive system of adult education, with its rationale of political legitimation of the state, puts more emphasis on achieving quantitative outcomes than on developing innovative learning processes to enhance the quality of education.[37]

As a result of corporatism, the Mexican adult education system is a highly centralized, pyramidal structure. The contents are established by centralized agencies of the state and are compulsory for the entire nation. The rhetoric of social solidarity and the ideology of the revolution permeate most of the official documents and are constantly present among Mexican teachers' arguments. For example, half of the teachers declared that they opted to join the program trying "to help" poor people. In addition, the notion of attaining community development was widely mentioned. One of the purposes of the system seems to be the integration of a marginal population into the accepted political norms. Teachers have limited education, and few opportunities for on-the-job training are provided by the institution. Since contents are nationally and centrally defined, the curriculum does not address the needs and interests of specific groups, including provincial (state) or regional peculiarities, ethnic, gender or class demands, or economic activity needs. The system relies more on teachers' motivation than on qualifications which, in the long run may eventually result in low-quality education. Moreover, even teachers' enthusiasm does not seem to last for a long time in light of low wages. This situation is reflected in high teacher absenteeism, lack of punctuality and high job turnover.

Tanzanian Forced Modernization Model

In Tanzania, some of the features of the Mexican model are developed in a much greater dimension in the context of a subtly coercive state that does not tolerate open dissent. In addition, due to the political economy of the country, the resources available for educational innovations are scarce. The main goal of adult education is to stimulate higher production of export crops such as coffee or cotton which constitute a major source of foreign currency for the country. In fact, policy makers' rationale is that adult education should contribute to limiting peasants' production for self-consumption, encouraging cash crop production instead. In their view, adult programs will incorporate marginal groups into a market economy, increasing at the same time the government's revenues. Finally, policy makers claim that a productive peasantry will be more reluctant to migrate to the cities.

The rationale of adult learners, however, is exactly the reverse of official rhetoric: learners think that a job in urban areas is the only way to escape from rural poverty and try to use adult education (particularly the education offered in the Folk Development Colleges) as a way out of rural life. These differences in the agendas of policy makers and learners result in a top-down policy model. Participation of learners in the programs is not voluntary or spontaneous; on the contrary, the state and the party make a great effort to enrol people in the programs. Consequently, the pressure for the establishment of adult education programs resulted not from people's demands, but from the state political-economy rationale for development; thus the character of a "forced modernization" model.

Tanzanian policy makers constitute an elite in the country, having a high commitment to the party, a nationalist feeling and a sincere belief that the programs are doing a real benefit for the masses. They perceive learners, as in Canada or Mexico, as lacking basic information and cognitive skills—reinforcing a paternalistic attitude. Policy makers practice virtually no self-criticism. Indeed, policy makers do not consider that the programs might have little benefit for the people. However, a statement made by an adult learner in the district of Mlali is in stark contrast:

> I enrolled in literacy classes because I wanted to get employment, to educate myself and to fight against ignorance.... We have been reading in the literacy

> classes and now we no longer see its benefit. We have been dealing with the same things all the time—books, exercise books, paper, pencil and those so-called tests which simply embarrass people. You will see somebody holding a pencil without knowing where to start. Thank God, literacy training is no more.[38]

As in Mexican adult basic education and literacy training, teachers in Tanzania are poorly educated and scarcely remunerated. Skill upgrading teachers, on the contrary, have a much higher status and are better paid. Interestingly enough, the income gap between policy makers and the other two groups in this self-proclaimed socialist society is higher compared to the Canadian and Mexican capitalist societies. Although policy makers and teachers emphasize that the program increases the practice of better farming techniques in modern agriculture and leads to raising political consciousness, only a few students agreed with that.[39]

For adult basic education and literacy training (ABELT) students, the main benefit of the program is to attain social prestige and achieve cultural development, while for skill upgrading students it is mainly job opportunity. In ABELT programs, a gap between government discourse and resource allocation may be observed. Although the government theoretically assigns a great importance to literacy, very few resources are allocated to it. Classes are held in primary school buildings, party offices and other public buildings. There is no training in adult education matters. Classes are taught by primary school teachers, who are induced to do it as part of their workload, or by volunteers who unsuccessfully try to use it as a way of getting selected for admission to a teachers' college. Since the scarce resources are not efficiently used and are often wasted, both teachers and students seem to be increasingly reluctant to attend ABELT programs. Teachers are not selected on account of their interest, experience or qualifications.

Programs initiated from above are in danger of not meeting the needs of learners. This is perhaps more obvious in (though not necessarily more true of) Tanzania than the other two cases. It is also ironic that it occurs in a system in which the party claims to be close to the people and to act on behalf of the people. Perhaps it has to do with the fact that, for many, the Tanzanian government has built a facade of well-running adult education programs in order to continue receiving foreign aid, especially from Scandinavian countries.[40]

Non-Participatory Models and Rationalities in Adult Education

Three models sharing a non-participatory rationale have been identified in this comparison of adult education policy implementation in Canada, Mexico and Tanzania. In the Canadian therapeutical model, the state is a benefactor, and the problems of poverty and illiteracy are either the result of temporary economic dislocations, which may be adjusted through market mechanisms, or the result of individual deficits in skills or attitudes, which may be addressed through instructional means. The role of the experts is to determine the nature of the training to be given to the individuals in order to integrate them into the job market as soon as possible. Teachers are professionals and enjoy great autonomy.

In the Mexican recruitment model, emphasis is stressed on a constant and active attraction of a large number of learners to adult education programs. The rationale seems to be the incorporation of a disenfranchised clientele into the dominant political model. Teachers are mainly volunteers and follow textbooks designed by central agencies. In this model, the main concern is not the quality of learning, but the recruitment and massive control of large numbers of people who otherwise could remain outside the corporatist channels of policy participation.

Finally, in Tanzania's "forced modernization" model, the emphasis is on capital accumulation through the implementation of modern agriculture techniques and therefore more Tanzanian integration into the world market economy. Such a model is resisted both by women who produce for home consumption and by young men whose main interest is to get employment in urban areas, thus leaving the rural enclaves.

The three models exhibit common traits that are surprising, considering the diversities of living conditions, state structures and political philosophies prevailing in each society. First is the importance attached to a technocratic rationale, and the apolitical and uncritical view of adult education programs prevailing among teachers and policy makers. Aseptic, non-controversial language is used, borrowing concepts from organizational theory and educational administration. Central dimensions in policy formation such as social class differentials, gender and ethnic or racial discrimination remain subdued in the narratives of policy makers.

In addition, these are classless models. That is, the class character of the programs, the class characteristics of the learners and the class orientation of the job training never surface in the arguments advanced by policy makers and teachers. Nor is it part of the learners' intellectual understanding of their own practice.

A genderless approach prevails in the three models. While in some societies (such as Mexico and Tanzania) women are the bulk of the adult education clientele, the specific needs of women are never taken into account, and the lack of a feminist approach in policy making and adult learning and teaching—or the absence of women employed in the higher echelons of policy making—is never explained.

It could be argued that, in non-participatory models, social and political issues and issues that may bring conflict into adult education are ignored or perceived exclusively as problems to be fixed through technical measures.

A second common trait is that in all three societies adult education has a non-participative model; it is a clear instrument of the state, contributing to legitimation and accumulation practices, neglecting emancipatory practices that could empower socially subordinate groups.

Third, in all these models literacy training is marginal and irrelevant, isolated from productive work or skill upgrading and is considered a second-class education, with little impact on the living conditions of the poor.

Fourth, in the absence of participatory organizational structures and practices, a top-down decision-making system prevails. Despite the operation of three different models oriented by fairly different political and philosophical values, in all of them there are few opportunities for learner (or community) participation in decision making. On the other hand, particularly in Mexico and Tanzania but to a lesser extent in Alberta, due to their social, political and organizational characteristics, adult learners have no power to express their demands and no strategy to help them in this process.

Fifth, teachers by and large have no training in adult education. In Canada highly professional teachers have a patronizing and paternalistic attitude, while in Mexico and Tanzania, para-professional or poorly trained teachers display high rates of turnover and absenteeism, which in turn leads to students dropping out.

Last, but not least, there is evidence that in Canada, Mexico and Tanzania adult education programs are organized on a two-track system: a more prestigious one, that of skill upgrading programs, and a residual and marginal one composed of adult basic education and literacy training programs. These two-track systems—along with non-participative, top-down policy and organizational structures based on a technocratic rationale, the apolitical and uncritical views of teachers and policy makers and the lack of concern for forms of class, gender and race discrimination—instead of reducing existing inequalities, may reinforce and foster them.

Notes

[1] This article reports research findings of a major research project. Supported by a generous grant from the International Development Research Centre, Ottawa, Canada, we studied adult education policy implementation in Canada—especially the province of Alberta—Mexico and Tanzania. This study was conducted between 1987 and 1991 by three research groups co-ordinated internationally by Carlos Alberto Torres. A description of the theoretical framework, as well as the different adult education systems studied in Canada, Mexico and Tanzania, can be found in the special issue of the *Alberta Journal of Educational Research* 34, no. 2 (1988). Fifty policy makers, 155 adult education teachers and 447 adult learners were interviewed. Policy makers and teachers were interviewed using structured, in-depth interviews; and students were surveyed twice, at the beginning of the programs in 1988-89 and a year later. Only public programs in adult education and literacy training were selected, including Alberta Vocational Centres and Community Vocational Colleges, seven different public programs in Mexico and Folk Development Colleges and adult literacy programs from the Institute of Adult Education in Tanzania. Rural and urban programs were studied in northern and central Alberta, in the Federal District (Mexico City) and a rural district outside Mexico City, and in a rural municipality and the urban area of Dar-Es-Salaam in Tanzania. Three other papers report in detail empirical data and theoretical analysis of the original study: Carlos Alberto Torres, "Adult Education and Instrumental Rationality: A Critique" (*International Journal of Educational Development*, 14, no. 2, 1993); Carlos Alberto Torres and Daniel Schugurensky, "The Politics of Adult Education in Comparative Perspective: Models, Rationalities, and Adult Education Policy Implementation in Canada, Mexico and Tanzania" (*Comparative Education*, 30, no. 2, June 1994); and Carlos Alberto Torres and Daniel Schugurensky, "A Therapeutical Model of Adult Education, Skills and Academic Upgrading Programs in the Province of Alberta" (Los Angeles: University of California, 1993).

[2] Two types of programs were studied in the three research settings: academic upgrading programs (consisting of literacy training and adult basic education) and skill upgrading programs (consisting of programs oriented to learning specific trades or practical skills).

[3] See C.A. Torres, *The Politics of Nonformal Education in Latin America* (New York: Praeger, 1990); D. Morales-Gómez and C.A. Torres, *The State Corporatist Policies and Educational Policy*

Making in Mexico (New York: Praeger, 1990) and Martin Carnoy and Joel Samoff (eds.), *Education and Social Transformation in the Third World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990).

[4] Hans N. Weiler, "Legalization, Expertise, and Participation: Strategies of Compensatory Legitimation in Educational Policy," *Comparative Education Review* 27, no. 2, p. 259.

[5] Torres, *The Politics of Nonformal Education*, pp. 128-29.

[6] John Bock and George Papagianis (eds.), *Nonformal Education and National Development* (New York: Praeger, 1983), p. 339; Torres, *The Politics of Nonformal Education*, p. 21; Carlos Rodrigues Brandão, "Los caminos cruzados: Formas de pensar y realizar educación en América Latina," *Revista de Educación de Adultos* 2, no. 2, pp. 28-41.

[7] Claus Offe, "Political Authority and Class Structures—An Analysis of Late Capitalist Societies," *International Journal of Sociology* 2, no. 1 (1972), pp. 73-108; Claus Offe, "Notes on the Laws of Motion of Reformist State Policies," mimeographed (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1975); C.A. Torres, "Public Policy Formation and the Mexican Corporatist State: A Study of Adult Education Policy and Planning in Mexico (1970-1982)" (Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University School of Education-SIDEC, 1984).

[8] A framework to study adult education as public policy has been advanced elsewhere that argues that it is necessary to inquire about policy formation in the light of the following dimensions: (1) the main actors of policy formation, including the bureaucracy, administrative agents, and social constituencies and clienteles; (2) in terms of organizational studies, the main systemic elements found within a given setting or educational policy formation; (3) the main institutional phases, stages, and/or units of policy formation, that is, the levels of policy planning, policymaking, policy operation, and even policy outcome; (4) the intellectual, institutional, and ideological atmosphere in which those decisions are made (the policy framework). Additionally, it can be argued that those dimensions are offset or shaped by the general framework of organizational rules, which are, in turn, laid down and superimposed in an organization-structure. Finally, it is important to identify the production rules of public policy with which to understand educational relationships between the political society and the civil society at a particular point in time. Torres, *The Politics of Nonformal Education*, p. 124.

[9] Daniel A. Morales-Gómez and Carlos Alberto Torres, *The State Corporatist Policies and Educational Policy Making in Mexico* (New York: Praeger, 1990).

[10] UNCTAD, *Handbook of International Trade and Development Statistics* (New York: 1987); UNCTAD, *Handbook of International Trade and Development Statistics, Supplement 1987* (New York: 1987); UNCTAD, *The Least Developed Countries* (New York: United Nations, 1985).

[11] See Carlos A. Torres, "An Analytical Framework for Adult Education in Alberta," *The Alberta Journal of Educational Research* 34, no. 3 (1988): 269-86.

[12] A discussion of the corporatist features of Mexico can be found in Miguel Basañez, *La lucha por la hegemonía en México (1968-1980)* (Mexico: Siglo XXI Editores, 1981); Arnaldo Córdova, *La ideología de la Revolución Mexicana. La formación del nuevo régimen* (Mexico: Ediciones ERA, 1973); Nora Hamilton, *The Limits of State Autonomy: Post-Revolutionary Mexico* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982); Carlos Alberto Torres, "The Mexican State and Democracy: The Ambiguities of Corporatism," *International Journal of Politics,Culture, and Society* 2, no. 4 (1988): 563-86 and Morales-Gómez and Torres, *State Corporatist Policies*.

[13] A very good discussion of the relationships between the political system, economic development and education in Tanzania can be found in Joel Samoff, "From Lighting a Torch on Kilimanjaro to Surviving in a Shantytown: Education and Financial Crisis in Tanzania," mimeographed (UNESCO-ILO Task Force on Austerity, Adjustment and Human Resources, 1992). It is relevant to note that the Tanzanian National Assembly recently passed legislation preparing the way for multi-party politics, although the new constitution maintains the commitment to socialism and UJAMAA.

[14] As for the notion of liberalism in Mexico, see Reyes Heroles, *El Liberalismo en México*, 2 vols. (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1980).

[15] Jeff Unsicker, "Adult Education, Socialism and International Aid in Tanzania: The Political Economy of the Folk Development Colleges" (Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1987).

[16] Interview with Director of Manpower and Planning, Government of Alberta.

[17] Southam News, *Illiteracy in Canada* (Ottawa: Southam Reports, 1987).

[18] This view of a very successful system of adult education and literacy training in Alberta is pervasive among policy makers and teachers, as reported in our interviews with the eleven key policy makers in the field and with fifty teachers. It should be noted that for convenience this article refers to Canada in general, but the study focused on a small section of adult education, omitting other important Canadian experiences.

[19] Bilingual literacy training became a priority of the Mexican state in 1987; primers for bilingual literacy (in Spanish and in thirteen of the fifty-two indigenous languages spoken in the country) were organized and produced.

[20] Harban S. Bhola, *Campaigning for Literacy: Eight National Experiences of the Twentieth Century* (Paris: UNESCO, 1984); Carlos A. Torres (ed.), *Ensayos sobre la Educación de los Adultos en America Latina* (Mexico: Centro de Estudios Educativos, 1982) and Philipe R. Fletcher, "National Educational Systems as State Agencies of Legitimation" (Paper delivered at the Western Regional Conference of the Comparative and International Education Society, Stanford University, October 22-24, 1984).

[21] See Bhola, *Campaigning for Literacy*; Agñeta Lind and Anton Johnson, "Adult Literacy in the Third World: A Review of Objectives and Strategies," Institute of International Education, SIDA Education Division, document no. 32 (Stockholm: University of Stockholm, 1986).

[22] Because of his contributions to the field of adult education, Tanzanian First President J.K. Nyerere was invited to be first honourary Chairperson of the International Council of Adult Education (ICAE), based in Toronto. Paulo Freire was invited to be its second one. A few years later, former Mexican president Luis Echeverría, who enacted the first law of adult education in the country in 1974, was also appointed to the same position.

[23] Y. Bwatwa, P. Fordham, J. Fox and V. Mlekwa, *Adult Education: The Tanzanian Experience* (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. vii.

[24] See Carlos Alberto Torres and Daniel Schugurensky, "Adult Education Policy Implementation in Canada, Mexico and Tanzania" (Paper delivered at the Literacy Conference, October 9-12, Edmonton, Alberta), esp. pp. 8-9. (1991)

[25] See Carlos A. Torres, "Policy-Makers View and Policy-Rationales in Alberta," in C.A. Torres et al., *Adult Education Policy-Implementation in Canada, Mexico and Tanzania: Final Report*, vol. 1, mimeographed (University of Alberta, 1991), pp. 115-48.

[26] See Susan Street, "Adult Education in Mexico: Policymakers Theorize 'The New Adult'," *New Education* 12, no. 2 (1990), pp. 58-69.

[27] "The concept of political culture has been used to identify the complex of ideological norms, values and propositions, as well as theories and scientific instruments, obtained by any agent through a systematic or nonsystematic process of political socialization." Jose Angel Pescador and Carlos Alberto Torres, *Educación y Poder Politico en México* (Mexico: UTHEA, 1985), p. 112. See also Street, "Adult Education in Mexico," p. 68; and Torres and Schugurensky, Adult Education Policy Implementation in Canada, Mexico and Tanzania."

[28] Learners' political culture was measured using a variety of indicators, such as basic information on national and provincial politics (e.g., names of leaders and their political party affiliation), knowledge and opinion on national problems and possible solutions, civic participation (e.g., voting, membership in organizations) and access to information (e.g., newspapers, television).

[29] Gramsci defines the economic-corporative phase of a social group as an historical phase in which a given group (or class) tries to defend its best corporate-economic interests without aspiring to a position of leadership in the political and social arena. Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, ed. and trans. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (New York: International Publishers, 1971), p. xiii.

[30] Grounded theory was originally developed by B.G. Glasser and A.L. Strauss in *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* (Chicago: Aldine, 1967). From a perspective of symbolic interactionism it appears as an alternative to logic-deductive theory, where "facts" are verified and hypotheses tested. See Gordon G. Darkenwald, "Field Research and Grounded Theory," in Huey B. Long, Roger Hiemstra and Associates, *Changing Approaches to Studying Adult Education* (San Francisco: Jossey Bass, 1980), pp. 63-77.

[31] Harold Wilensky, *The Welfare State and Equality: Structural and Ideological Roots of Public Expenditure* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975) and *The New Corporatism: Centralization and the Welfare State* (Beverly Hills: SAGE, 1976). It has been argued that the welfare state is a particular form of the democratic liberal state in industrialized societies. Yet welfare regimes may take place not only within liberal but also corporatist and social-democratic states. Its origins have been associated with the industrial and financial reconstitution of the post-Depression era in the United States and Europe, based on a "social pact" between employers and labour. A striking feature of the welfare state is the new role of the state in the economy and the enlarged public expenditure using fiscal resources in productive and non-productive sectors of the economy. See Theda Skocpol, "Political Response to Capitalist Crisis: Neo-Marxist Theories of the State and the Case of the New Deal," *Politics and Society* 10, no. 2 (1980), pp. 155-201.

[32] U.S. historian Sol Cohen has argued that a clinical model assumes that "personality maladjustments are the cause of individual mental disorder and social problems of all sorts [and] ... the school is the strategic agency to prevent, or detect and 'adjust' problems in children's personality development, and finally, the personality development of children must take priority over any other educational objective." Sol Cohen, "The Mental Hygiene Movement, the Development of Personality and the School: The Medicalization of American Education," *History of Education Quarterly* (1983, summer): 124.

[33] A good discussion of the political economy of education can be found in Martin Carnoy, "Education, Economy, and the State," in *Cultural and Economic Reproduction in Education*, ed. Michael Apple (London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982), pp. 79-126.

[34] Henry Levin, "The Limits of Educational Planning," in *Educational Planning and Social Change*, ed. H.N. Weiler (Paris; UNESCO-IIEP, 1980), pp. 15-47.

[35] One of the most consistent explanations and applications of Habermas' guiding-knowledge interests to adult education can be found in Jack Mezirow, "A Critical Theory of Adult Education" in *Education for Adults*, ed. M. Tight, 2 vols. (London: Croom Helm, 1983).

[36] See Alfred Stephan, *The State and Society: Peru in Comparative Perspective* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978).

[37] Ibid. See Torres, *The Politics of Nonformal Education*, pp. 107-38.

[38] Victor Mlekwa, "Literacy Training, the State and Development in Tanzania: A Study of Policy and Performance, 1967-1989" (Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Educational Foundations, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1990).

[39] Ibid.

[40] Suleman Sumra, "Country Report: Tanzania," in Torres et al., *Adult Education Policy-Implementation*, pp. 708-18.

CJSAE/RCÉÉA 7,1 (May/mai 1993) 81

PERSPECTIVES

APPROCHE ANDRAGOGIQUE EN FRANCE AU 19e SIÈCLE

Jean-Marie Labelle
Université Louis Pasteur, Strasbourg

Résumé

Dans la mouvance de la Révolution, l'apparition et le développement de l'éducation des adultes sont liés à des logiques sociales auxquelles correspondent des logiques individuelles. Les institutions, telles que les cours d'adultes, répondent à des logiques d'extension, de socialisation et de rentabilisation de la formation. Par ailleurs, le succès de ce mouvement d'éducation tient au fait que les adultes vivent leur rapport avec le savoir selon des logiques de réparation, de perfectionnement et de promotion. Une étude de cas sur le rapport entre le travail et la formation dans les cours d'adultes illustre ces phénomènes. Quelques textes témoignent déjà d'une pensée spécifiquement andragogique. Il est possible d'y voir, avant la lettre, l'amorce d'une problématique de la réciprocité éducative selon laquelle l'éducateur se découvre lui-même éduqué par ceux auxquels il s'adresse.

Abstract

The inspiration of the French Revolution saw the appearance and development of adult education. This is directly related to social dynamics which correspond to individual dynamics. The dynamics of extension, socialisation, and profitability are answered by institutions of the day such as adult education classes. This adult education movement is successful because of the adult relation to learning which is seen as a dynamic of repair, perfection and promotion. A case study of the connection between work and adult training illustrates these phenomena. There are already texts giving evidence of a specifically adult education thought process. Educative reciprocity, whereby the educator finds himself educated by his students, may have been mentioned.

Introduction

Pour mieux en souligner l'esprit, cette étude pourrait s'intituler «L'andragogie française au futur antérieur», car elle se propose d'interroger le passé de l'éducation des adultes comme préfiguration du présent que nous connaissons et de l'avenir que nous avons encore à imaginer. Je crois que les faits accomplis hier ont suffisamment de relief pour transporter notre réflexion vers un horizon encore à atteindre. Évitant de vouloir à tout prix trouver dans le passé les formes modernes de l'andragogie, nous nous mettrons plutôt à l'écoute des préoccupations anciennes, que l'ignorance seule peut nous faire croire récentes. Notre vigilance s'exercera sur l'antériorité de notre questionnement andragogique actuel en repérant, dans les faits et dans la pensée, comment se présentait l'éducation des adultes au siècle précédent.

L'andragogie désignant à la fois une pratique et sa théorisation, je présente en premier lieu, de manière synthétique, des expériences d'éducation aux adultes en faisant apparaître leurs logiques. J'examine ensuite, sous forme d'étude de cas, ce qu'il en était du rapport entre l'emploi et la formation dans les cours d'adultes, pour aborder finalement la pensée andragogique sous l'angle de la réciprocité éducative. Il est à noter toutefois que le terme andragogie ne se rencontre pas en France au 19e siècle, même si c'est à cette même époque qu'il fut créé en Allemagne. Il en est de même pour les termes formation et formateur.

I - Des clés pour accéder à l'intelligence du passé

Bien des formes d'éducation aux adultes sont antérieures à 1789 dans nombre de pays européens, dont la France. Cependant, la pratique andragogique s'est réellement développée dans la mouvance de la Révolution, à partir, notamment, du fameux rapport Condorcet du 20 avril 1792.

Plutôt que de brosser une fresque historique pour suivre pas à pas les développements de l'éducation des adultes au 19e siècle, en retraçant l'enchaînement des événements - ce qui tiendrait de la gageure - il m'a semblé préférable d'identifier quelques logiques qui selon moi président à l'éclosion des phénomènes que l'histoire nous a légués et dont la connaissance, du même coup, constitue autant de clés pour ouvrir les portes de leur compréhension. Je me limite à les présenter successivement, mais il est évident que dans les faits ces logiques s'entrecroisent dans une combinatoire aussi réelle hier qu'aujourd'hui.

1. Des logiques sociales

Au premier rang de ces logiques, apparaissent les logiques sociales avec leurs composantes idéologiques et politiques. La philosophie de l'éducation atteste, depuis Socrate, que l'éducation est permanente ou qu'elle n'est pas. Si, au cours des époques, les interventions et institutions éducatives ont principalement concerné les jeunes, on se rend vite compte en parcourant l'histoire que l'éducation des adultes est contemporaine de l'éducation tout court. Mais ce qui n'était encore que balbutiements va pour ainsi dire exploser au fur et à mesure de la généralisation, puis de l'obligation de la scolarité. Ainsi la création des «cours d'adultes», du Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers, des Associations polytechniques, puis des universités populaires, répond d'abord à une logique d'*extension*. Il s'agit d'une «seconde instruction», selon les propres termes de Condorcet (Poujol, 1981, 127), «d'autant plus nécessaire que celle de l'enfance a été resserrée dans des bornes plus étroites».

Ce faisant, l'éducation des adultes, comme celle des jeunes, obéit à une logique de *socialisation*, manifestée dans deux courants fondamentaux et fondamentalement opposés. Le premier s'inscrit dans la lignée des utopies socialistes révolutionnaires. Il consiste à faire de l'éducation le moyen d'élever les citoyens dans la conscience de leur liberté, de leurs droits et de leurs responsabilités. Il s'agit d'une logique d'*égalisation* des chances. Quelque cinquante ans après Talleyrand et Condorcet, Proud'hon (Domnanget, 1970, 269) clamera:

> «l'instruction de l'homme doit être, comme autrefois le progrès dans la piété, tellement conçue et combinée qu'elle dure à peu près toute la vie. Cela est vrai de tous les sujets et des classes ouvrières encore plus que des savants de profession. Le progrès dans l'instruction, comme le progrès dans la vertu, est de toutes les conditions et de tous les âges: c'est la première garantie de notre dignité et de notre félicité».

Ce courant, bien sûr, se heurte au conservatisme des mentalités, et souvent du pouvoir: «l'instruction», pour le ministre Victor Duruy dans son discours du 27 mai 1866, «est la meilleure garantie de l'ordre public». Il s'agit donc de maintenir le clivage social. Loin d'être subversive, l'instruction doit être un instrument de régulation et de contrôle social. C'est la logique de ***séparation des classes*** qui prévaut ici. Thiers, en 1849 (Cabanis, 1977, 21), est à cet égard très catégorique:

> «l'enseignement primaire ne doit pas être forcément et nécessairement à la portée de tous; j'irai même jusqu'à dire que l'instruction est, suivant moi, un commencement d'aisance et que l'aisance n'est pas réservée à tous. L'enfant qui a suivi l'école, trop souvent ne veut plus tenir sa charrue».

Il reste que l'éducation des adultes, comme celle des jeunes, est un puissant facteur de progrès économique. Son organisation nationale s'inscrit dans une logique de *rentabilisation*. L'industrialisation naissante a besoin d'agents qualifiés pour assurer, avec son expansion, «la prospérité nationale». Le ministre Duruy (Léon, 1982, 109) considérant «les 800 000 adultes qui se sont élevés d'un ou plusieurs degrés dans l'échelon du savoir», déclarera en 1867: «Calculez, d'après cela, de combien s'est accrue, en quelque sorte, la puissance de production de la France puisque désormais les progrès de l'industrie seront proportionnels aux progrès de l'instruction générale». L'adulte aussi y trouve son compte et les préfets se félicitent « que les jeunes gens quittent le chemin du cabaret pour prendre celui de la Caisse d'Épargne!» (Boiraud, 1982, 38).

2. Des logiques individuelles

Ceci nous amène à envisager l'intérêt que les adultes trouvent dans leur instruction et à dégager des logiques individuelles qui, pour une part, expliquent le succès des entreprises d'éducation.

À s'en tenir au texte fondateur de 1792, comme aux multiples témoignages du passé, la logique individuelle prédominante est celle de la *réparation* ou de la *compensation* d'un manque. L'instruction a fait défaut pendant la jeunesse, l'éducation de l'adulte comblera cette lacune en lui permettant d'accéder aux connaissances nécessaires à la vie quotidienne, personnelle et professionnelle. C'est la logique de la deuxième chance. Ainsi cette femme, dont parle le curé de Vanves (Léon, 1983, 59),

> «qui fait le commerce de marchand brocanteur et qui se plaignait au mois de janvier dernier, de ne savoir ni lire, ni écrire. Le commissaire de police lui conseille de suivre, malgré ses 52 ans, le cours d'adultes tenu par

l'institutrice publique de cette commune. A la fin de mars, cette femme, tremblante de joie et les larmes aux yeux, apporte au magistrat la première lettre qu'elle écrivait à ses enfants qui demeurent en province. Elle sait lire, écrire, compter».

Il va de soi que cette éducation, pour compensatrice qu'elle soit à l'adresse des plus démunis, a pour tous valeur de *conservation* et de *perfectionnement* des connaissances. Le texte suivant (*Journal des Instituteurs*, 1866, 560) résume très explicitement toutes ces logiques individuelles:

> «Ces classes sont, en effet, de deux sortes: les unes ont pour objet de suppléer à l'école du jour, en fournissant aux adultes les premières connaissances que reçoivent tous les élèves dans les classes du jour, mais que différentes circonstances peuvent les avoir empêchés d'acquérir, ou ne leur avoir permis d'acquérir que d'une manière incomplète et tout à fait insuffisante; dans les autres, on se propose de fournir aux adultes un complément d'instruction en leur donnant les différentes connaissances dont ils peuvent avoir besoin dans les positions diverses où ils se trouvent placés».

Par l'actualisation du savoir, est assurée en dernière analyse, la promotion que l'adulte recherche dans sa vie privée et sociale. Peut-être est-ce là qu'hier comme aujourd'hui, se retrouvaient de connivence, dans une combinatoire dont chaque adulte a le secret, les désirs de la personne et les impératifs de la société.

II - Travailler et apprendre dans les cours d'adultes

Pour nous représenter concrètement les questions que pose pour un adulte la poursuite des études, ou leur reprise, alors qu'il exerce à plein temps une activité professionnelle, il m'a semblé pertinent de ne me référer qu'à une seule situation du passé, limitée donc, mais significative et de l'analyser avec plus d'attention. Concentrons notre regard sur les «cours d'adultes», à deux moments bien précis du 19e siècle: 1866 et 1896. Pourquoi ces cours et pourquoi ces dates? A cela deux raisons.

La première s'impose du fait que l'institution des cours d'adultes, sur un modèle venu d'Angleterre, est pour ainsi dire le système national de l'éducation des adultes au 19e siècle, depuis 1820 à Paris pour les hommes et 1822 pour les femmes. Il y eut certes d'autres institutions, mais elles ne furent pas aussi populaires, pas aussi largement implantées sur le territoire et, en conséquence, ne drainèrent pas un public aussi important. En effet, après une période de lancement, ces cours d'adultes sont en plein essor dans les années 60: 1866 constitue même leur apogée avec 800 000 adultes, dont parlait Duruy plus haut, ce qui, rapporté à la population de l'époque, 34,7 millions (Caron, 1985, 288), représente près de 2,14% des Français en formation. Quant à l'année 1896, elle marque la très nette reprise de cette institution après le déclin qu'elle avait subi dans les années 70 à 80. Enfin, et ce deuxième motif de mon choix n'est pas des moindres, chacune de ces deux années a fait l'objet à l'époque d'une analyse dont nous avons conservé les textes: pour 1866, il s'agit d'une étude parue la même année dans le *Journal des Instituteurs des Écoles Normales Primaires, des classes d'adultes et des salles d'Asile*, et, pour 1896, du rapport qu'Édouard Petit, professeur au Lycée Janson de Sailly à Paris, adressa le 11 août au «Ministre de l'Instruction Publique, des Beaux-Arts et des Cultes». Examinons les faits en laissant parler des textes encore trop peu connus.

1. L'apprentissage articulé au travail

La formation doit être référée aux situations professionnelles des formés, telle est l'exigence fondamentale énoncée dans les textes. La problématique de la relation de l'apprentissage aux besoins ne date pas d'aujourd'hui, comme en témoigne cet extrait du Journal du 25 novembre 1866:

> «Ce sont surtout les besoins des élèves, besoins indiqués par la position du plus grand nombre, qu'il faut consulter dans le choix des sujets auxquels doivent se rapporter en général les problèmes que l'on donne dans les classes d'adultes. Il n'y a rien de précis à dire d'avance à cet égard. On rappelle seulement que les problèmes ne doivent pas être les mêmes dans les communes rurales, où l'on a affaire à une population essentiellement agricole, et dans les villes, où les classes d'adultes sont principalement fréquentées par des ouvriers attachés aux différentes industries. Encore convient-il, dans chaque localité, de se préoccuper de l'espèce d'industrie ou du genre de culture qui prévaut dans le pays. Plus notre enseignement aura ce caractère spécial, plus il croîtra en intérêt pour les élèves».

À ce texte répond en écho celui de 1896 (Petit, 1896, 4602):

> «Les sociétés d'instruction populaire visent à répandre un savoir facilement utilisable qui permette à leurs pupilles de s'élever, de se perfectionner dans leur profession».

Cette exigence entraîne une révolution didactique qui consiste à partir, non des livres, mais des intéressés eux-mêmes (Petit, 1896, 4603):

> «En règle générale, les cours ne sont plus la répétition de la classe du jour. Ils ne s'enferment plus dans la classique et étroite trilogie: lire, écrire compter. [...] Partout, j'ai pu constater qu'on innovait, qu'on faisait effort pour que tout tournât à l'utilité des auditeurs. C'est un enseignement très difficile à donner. Les livres n'en fournissent pas les éléments. Il faut tout tirer de soi. Il faut le désir, la volonté de bien faire, le «don de soi». Il faut préparer le travail. Où il y a eu essai d'une pédagogie toute nouvelle, qu'il a fallu inventer de toutes pièces, c'est quand, parallèlement à la révision, on s'est attaché à donner aux jeunes gens les connaissances dont ils avaient besoin, soit pour se débrouiller en matière administrative, soit pour se perfectionner dans leur travail de chaque jour. Dans un très grand nombre d'écoles des auditeurs ont été consultés. À la première prise de contact on leur a demandé: «Que désirez-vous faire? Que jugez-vous indispensable d'apprendre?» Une rapide entente s'est établie entre les professeurs et les

élèves. Les matières réclamées par les intéressés ont été développées, au grand profit de tous; et la besogne a été vivement et utilement enlevée».

Cela veut dire qu'apprendre dans le travail et pour travailler n'a de véritables chances de succès que si l'apprentissage est réellement contemporain du travail, non par un simple rapport de simultanéité mais par une relation de contiguïté culturelle. La formation, ici, est articulée à l'emploi. Cette exigence fait partie intégrante de l'éducation des adultes, car «nos ouvriers ont de plus en plus besoin d'intelligence pour être en état de diriger les machines» (*Journal*, 1866, 625), mais pour y faire droit, les modalités sont déjà dichotomiques. Apprendre et travailler sont des activités qui s'exercent successivement dans des lieux séparés: les cours d'adultes sont dispensés le soir ou le dimanche à l'école, le travail s'effectue dans l'industrie ou à la ferme.

2. L'apprentissage comme démarche individuelle

Une telle relation entre la formation et l'emploi entraîne une seconde exigence qui, elle, est plus didactique encore: l'individualisation de l'apprentissage (*Journal*, 1866, 600).

> «La plus grande difficulté des classes d'adultes, c'est que dans une foule de circonstances, l'enseignement devrait presque avoir un caractère individuel; c'est pour cela que bien souvent les adultes préfèrent des leçons particulières aux classes où ils sont toujours réunis plusieurs ensemble... chacun d'eux voudrait presque avoir une leçon spéciale, appropriée à ce qu'il sait».

La [illegible] d'or de l'apprentissage des adultes peut dès lors s'énoncer ainsi (*Journal*, 1866, 573):

> «Dans les écoles, les enfants partent tous du même point, l'on sait parfaitement ce qu'on doit leur apprendre... Avec les adultes rien de semblable...: à ceux qui ont déjà quelque instruction, ce qu'on peut leur apprendre dépend de ce qu'ils savent».

Et nous nous surprenons à imaginer les formateurs de ce temps aux prises avec le difficile problème que nous appelons aujourd'hui la reconnaissance et l'évaluation des acquis, étape indispensable d'un parcours individualisé.

3. Une société éducative

Mais pour individualisé qu'il soit, l'apprentissage n'en requiert pas moins la mobilisation collective des «formateurs»; la formation, en effet, ne se réduit pas à un colloque singulier entre l'adulte et son précepteur, mais s'effectue par le concours des collectivités locales. Cette participation de tous les acteurs dans une véritable communauté éducative n'est pas le moindre phénomène de ces cours d'adultes.

Écoutons encore ce que disent les textes de 1896, plus explicites à ce sujet que ceux de 1866 (Petit, 4601, 4609).

> «Les oeuvres d'éducation sont obtenues par le concours de tous et sont pour tous, et les bienfaiteurs et les obligés, mieux qu'une école mutuelle de vulgarisation, une école de solidarité. C'aura été un beau et réconfortant spectacle que cet entrain et cette «jolie vaillance» de tous: simples particuliers, fonctionnaires de tous ordres, pour propager des connaissances utiles à tous et pour effacer des inégalités. C'est le début d'un mouvement tout à fait nouveau, qui aura sa portée comme il a sa noblesse et sa beauté. Il fera honneur à notre temps [...]
>
> La rénovation des cours d'adultes devrait amener enfin l'union des trois ordres d'enseignement. Les barrières dressées par la routine tombent: docteurs, agrégés, licenciés, brevetés s'entraident pour aider autrui.
>
> L'esprit de corps qui s'enfermait en des catégories s'élargit à toute l'université, à toute l'armée enseignante, de quelque spécialité qu'elle se réclame».

Nous sommes à la charnière du 19e et du 20e siècle, période de création des universités populaires, dont le but était de favoriser le brassage de toutes les compétences et de toutes les classes sociales dans un souci d'éducation réciproque.

Mais pourquoi tant de compétences mobilisées pour la formation des adultes en cours d'emploi?

4. La formation du citoyen

En définitive, apprendre en travaillant, c'est se former aux mille et une facettes de la citoyenneté.

La mission de Protagoras a traversé les siècles. Rappelons-nous le dialogue entre Socrate et le Sophiste (Protagoras, 318e-319a):

> «Protagoras - S'il vient auprès de moi, il n'apprendra rien d'autre que ce qu'il vient pour apprendre. Or, l'objet de mon enseignement, c'est le bon conseil touchant les affaires qui le concernent proprement: savoir comment administrer au mieux les affaires de sa maison à lui, et, pour ce qui est des affaires de l'État, savoir comment y avoir le plus de puissance, et par l'action, et par la parole.
>
> Socrate - [...] est-ce effectivement de l'art d'administrer les cités que tu parles, et dis-tu que tu te fais fort de former des hommes qui soient de bons citoyens?
>
> Protagoras - C'est cela précisément, Socrate, qui est en effet le programme de la profession que je professe».

Ce souci, réactivé notamment par Talleyrand et Condorcet, s'affirme avec netteté chez les formateurs des cours d'adultes (*Journal*, 1866, 642):

> «Nos classes d'adultes n'ont pas seulement l'instruction pour objet, elles ont aussi un but moral, un côté économique et social. C'est même par là qu'elles se recommandent à toute notre attention Que de notions utiles, que d'avis,

de conseils à donner, sur la conduite à tenir et les devoirs à remplir dans les différentes circonstances de la vie, sur la société et son organisation, sur les lois et les règlements à observer, sur notre administration et notre législation en un mot! Que de préjugés et d'erreurs à combattre dans tout ce qui tient aux rapports des citoyens entre eux, à ceux des administrés de l'État, des maîtres et des ouvriers, des producteurs et des consommateurs, à l'emploi des machines, à la liberté du commerce et des transactions, aux impôts, aux travaux publics, enfin à tout ce qui intéresse l'homme vivant en société!»

De là vient que le «champ du perfectionnement est vaste et sans limite» et que l'instituteur ne puisse répondre aux besoins de formation sans le concours de toutes les forces de la cité. Cet instituteur d'hier ne rejoint-il pas prophétiquement les éducateurs d'adultes que nous sommes aujourd'hui, préoccupés de fédérer toutes les ressources locales dans une communauté éducative?

III - La pensée andragogique

Au fil des textes cités précédemment, l'on voit se dessiner une pensée dont nos prédécesseurs n'auraient pas eu à rougir en face des andragogues que nous essayons d'être. J'ai cité au passage certains principes fort actuels et ne les reprends pas ici, laissant le lecteur cheminer avec ces sources.

Mais préoccupé par la question de la réciprocité éducative en éducation des adultes, je fais appel à quelques situations me permettant d'avancer que, si cette problématique n'existe pas au 19e siècle dans sa littéralité, bien des éléments me font soupçonner que certains éducateurs d'adultes d'hier avaient pressenti que l'éducateur se découvre lui-même éduqué par ceux auxquels il s'adresse. Les observations suivantes permettront de le vérifier. Sans évoquer les multiples aspects de la réciprocité, je m'attache à en souligner deux qui sont essentiels en éducation d'adultes.

1. La réciprocité d'adaptation

La pratique andragogique révèle l'existence de ce que j'appelle une réciprocité d'*adaptation* de l'éducateur aux adultes d'une part et des adultes entre eux. Après avoir critiqué l'éducation où l'élève est passif et préconisé une pédagogie de groupe, un praticien et théoricien des «mouvement d'après l'école» (Turmann, 1901, 277), souligne:

> «en discutant ensemble des questions qui touchent aux intérêts des uns et des autres, ils apprennent à mieux connaître leurs besoins réciproques, ils apprécient plus justement leurs situations respectives; le jugement de chacun y gagne en maturité».

La découverte faite par les éducateurs d'adultes de tenir compte des besoins des adultes implique que le modèle sous-jacent auquel ils se réfèrent implicitement est celui d'une réciprocité selon laquelle la position de l'adulte dans son besoin d'apprendre définit celle de l'éducateur dans son devoir d'enseigner. Est-il principe plus andragogique que celui-là? Cette adaptation réciproque rend compte du plaisir que les uns et les autres éprouvent et *partagent dans* la situation d'apprentissage, «plaisir des deux parts, que ce jeu!» note un guide de l'éducateur populaire de 1900 (Poujol, 1983, 74).

2. La réciprocité par réversibilité des rôles

La seconde forme selon laquelle il me faut insister en raison de son importance est celle de la réciprocité par *réversibilité* des rôles selon laquelle dans «l'instruction mutuelle, «chacun apprend à autrui ce qu'il sait» (Turmann, 1901, 180). Ce qui est visé ici, c'est le partage du savoir comme le suggère le Ministre en 1895 (Buisson, 1911, 11): «l'école est le rendez-vous où l'on se retrouve à tout âge pour étudier, pour lire, pour s'instruire, pour échanger des idées, élèves et maîtres, apprentis et écoliers instituteur et pères de famille» (24). Ceci mérite que l'on s'y attarde.

En 1866, la Société académique de Saint-Quentin met au concours la question de l'enseignement mutuel. À partir des contributions des lauréats, un rapport est rédigé par un des membres de cette Société afin de présenter «les avantages du mode d'enseignement mutuel dans les écoles primaires nombreuses, au triple point de vue moral, intellectuel et économique». Le *Journal des Instituteurs* rend compte de cette «remarquable brochure». C'est là (*Journal des Instituteurs*) que nous trouvons ce témoignage de premier ordre sur la réciprocité:

> «Le mode mutuel est celui qui attribue aux élèves la plus grande part possible dans l'enseignement. [...] En obéissant et en commandant *alternativement*, l'élève envisage l'endroit et l'envers de la discipline, et en apprécie mieux la nécessité. La *réciprocité* des services rendus, la *mutualité* des secours prêtés, l'empêchent de s'enorgueillir de son importance».

Les études d'histoire de l'éducation nous ont familiarisés avec ce mode d'enseignement venu d'Angleterre que nous connaissons bien désormais lorsqu'il s'applique aux enfants, comme c'est le cas ici. Son intérêt redouble pour notre propos lorsqu'on se souvient que ce sont les mêmes instituteurs qui ont enseigné aux enfants et aux adultes, en transposant le plus souvent des uns aux autres leur manière d'enseigner. C'est ainsi que dès 1828 à Paris (Mayeur, 1981, 263) la Société pour l'Instruction élémentaire «inaugure pour les ouvriers l'enseignement sur le mode mutuel». Les écoles primaires dont parle ce texte préfigurent donc pour nous légitimement les adultes-apprenants et enseignants appelés à découvrir la réciprocité dans l'enseignement. En quels termes ici cette notion est-elle commentée après avoir été formellement nommée?

L'explication est essentiellement fournie par deux expressions: *alternativement* et *mutualité*. L'adverbe renvoie aux positionnements différents que l'élève occupe tour à tour dans ce mode d'enseignement. Lorsqu'il est élève, il obéit et voit l'*endroit* de la situation; lorsqu'il est moniteur, il commande et en perçoit l'envers. La réciprocité se caractérise, à ce stade, par la *réversibilité* des places tenues et, conséquemment, des fonctions exercées. Il est vrai que le mode d'enseignement mutuel consistait à choisir les meilleurs élèves pour les mettre à certains moments en position de moniteur ou de répétiteur auprès d'élèves plus jeunes ou d'un niveau intellectuel inférieur. Le mouvement alternatif sur lequel repose la réversibilité est donc tout à la fois physique et social: le changement de rôles repose sur une permutation de place et de statut. La réciprocité s'inscrit dans la situation éducative en tant que cette dernière est instituée et disciplinée par un règlement observable. Cette caractéristique institutionnelle exclut la confusion des rôles et fonde au contraire leur différenciation. Elle exclut également leur *simultanéité* et règle leur accomplissement successif. Grâce à elle, les deux faces de la situation sont perçues, qui échappent autrement à un unique regard. Le dédoublement nécessaire à la perception des deux côtés, irréductibles et indissociables, de la situation est obtenu par la seule *inversion* des positions occupées par les acteurs incarnant, l'un après l'autre, deux personnages différents.

Ainsi le changement réciproque de positions permet-il d'accéder à la prise de conscience des «services rendus» dans l'un et l'autre cas. En tant qu'élève, l'apprenant mesure ce que lui apporte l'enseignant et il est mieux à même d'apprécier la portée de l'adaptation éducative lorsque d'élève il devient lui-même moniteur. Le texte demeure dans la dialectique de l'endroit et de l'envers qui composent la situation éducative. Mais peut-on aller plus loin en envisageant cette réciprocité comme un véritable retour de l'élève comme tel vers le Moniteur? Si séduisante que soit cette interprétation, elle ne paraît pas autorisée ici, car le texte repose fondamentalement sur la notion de réversibilité dégagée précédemment. Ce sens obvie de l'adverbe confère sa signification au substantif mutualité employé pour éclairer l'idée de réciprocité.

La *mutualité* est dès lors du côté des résultats de l'action plutôt que du côté du mouvement lui-même. La réciprocité est une résultante, comme le confirme le rapport symétrique entre «services rendus» et «secours prêtés». Autrement dit, les protagonistes sont en mesure d'évaluer après coup le bénéfice découlant de l'inversion de leurs rôles. Sans doute est-ce pour cette raison qu'ils sont contraints à plus de modestie en ce qui concerne l'exercice de leurs responsabilités. Ayant expérimenté ce qu'il en coûte d'apprendre et d'enseigner, ils goûtent aussi les bienfaits singuliers de leurs activités, eu égard aux limites mêmes de leurs tâches respectives. Il n'y a d'apport mutuel que dans le respect des positions différentes et bilatérales, quoique réversibles.

Ainsi explicitée, la pratique de l'éducation des adultes révèle qu'elle s'inscrit dans une pensée dont la réciprocité est loin d'être absente. Certes, la réflexion sur ce point n'est encore ici ni élaborée ni exhaustive. Il nous appartient aujourd'hui d'aller plus loin (Labelle, 1990, 453-457). Mais les deux aspects soulignés ici suffisent à en montrer l'intérêt. L'enseignement mutuel aux adultes conduisait tout droit à une certaine conception de la réciprocité. Il est révélateur à cet égard que le marquis Cosimo Ridolfi, savant et homme politique italien (*Enciclopedia*, 1949, 284), ait créé à Florence en 1834 une école d'agronomie fonctionnant selon le mode mutuel qu'il appela «école d'instruction réciproque».

Conclusion

En reliant, pour conclure, les différents éléments de cette approche du 19e siècle, il apparaît que la logique fondamentale de l'éducation des adultes peut être interprétée comme étant celle de la réciprocité éducative. Ce concept, en effet, qui éclaire la relation d'instruction permet de comprendre également, par transposition, les combinatoires sociales et individuelles. Les logiques d'extension et de réparation, comme les logiques de rentabilisation et de perfectionnement, s'articulent, dans les situations, aussi bien de travail que d'apprentissage, autour de deux pôles, la Société et la Personne. En exerçant alternativement leur influence l'un sur l'autre, l'un d'eux peut exercer une pression telle que l'autre s'efface, en l'occurrence l'individu sous le poids de la commande sociale, ou qu'il se transforme, à savoir la Société sous l'impulsion de la Personne. En conséquence, leur rapport d'équilibre est affaire de mouvement réciproque régulé par contrat engageant tous les partenaires des deux pôles en présence (Labelle, 1990, 91). La résolution, originaire et ultime, du conflit réside en la réconciliation mutuelle des intérêts qui s'opère radicalement dans l'élaboration du projet andragogique. Dans ce creuset, «école de solidarité», selon l'expression d'un texte cité plus haut, se répondent réciproquement besoins et interventions d'éducation. N'est-ce pas dans cette mutualité que les personnes et les institutions peuvent concourir à leur promotion respective et accomplir aujourd'hui le voeu final de Condorcet (Poujol, 1981, 132): «consentir à n'être qu'un homme et un citoyen»?

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BOOK REVIEWS/RECENSIONS

SELF-DIRECTION FOR LIFELONG LEARNING: A COMPREHENSIVE GUIDE TO THEORY AND PRACTICE.

Philip C. Candy. (1991). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers

Over the last two decades self-directed learning has been a major focus of research and writing, and beginning in the mid-1980's, the subject of critical interrogation of its creed-like status. Philip Candy's recent book contributes to the field of adult education by providing a comprehensive look at self-directed learning—its meaning, underlying ideologies, history, and related educational research. In questioning assumptions and offering a reconceptualization of self-directed learning, Candy presents a challenge to current theory and practice.

In Part One of his book Candy, joining other recent critics, seeks to dispel the conceptual confusion enveloping the term. Concerned that this confusion blocks the evolution of a robust theory of self-directed learning and is detrimental to good practice, Candy teases apart the tangled web of meanings currently found under the rubric of self-directed learning, identifying two processes and two personal attributes.

Candy terms the first of the two processes *learner-controlled instruction* and the second *autodidaxy*. The former term is used to describe self-directed learning which takes place in instructional situations inside formal institutions and the latter describes self-directed learning which takes place outside formal institutions. Candy identifies the two personal attributes as *self-management* and *personal autonomy*. The former is used to describe the ability to be self-directing in learning within given constraints and the latter to describe the propensity to exercise freedom on a broader scale. Candy points out that the failure of adult educators to distinguish between these four meanings—learner-controlled instruction, autodidaxy, self-management, and personal autonomy—has resulted in support for the concept by individuals from diverse perspectives. Following a balanced discussion of the promises and limitations which learner-controlled instruction and autodidaxy have for education and training, Candy argues that these processes of self-directed learning are "no panacea for all the ills that beset education and society" (p. 96).

In Part Two of the book, Candy examines further the meaning of four dimensions of self-directed learning and their interrelationship, providing an extensive review of relevant educational research approaches and findings from Australia, Canada, Scandinavia, and the United States. In Part Three, Candy is more explicit in challenging concepts underlying traditional views of self-direction. He characterizes traditional understandings of self-direction in the following terms:

> ...self-direction was seen essentially as a personal quality or attribute; knowledge as a fixed and enduring set of "facts" to be mastered; learning as a process of acquiring attitudes, skills, and knowledge from outside the self; and individuals

> as substantially asocial atoms, independent of their social and cultural environments. (p. 246)

Candy begins to build a case for a new conceptualization in which:

> ...self-direction is acknowledged as a product of the interaction between the person and the environment; knowledge is recognized as tentative, evanescent, and socially constructed, learning is defined as a qualitative shift in how phenomena are viewed; and individuals are seen in a complex and mutually interdependent relationship with their environments. (p. 246)

Candy's reconceptualization of self-directed learning is built on a constructivist foundation that posits all learning as self-directed in that each individual takes new information and actively constructs idiosyncratic cognitive structures related to previous experience. This constructivist view of learning is seen as "particularly congruent with the notion of self-direction" (p. 270). The reconceptualization has many implications which are explored by Candy at length. He focuses in Part Four on the way that self-directed learning can be promoted and in Part Five on the implications of his construction of self-directed learning for adult education practice and research.

Candy's reconceptualization does challenge current orthodoxy. For example, he uses constructivism, which emphasizes the importance of the learner's understanding, to provide a theoretical basis from which to distinguish between learner-controlled instruction and autodidaxy. In autodidaxy, Candy argues, the learner construes that he or she maintains control of the learning experience, even when seeking assistance. Thus autodidaxy must be seen as being outside the realm of instruction and individuals seeking to assist autodidacts are cautioned to respect the learner's perception of ownership of the learning situation.

A second challenge to current views of self-directed learning is Candy's contention that autonomy in learning is not a generic attribute that, once attained in a particular learning situation, can be transferred automatically to another. He argues persuasively that autonomy is context-specific and that, within each context, there are situational and epistemological elements to autonomy. Situational autonomy, as characterized by Candy, is dependent upon the individual's self-management skills in learning, his or her self-concept, and the learner's understanding of his or her own role and that of educators in the learning process. To enhance self-directedness, therefore, it is not sufficient for the adult educator to simply provide the opportunity for learners to be autonomous. Candy argues convincingly that simply allowing learner freedom and control may be counter-productive if learners lack appropriate skills or self confidence or if they prefer traditional instruction.

In mapping out future directions for research, Candy calls for a movement away from empirical, instructor-oriented approaches which have dominated past research on self-directed learning. Rather his theory places emphasis on how the learner construes and constructs information, the learning process itself, and the learning situation. Clearly his orientation calls for naturalistic, learner-centered approaches to research. In this regard, Candy offers useful suggestions for future research.

Candy's reconceptualization of self-directed learning is not without problems. He acknowledges that learning and knowledge construction are largely social acts in which other people are the source of new ideas and of validation of the individual's constructed knowledge. However, Candy's choice of a psychologized, constructivist base makes problematic the incorporation of these social aspects into his analysis. Candy anticipates criticism of his individualistic form of constructivism in the following terms:

> This constitutes one of the major limitations of constructivism—that simply exploring with learners their personal constructions of autonomy does not address the factors that may inhibit, constrain, or determine either their constructs or their ability to act freely. (p. 261)

In spite of this observation, Candy does attempt to include social as well as individual constraints in his model for enhancing self-directed learning. This acknowledgement of social constraints does represent an advance on the previous literature. However, Candy's discussion of societal barriers is cursory and superficial, and he is not clear about the role that he anticipates for the adult educator concerning these barriers. Candy states only that the educator "should be aware" (p. 421) of possible distress that may be caused when an adult educator encourages an individual to go against the cultural norms of his or her social circle and should "recognize that increasing the rights of individual learners may entail changes in their social circumstances" (p. 423). Unlike critical theorists, Candy does not explicitly advocate a political role for the adult educator.

When, in his final chapter, Candy recommends possible new directions for research, the proposals fall back on the individual, psychological approaches. He ignores the possible research questions arising out of the interplay between the individual and society in the construction of knowledge, in the social construction of the individual's way of thinking, and in constraining freedom. Again, Candy acknowledges the limitation of his analysis:

> ...the agenda for research on self-direction...must be treated as partial.... Although it is believed that the adoption of a constructivist approach may generate new and valuable lines of research within the psychological tradition, it is also hoped that this research will stimulate a more comprehensive and critical analysis of the social dimensions of autonomy in learning. (p. 416)

Moreover, Candy's emphasis on the individual and the psychological at the expense of social factors is demonstrated when he attempts to identify Habermas' emancipatory interest as the natural "home" of self-directed learning. Unfortunately, Candy seems to be unaware of critiques which have shown that his individualistic and psychologistic interpretation of the emancipatory interest profoundly misinterprets a phenomenon identified by Habermas as being primarily social.

How are we to understand Candy's reconceptualization of self-directed learning? Is it a redefinition of the field of adult education around which practitioners can rally? Certainly this is not what Candy claims. Unlike Knowles' suggestion that self-direction defines the adult learner and the method of adult education, Candy's claims for his reconceptualization are more modest. His underlying view of learners as active construers and constructors of meaning does not presume that adults are self-directed, only that they have the capacity and the propensity to become both self-managers of learning and more broadly autonomous. Furthermore, his concept of autodidaxy falls outside the preserve of instruction altogether and his view of learner-controlled instruction is that it is an appropriate approach to adult education in some, but not all institutional settings. For Candy, "...self-direction can never, and should never, replace the position of the teacher in every learning situation" (p. 3). He maintains that the development of self-directedness in individuals cannot be seen as the exclusive domain of adult education observing that, "...indeed the socializing influences of early educational experience are so strong that by adulthood, it may well be too late for many. Accordingly, the project of developing self-directed learning competence and confidence is a lifelong one" (p. 416-7).

Candy's reconceptualization of self-directed learning then, does not provide adult education with a single pedagogical orientation for its practice. His book does, however, represent a continuation of a recent movement toward questioning previously taken-for-granted assumptions around the obsession with self-directed learning which has dominated adult education in North America for the past two decades.

Judith Fretz

University of Saskatchewan

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Correspondance - Articles en français

Dr. Nicole Tremblay, Département de psychopédagogie et d'andragogie, Université de Montréal,
C.P. 6128, succursale A, Montréal, Québec, H3C 3J7

The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education

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Table of Contents/Table des Matières

Articles

Liens entry la persérvérance aux études universitaires et l'octroi d'équivalences et d'exemptions
Monique Chaput et Sylvain Bourdon 1

Organizing with Immigrant Women: A Critique of Community Development in Adult Education
Jo-Anne Lee 19

Teaching Activists for Social Change: Coming to Grips with Questions of Subjectivity and Domination
Sherene H. Razack 43

Évolution de la vie au travail des personnes de type social et des formateure d'adultes
Danielle Riverin-Simard, Merardo Arriola-Socol et Clémence Michaud 57

Perspectives

Adult Education Graduates
Tom Sork 79

Book Reviews/Recensions

Border Country: Raymond Williams in Adult Education
J. McIlroy and S. Westwood
Patricia Hughes-Fuller 89

Building Communities of Difference
William G. Tierney
Andre P. Grace 91

Graduate Degrees in Canada—Adult Education and Cognate Subjects 1993 95

Guidelines for Contributors/Directives pour les collaboratrices et collaborateurs 101

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ARTICLES

LIENS ENTRE LA PERSÉVÉRANCE AUX ÉTUDES UNIVERSITAIRES ET L'OCTROI D'ÉQUIVALENCES ET D'EXEMPTIONS

Monique Chaput
Université de Sherbrooke
Sylvain Bourdon
Université de Sherbrooke

Résumé

L'abandon des études est un phénomène alarmant dans la réalité universitaire actuelle. L'octroi d'équivalences et d'exemptions sur la base d'acquis scolaires et extrascolaires en vue de favoriser la persévérance aux études est une pratique pédagogique peu explorée et peu documentée. L'objectif de cette étude est de vérifier s'il existe un lien entre l'octroi d'équivalences et d'exemptions et la persévérance aux études des étudiantes et étudiants universitaires de plus de 21 ans. L'étude est basée sur les données informatisées relatives à la cohorte admise au semestre d'automne 1985 à l'Université de Sherbrooke. Les possibilités et difficultés inhérentes à l'utilisation de telles données sont discutées.

L'analyse permet de discerner un lien entre l'octroi d'équivalences ou d'exemptions en raison d'acquis scolaires et la persévérance aux études. Le lien semble encore plus fort lorsque les équivalences ou exemptions sont octroyées sur la base d'acquis extrascolaires mais le faible échantillon limite la portée de cette conclusion. D'autres cohortes devront être analysées.

Abstract

Student attrition is an alarming reality of today's university system. The granting of equivalence credits and course exemptions on the basis of prior academic or non-academic learning, as a means to reinforce persistence in studies and ultimately decrease attrition, is an under explored and under documented pedagogical practice. The goal of this study is to explore possible links between the granting of equivalence credits/course exemptions and perseverance in studies of university students 21 years of age and older. The study used computerized university data from the Fall of 1985 admission cohort at University of Sherbrooke. Possibilities and difficulties inherent in the use of such data are also discussed.

The analysis supported a link between granting equivalence credits/course exemptions on the basis of previous academic learning and perseverance in studies. The link appears even stronger when equivalence credits/course exemptions were given on the basis of previous non-academic learning but these findings are limited by the small sample size. Further studies of other cohorts should be undertaken.

La persévérance aux études; un problème

Dans le contexte actuel de croissance accélérée des savoirs et des retombées technologiques, devant une complexification grandissante des systèmes sociaux, légaux et politiques auxquels les citoyens doivent pouvoir s'intégrer et face à la pression accrue de la compétition économique due à la mondialisation des marchés, les exigences de qualification individuelle et collective ne cessent d'augmenter. Un défi de taille s'impose donc à nous.

Comme le fait remarquer le Conseil supérieur de l'éducation (1988), la société québécoise a tout intérêt à accroître le niveau de scolarisation de sa population pour affirmer sa capacité collective d'entrer «dans l'ère post-industrielle, porteuse d'énormes exigences d'éducation de base pour l'ensemble de la population».

De plus, en cette période où un chômage endémique caractérise le marché du travail et inquiète tous ceux et celles qui se préparent à y entrer, l'analyse du cheminement de carrière des diplômés et diplômées universitaires permet à l'auteur d'une étude effectuée pour le ministère de l'Enseignement supérieur et de la Science d'affirmer avec certitude; «Il n'en demeure pas moins qu'à long terme les personnes détenant un grade universitaire conservent un avantage marqué, puisque leur taux de chômage demeure environ la moitié de celui de l'ensemble des travailleurs du Québec» (Audet, 1989, p. xiii). De 1982 à 1989, le pourcentage de personnes qui avaient trouvé un emploi 2 ans après le baccalauréat est passé de 88% à 91.9%, malgré l'augmentation du nombre de diplômes décernés (Audet, 1991, p. 12).

Cependant, de tous les étudiants qui entreprennent des études universitaires au Québec, environ le tiers quitte l'université sans être diplômé[1]. Dans un article qui décrit la situation actuelle prévalant dans les universités, Danielle Ouellet (1991) affirme; «Le problème des universités québécoises n'est plus maintenant de trouver des moyens d'augmenter les inscriptions, mais plutôt de convaincre les étudiants et étudiantes de persévérer jusqu'au diplôme. (...) Dans la perspective inévitable du vieillissement de la population québécoise, avec une baisse prévue de vingt pour cent des jeunes âgés de quinze à dix-neuf ans d'ici l'an 2000, les universités devront tout mettre en oeuvre pour conserver leurs effectifs».

Il devient de plus en plus évident que les politiques d'accessibilité aux études universitaires s'arrêtent à mi-chemin si elles ne soutiennent pas du même coup l'accession au diplôme. L'université se voit donc forcée d'analyser ses performances pédagogiques et de se soumettre à un examen de conscience concernant sa capacité de retenir jusqu'à l'étape finale les étudiants qu'elle a admis dans un programme. De nombreuses études témoignent de cette préoccupation à l'ordre d'enseignement universitaire. À titre d'exemple, mentionnons; Chenard, 1988, 1989a, 1989b; Lamoureux et Cyrenne, 1990; Levesque et Pageau, 1990; UQAM, 1990.

Aux États-Unis, plusieurs auteurs se sont penchés sur la question de la persévérance aux études ou, à l'opposé, de l'abandon des études qu'ils appellent «attrition». Une brève revue de la littérature fait ressortir le modèle élaboré par Tinto (1975, 1987, 1988, 1990), fondé sur la théorie du suicide de Durkheim, comme étant à la source de nombreux travaux contemporains sur le sujet (Kalsbeek, 1989; Noël et al., 1985; Pascarella et al., 1980; Spady, 1970). Par ailleurs plusieurs auteurs se sont penchés sur la persévérance aux études de la clientèle adulte dans les collèges et les universités (Beaudin, 1982; Cookson, 1989; Darkenwald, 1981; ERIC, s.d.; McCaffrey, 1989; Pappas et Loring, 1987), puisque le taux d'abandon chez les étudiants à temps partiel, en majorité des adultes, est significativement plus élevé que chez les étudiants à temps plein.

Les caractéristiques démographiques de la population associées à l'accroissement des besoins en formation générale et professionnelle font en sorte que la clientèle adulte des universités ne cesse d'augmenter en proportion autant qu'en nombre. La persévérance aux études de ces adultes est donc non seulement un problème actuel mais aussi un problème appelé à prendre une ampleur proportionnelle à l'importance numérique grandissante de cette clientèle.

Pour l'étudier, Garrison (1990) rappelle que «la compréhension et la prédiction de l'abandon en éducation des adultes requièrent des projets de recherche non seulement à variables multiples mais aussi à caractère multifactoriel». L'un de ces facteurs ne pourrait-il être cette caractéristique des apprenants adultes souvent négligée; leurs acquis antérieurs et, plus particulièrement, leurs apprentissages extrascolaires? Les diverses variables influencées par un facteur comme le fait de reconnaître ou non les acquis extrascolaires ont-elles un impact significatif sur la persévérance des adultes dans la poursuite d'études universitaires? Autrement dit; reconnaître les acquis des adultes les aide-t-il à se rendre jusqu'au diplôme? Voilà la question à l'origine de l'étude exploratoire entreprise par le Centre d'information et de recherche en reconnaissance des acquis (CIRRAc) et dont les bases théoriques et les premiers résultats sont ici présentés.

L'octroi d'équivalences et d'exemptions; une piste de recherche

Même si, comme le mentionne Tinto (1990), les établissements d'enseignement doivent aussi comprendre qu'ils n'existe pas de programme «idéal» pour favoriser la persévérance, plusieurs pistes prenant pour point de départ *l'intégration des arrivants au milieu universitaire* peuvent s'avérer très prometteuses. Dans le cas des adultes, au lieu de penser en termes de facteurs de rétention, il faut plutôt se demander comment réduire les barrières qui les incitent à abandonner (Pappas et Loring, 1987, p. 139). Pour ces personnes qui effectuent un retour aux études après avoir été sur le marché du travail, l'intégration et la persévérance peuvent être grandement facilitées par la mise en place, dès leur arrivée, de procédures d'analyse, d'évaluation et de reconnaissance de leurs acquis scolaires et extrascolaires.

Aux États-Unis, plus précisément au *Council for Adult and Experiential Learning* (CAEL), on a découvert qu'un grand nombre de personnes ne seraient pas retournées aux études si elles avaient dû repartir à zéro et répéter ce qu'elles avaient l'impression d'avoir déjà appris et accompli (Keeton, 1986). Pour l'apprenant adulte, réapprendre ce qu'il sait déjà représente souvent une perspective inacceptable alors qu'il doit sans cesse faire des choix pour assumer toutes les responsabilités qui lui incombent, gérant au mieux son temps, son énergie, son argent et son stress.

Dans cette même veine, Tinto (1990, p. 5) mentionne;

Un autre défaut de correspondance, qui devrait préoccuper toutes les universités, est celui qui se manifeste quand un étudiant juge les expériences intellectuelles de l'établissement insuffisamment stimulantes. Il quitte l'établissement, non seulement parce qu'il n'y est pas à sa place, mais parce qu'il s'y ennuie. Ce qui est peut-être révélateur de l'état de l'enseignement supérieur est que ce type d'étudiant est souvent plus doué et plus préoccupé par la qualité de la formation que l'étudiant moyen qui, lui, poursuivra ses études jusqu'au bout.

Des études et un modèle théorique pour analyser la persévérance des adultes aux études

La littérature en éducation des adultes contient plusieurs études sur la persévérance et l'abandon des études chez les adultes. Malgré des limites méthodologiques ou des échantillons malheureusement pas toujours représentatifs, certaines variables semblent particulièrement significatives comme le rapportent Pappas et Loring (1987). Leur revue de la littérature les conduit à souligner l'importance de variables comme la communication et l'information exacte concernant les programmes, les variables sociologiques (sociodémogra-phiques et socioéconomiques), les variables psychologiques (anxiété, peur d'une matière comme les mathématiques, peur de l'échec, manque de temps et d'énergie à consacrer aux études, etc.). En s'appuyant sur un grand nombre d'auteurs, ils insistent sur les variables liées au programme et à la classe. Dans cette catégorie figurent un très grand nombre de facteurs qui éloignent souvent les adultes des études qu'ils ont entreprises. Le comportement des professeurs à l'égard des adultes et les facteurs liés à la situation de l'adulte (maladie, changement d'emploi, manque de gardienne pour les enfants, etc.) apparaissent comme des variables à considérer dans la persévérance aux études chez les adultes. Ainsi en est-il également l'impossibilité d'obtenir des crédits en se présentant à un examen ou en démontrant son expérience.

Dans un condensé de la documentation sur la rétention des adultes dans les études supérieures (ERIC, s.d.), on retrouve huit stratégies possibles pour les universités qui veulent s'adapter aux étudiants adultes dans le but d'en accroître la rétention. La liste inclut l'énoncé suivant; «reconnaître des crédits pour les apprentissages antérieurs». Le lien entre l'octroi d'équivalences et d'exemptions et la persévérance aux études existe donc dans la littérature en éducation des adultes. À notre connaissance cependant, il n'a jamais été l'objet d'études spécifiques.

Un travail particulièrement intéressant de Bean et Metzner (1985) a conduit à l'élaboration d'un modèle conceptuel de l'abandon des études chez les adultes à partir de travaux (livres, articles, documents, mémoires) sur l'abandon des études autant chez les étudiants réguliers que chez les étudiants non traditionnels. Ces auteurs considèrent les variables suivantes dans leur modèle théorique;

- les variables personnelles (âge, régime d'étude, lieu de résidence, buts éducatifs visés, résultats scolaires antérieurs, origine ethnique, sexe, niveau d'éducation des parents);
- les variables pédagogiques (habileté à l'étude et habitude de l'étude, accompagnement pédagogique, absentéisme, certitude du domaine d'étude, disponibilité des cours);

- les variables environnementales (situation financière, nombre d'heures de travail, encouragement de l'extérieur, responsabilités familiales, possibilité de changer d'établissement d'enseignement);
- les variables d'intégration sociale (degré de participation aux activités extra-curriculaires, relations d'amitié avec les pairs sur le campus, relation avec les professeurs en dehors de la classe, degré de satisfaction générale vis-à-vis la vie sociale à l'université);
- les variables liées aux résultats scolaires (moyenne de l'étudiant par rapport à la moyenne générale);
- les variables psychologiques (utilité de la formation universitaire, satisfaction, importance accordée à l'obtention du diplôme, stress, intention de quitter).

Ce modèle de la persévérance aux études ne considère pas directement l'octroi d'équivalences et d'exemptions. Cependant, il nous apparaît que cette réalité est implicite dans plusieurs points du modèle de Bean et Metzner (1985). Ainsi pouvons-nous attendre une persévérance accrue chez les étudiants qui ont bénéficié de l'octroi d'équivalences et d'exemptions puisque ces pratiques risquent d'influencer directement le temps nécessaire à l'obtention du diplôme, les performances scolaires inscrites au bulletin, l'intérêt à l'égard du contenu (les apprentissages étant toujours nouveaux, sans répétition de ce qui est déjà acquis) et les coûts de tous ordres[2]. Également, on peut prévoir un effet favorable indirect de l'octroi d'équivalences et d'exemptions par l'allégement du fardeau des crédits à compléter par l'étudiant qui progressera plus rapidement vers son objectif de formation, diminuant ainsi le stress lié à l'énergie et au temps requis par les études.

Ces considérations pratiques et théoriques permettent de formuler l'hypothèse suivante;

il existe un lien entre la persévérance des adultes dans la poursuite de leurs études au premier cycle universitaire et l'octroi d'équivalences et d'exemptions.

Méthodologie

Échantillon

L'Université de Sherbrooke a été choisie pour le premier volet de cette étude. La perspective d'étendre peu à peu celle-ci à chacune des universités québécoises était cependant présente dès la conception du projet. Le choix de cet établissement d'enseignement relève de facteurs pratiques, puisque le CIRRAc est localisé sur le campus de l'Université de Sherbrooke.

La cohorte d'étudiantes et d'étudiants inscrits pour la première fois à un programme de premier cycle (autre que le doctorat en médecine et le baccalauréat en droit) à la session d'automne 1985 compose l'échantillon décrit au tableau 1 (N=2721). Les données concernant les étudiantes et les étudiants inscrits dans les programmes de médecine et de droit ne figurent pas dans le système informatique, ces dossiers étant conservés exclusivement dans les deux facultés concernées. Le choix de cette cohorte s'explique d'abord par les particularités du système informatique de l'Université de Sherbrooke qui rend très difficile l'accès aux données antérieures à cette date. De plus, il était nécessaire d'allouer aux étudiantes et étudiants nouvellement inscrits à l'automne 1985 un laps de temps suffisant pour achever leur cursus d'études et obtenir leur diplôme.

Tableau 1: Répartition des nouvelles inscriptions au 1er cycle (automne 1986)

		Total	Certificat		Baccalauréat	
Femmes	Moins de 21 ans	750	3	0.4%	747	99.6%
	Plus de 21 ans	632	281	44.5%	351	55.5%
Hommes	Moins de 21 ans	731	2	0.3%	729	99.7%
	Plus de 21 ans	608	174	28.6%	434	71.4%
Total		2721	460	16.9%	2261	83.1%

Les variables

Afin de vérifier l'hypothèse de départ, les variables indépendantes considérées seront; l'âge à l'admission, le type de programme dans lequel l'étudiante ou l'étudiant s'est inscrit, le nombre de crédits alloués et le motif pour lequel ils sont alloués; acquis de formation scolaires ou extrascolaires.

Les variables dépendantes seront; l'obtention du diplôme, l'interruption des études et le temps requis pour l'obtention du diplôme, le cas échéant.

L'âge

Le critère de l'âge au moment de l'inscription au premier cycle, soit 21 ans au 1er septembre 1985, a été retenu pour séparer les étudiantes et les étudiants jeunes et les adultes. Ce critère simplifié, voire simpliste, relève de raisons d'ordre pratique et il a l'avantage de garantir que toutes les personnes éventuellement concernées par l'octroi d'équivalences et d'exemptions ont été recensées et que leur dossier a été analysé. En effet l'âge moyen de ceux et celles qui n'ont jamais interrompu leurs études est de 18 ou 19 ans. Entre-temps, plusieurs ont eu l'occasion de réaliser leurs premières expériences sur le marché du travail, effectuant peut-être des apprentissages équivalents à ce qui est enseigné dans certains cours. Des critères plus sophistiqués[3] de séparation étudiant adulte/étudiant régulier demeuraient difficiles d'application à l'intérieur d'une méthodologie fondant la première cueillette de données sur le fichier informatisé de l'Université[4]. Ainsi, le critère d'expérience sur le marché du travail, retenu au départ en vertu de son lien direct avec la possibilité d'apprentissages extrascolaires, n'a pu faire l'objet d'une vérification directe à l'intérieur de nos limites méthodologiques, puisqu'aucune donnée de cette sorte n'est consignée dans les dossiers informatisés des étudiantes et étudiants admis à l'Université de Sherbrooke.

Le type de programme

Les programmes considérés étant de premier cycle universitaire, cette variable binaire peut prendre la forme d'un certificat ou d'un baccalauréat.

Le nombre de crédits alloués en équivalence et exemption

Il s'agit du nombre de crédits apparaissant au relevé de notes sous les mentions EQ (équivalence), XC (exemption avec crédits), XS (exemption sans crédit) et EA (équivalence par autorisation). (Voir tableau 2)

Tableau 2: Significations des codes informatiques à l'Université de Sherbrooke

Code	Signification officielle	Utilisation possible
EQ	Équivalence	• Dans le cas où le contenu d'un cours suivi dans le cadre d'un autre programme ou à un autre établissement d'enseignement correspond exactement à celui pour lequel les crédits sont accordés. • Dans le cas d'expérience de travail ayant mené à des apprentissages équivalents à ceux visés par le stage pour lequel les crédits sont accordés.
XC	Exemption avec crédits	• Dans le cas où le contenu d'un cours suivi dans le cadre d'un autre programme ou à un autre établissement d'enseignement ne correspond pas exactement à celui pour lequel les crédits sont accordés mais s'en rapproche suffisamment pour justifier l'exemption. • Dans le cas d'apprentissages réalisés à l'extérieur du cadre scolaire correspondant à ceux visés par le cours pour lequel les crédits sont accordés.
XS	Exemption sans crédits	• Dans le cas d'apprentissages réalisés à l'extérieur du cadre scolaire correspondant à ceux visés par cours obligatoire pour lequel l'exemption est accordée avec obligation de le remplacer par un cours au choix.
EA	Équivalence par autorisation	• Voir EQ.

Motifs d'octroi de crédits

Il s'agit des motifs pour lesquels les crédits EQ, XC, XS et EA sont octroyés. On les regroupe sous deux grandes catégories; les apprentissages scolaires et les apprentisages extrascolaires. Les premiers résultent d'une activité pédagogique suivie à l'Université de Sherbrooke ou dans un autre établissement de formation post-secondaire. Les seconds sont, pour leur part, le résultat d'expériences vécues ou d'activités de formation poursuivies en dehors du système scolaire.

L’obtcntion du diplôme

Cette variable réfère au fait qu’un diplôme de premier cycle, soit le certificat ou le baccalauréat, a ou n’a pas été décerné au moment de la cueillette des données à l’automne 1990.

Date de l’obtention du diplôme

Nombre de semestres écoulés entre l’automne 1985, date de la première inscription, et l’obtention du diplôme, le cas échéant.

L’interruption des études

Une personne qui ne s’est inscrite dans aucun programme depuis le semestre d’été 1989 (soit un an avant la compilation des données) et qui n’a pas obtenu de diplôme est considérée comme ayant interrompu ses études.

Cueillette de données

Première étape

Avec la collaboration du registraire et du Service intégré d’informatique et de gestion (SIIG), quatre listes de données ont été compilées et imprimées.

Les demandes d’admission suivies d’une inscription à l’automne 1985 ont été réparties en fonction de l’âge à l’admission et, cinq ans plus tard, de l’obtention ou non d’un diplôme pour produire ces quatre listes;

- moins de 21 ans sans diplôme;
- moins de 21 ans avec diplôme;
- plus de 21 ans sans diplôme;
- plus de 21 ans avec diplôme.

Les inscriptions sont classées par numéro de matricule afin de faciliter les étapes subséquentes. Chaque mention comprend;

- le numéro de matricule de l’étudiante ou de l’étudiant;
- sa date de naissance;
- son sexe;
- le diplôme accompagnant sa demande d’admission;
- le programme choisi au moment de l’admission en 1985;
- le programme visé par sa dernière inscription;
- le nombre de crédits accumulés;
- le trimestre de sa dernière inscription;
- le programme pour lequel un diplôme a été décerné (s’il y a lieu);
- le trimestre d’obtention du diplôme (s’il y a lieu).

Ces listes ont permis la compilation des données sur les pourcentages d’étudiantes et d’étudiants ayant obtenu un diplôme, ayant abandonné ou poursuivant leurs études. Le calcul du nombre de diplômés par trimestre selon la nature du programme visé (certificat ou baccalauréat), le sexe et l’âge des étudiants a aussi été effectué à partir de ces listes.

Deuxième étape

Le relevé de notes du dossier informatique de chaque étudiante et étudiant de plus de 21 ans à l’admission a ensuite été examiné au moyen d’un terminal donnant accès à ces données. Pour chacun des dossiers, le nombre de crédits accordés sous chacune des mentions EQ, XC, XS et EA a été noté. La distinction entre les équivalences et les exemptions octroyées pour des stages a aussi été enregistrée (EQs et EXs). Le tableau 2 fait part de la signification officielle et de l'utilisation possible de chacun de ces codes.

Troisième étape

Cette étape avait pour but de déterminer sur quelle base (acquis scolaires ou extrascolaires) les exemptions ou les crédits avaient été accordés. L'examen des dossiers facultaires de chaque étudiante et étudiant ayant bénéficié de l'octroi d'équivalences ou d'exemptions s'est effectué avec la collaboration des responsables de chacun des programmes. Après un premier contact téléphonique, une lettre expliquant le but de la recherche et les informations souhaitées - accompagnée de la liste des noms des étudiantes ou étudiants, leur numéro de matricule et le nombre de crédits accordés en équivalence, exemption et substitution - a été envoyée pour vérification aux responsables de programmes ou aux personnes désignées par ces derniers. Les dossiers d'une centaine d'étudiantes et étudiants adultes qui ont complété leur programme ou abandonné depuis plusieurs semestres ayant été retournés au registrariat, il a fallu compléter la cueillette des données en allant les vérifier au bureau du registraire.

Résultats

Les résultats seront présentés en deux parties; 1. la persévérance aux études pour la cohorte étudiée et 2. l'octroi d'équivalences et d'exemptions de même que les liens entre ces pratiques et la persévérance aux études.

La persévérance aux études

Les figures 1, 2 et 3 illustrent, au fil des trimestres, la progression de la diplômation des étudiants et étudiantes selon leur âge à l'admission et le type de programme auquel ils se sont inscrits. Dans la figure 1, tous les étudiants et étudiantes de moins de 21 ans ont été regroupés, le nombre d'inscrits à un programme de certificat étant négligeable (0.3%).

Figure 1: Diplômation des étudiantes de moins de 21 ans à leur admission (automne 1985) N-1481

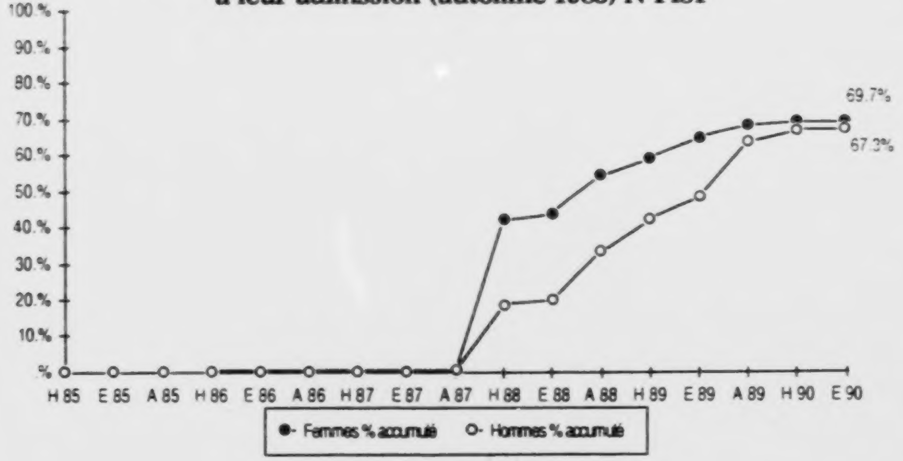


Figure 2: Obtention d'un baaccalauréat par les étudiantes et étudiants de 21 ans à leur admission (automne 1985) N=785

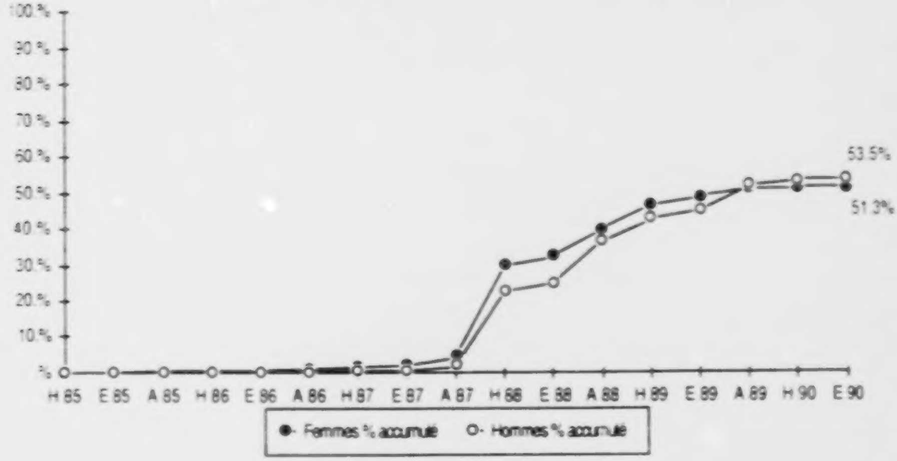
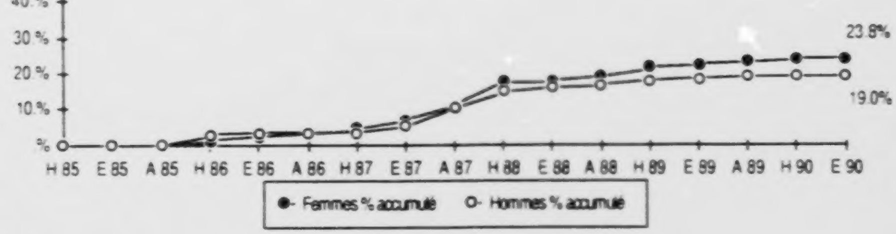


Figure 3: Obtention d'un certificat par les étudiantes et étudiants de plus de 21 ans à leur admission (automne 1985) N=455



Ces graphiques permettent de constater qu'un peu plus des deux-tiers des femmes de moins de 21 ans admises à l'automne 1985 et un peu plus des deux-tiers des hommes de cette catégorie d'âge avaient obtenu un diplôme universitaire cinq ans plus tard. Pour ce qui concerne les personnes de plus de 21 ans, le taux de diplômation varie grandement selon qu'il s'agit d'un baccalauréat (un peu plus de la moitié des hommes et des femmes inscrites), d'un certificat (un peu moins du quart des hommes et des femmes inscrites). Les résultats font également apparaître que les femmes et les hommes atteignent le diplôme dans une proportion à peu près équivalente. On peut aussi remarquer (figures 2 et 3) que la majeure partie des adultes qui complètent un certificat le font en un temps similaire à celui requis par la plupart des adultes et des jeunes pour compléter un baccalauréat, soit un peu moins de quatre ans (fin à l'hiver 1988).

En plus de ces analyses, l'étude permet de comparer les taux de persévérance et d'abandon pour chaque catégorie de personnes admises à l'automne 1985. Aux fins de cette étude, une étudiante ou un étudiant est considéré avoir abandonné (tableau 3) s'il n'a pas obtenu de diplôme et s'il ne s'est inscrit à aucun cours à l'Université de Sherbrooke dans l'année précédant la date de cueillette des données, soit depuis le semestre d'été 1989 inclusivement. Cette manière de circonscrire l'abandon a été choisie parce qu'elle tient compte de la persévérance des étudiantes et étudiants adultes qui poursuivent des études à temps partiel en cheminement irrégulier.

Tableau 3: Persévérance et abandon (été 1991)

					Persévérance				Abandon	
		Inscriptions	Diplômés		Non diplômés actifs		Total persévérance			
Femmes	Moins de 21 ans	750	523	69.7%	29	3.9%	552	73.6%	198	26.4%
	Plus de 21 ans	632	247	39.1%	103	16.3%	350	55.4%	282	44.6%
Hommes	Moins de 21 ans	731	492	67.3%	35	4.8%	527	72.1%	204	27.9%
	Plus de 21 ans	608	265	43.6%	77	12.7%	342	56.3%	266	43.8%
Total		2721	1527	56.1%	244	9.0%	1771	65.1%	950	34.9%

On ne constate pas de différence importante entre le taux de persévérance des hommes (72.1%) et celui des femmes (73.6%) de moins de 21 ans à leur admission ni entre celui des hommes (56.3%) et celui des femmes (55.4%) de plus de 21 ans à leur admission. Cependant, une différence marquée entre le taux de persévérance des jeunes (72.9%) et des adultes (55.8%) vient confirmer la croyance selon laquelle ces derniers persévèrent moins que les plus jeunes dans la poursuite d'études universitaires.

La proportion d'étudiantes et d'étudiants adultes qui n'ont pas obtenu de diplôme mais qui poursuivent leurs études (non diplômés actifs; 14.5%) est de trois fois supérieure à celle des jeunes (4.3%). Cette différence est sans doute due à la proportion plus élevée d'adultes poursuivant leurs études à temps partiel, souvent même à raison d'un seul cours par trimestre.

La persévérance aux études et l'octroi d'équivalences et d'exemptions

Les resultats de nos analyses sone presentés dans les tableaux 4 à 8. Le nombre de personnes s'étant vu accorder des crédits pour leurs acquis scolaires (résultant de cours suivis dans un établissement d'enseignement collégial ou universitaire reconnu) est beaucoup plus important que le nombre de personnes ayant obtenu des crédits pour leurs acquis extrascolaires (résultant de l'expérience personnelle ou de formations suivies en dehors du système scolaire); 237 par rapport à 45.

En conséquence, le nombre de crédits octroyés en raison d'acquis scolaires est beaucoup plus élevé (2766) que le nombre de crédits octroyés sur la base d'acquis extrascolaires (519) (voir tableau 4). Jusqu'à 61 crédits ont été accordés à une même personne pour ses acquis scolaires alors qu'un maximum de 24 crédits a été accordé à un individu pour ses acquis extrascolaires.

Il est également à remarquer que 3285 crédits ont été reconnus à des étudiantes et étudiants de la cohorte «automne 85». Ce nombre de crédits équivaut à 1095 cours de 3 crédits.

Tableau 4: Nombre de crédits accordées en équivalence et en exemption

		Crédits accordées en équivalence et en exemption			
		Minimum*	Maximum*	Moyenne*	Total
Acquis scolaires	Abandon N=54	2	48	11.4	615
	Persévérance N=183	1	61	11.8	2151
Acquis extrascolaires	Abandon N=5	3	3	3.0	15
	Persévérance N=40	1	24	12.6	504
Total**	Abandon N=58	2	48	10.8	630
	Persévérance N=206	1	61	12.9	2655

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* Par étudiante ou étudiant

** Le total est inférieur à la somme des chiffres figurant sous les titres «acquis scolaires» et «acquis extrascolaires» puisque 18 personnes ont bénéficié des deux types de reconnaissance.

C'est du côté des sciences humaines que se retrouvent les facultés ayant octroyé des crédits sur la base d'acquis extrascolaires; les facultés de sciences et de sciences appliquées semblent ne considérer que les acquis scolaires (tableau 5).

Tableau 5: Répartition par faculté des étudiantes et étudiants à qui on a octroyé des crédits en équivalence et en exemption

	Nombre d'étudiantes et d'étudiants à qui on a octroyé des crédits en équivalence et en exemption		
	Scolaires	Extrascolaires	Total
F. d'administration	16	0	16
F. d'éducation	55	11	64
F. d'éducation physique	9	7	16
F. de médecine*	26	4	26
F. de théologie	1	0	1
F. des lettres et sciences humaines	50	23	61
F. des sciences	34	0	34
F. des sciences appliquées	46	0	46
Toutes les facultés**	237	45	264

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* Les données disponibles pour cette Faculté ne concernent que les personnes inscrites au baccalauréat en sciences infirmières, au certificat de toxicomanie et au certificat de santé et sécurité du travail. Les relevés de notes des personnes inscrites dans tous les autres programmes de la Faculté de médecine sont conservés dans cette Faculté.

** ...sauf la Faculté de droit et une grande partie de la Faculté de médecine, puisque les données relatives à leurs étudiantes et étudiants ne sont pas disponibles dans la banque de données informatisées.

La Faculté d'éducation est celle qui a accordé des crédits pour acquis scolaires au plus grand nombre de personnes (55) alors que la Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines vient en tête pour le nombre de personnes (23) à qui des acquis extrascolaires ont été reconnus.

En résumé, sur les huit facultés étudiées, toutes ont octroyé des crédits pour des acquis scolaires, mais seulement quatre en ont accordé pour des acquis extrascolaires.

Le tableau 3 nous fait voir que le taux général de persévérance des adultes (55.8%) est passablement plus faible que celui des plus jeunes (72.9%). Par ailleurs, les adultes qui ont bénéficié de crédits pour leurs acquis scolaires montrent un taux de persévérance (77.2%) légèrement supérieur à celui des jeunes alors que ceux à qui on a accordé des crédits pour leurs acquis extrascolaires persévèrent neuf fois sur dix (tableau 6).

Tableau 6: Persévérance au trimestre d'été 1990 en fonction de l'âge à l'admission et de l'octroi de crédits en équivalence et en exemption

	Inscrits	Ont abandonné	Ont diplômé ou continuent	% de persévérance
Moins de 21 ans	1481	402	1079	72.9%
Sans octroi de crédits	970	488	482	49.7%
Plus de 21 ans				
Avec octroi de crédits pour acquis scolaires	237	54	183	77.2%
Avec octroi de crédits pour acquis extrascolaires	45	5	40	89.0%
Sous-total*	1234	546	688	55.8%
Total	2715	948	1767	64.9%

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* Le sous-total est inférieur à la somme des chiffres figurant sous les titres «sans» et «avec reconnaissance d'acquis» puisque 18 personnes ont bénéficié des deux types de reconnaissance.

Le lien positif entre l'octroi d'équivalences et d'exemptions et la persévérance semble se maintenir autant au niveau du certificat que du baccalauréat (tableau 7). Alors que moins de la moitié (48%) des adultes inscrits au certificat ont diplômé ou persévèrent après cinq ans, les trois quarts (74%) des 31 personnes à qui on a reconnu des crédits sur la base de leurs acquis scolaires et quatre des cinq à qui on a alloué des crédits pour leurs acquis extrascolaires persévèrent.

Tableau 7: Comparaison de la persévérance selon le type de programme en fonction de l'octroi de crédits en équivalence et en exemption chez les 21 ans et plus à l'admission

	% de persévérance	
	Certificat	Baccalauréat
Sans octroi de crédits	46% de 420	52% de 550
Avec octroi de crédits pour acquis scolaires	74% de 31	78% de 206
Avec octroi de crédits pour acquis extrascolaires	80% de 5	90% de 40
Total	48% de 455	60% de 779

Au baccalauréat, le taux général de persévérance des adultes (60%) passe à 78% des 206 personnes qui se sont vu octroyer des crédits pour leurs acquis scolaires et à 90% des 40 personnes qui ont bénéficié de l'octroi de crédits en raison de leurs acquis extrascolaires.

Aux personnes qui ont obtenu des crédits pour leurs acquis scolaires, on a alloué en moyenne deux fois plus de crédits au baccalauréat qu'au certificat. La même tendance semble se maintenir, et même s'accentuer, lorsqu'il est question d'acquis extrascolaires bien que le découpage d'une population aussi restreinte puisse être trompeur (tableau 8).

Tableau 8: Moyenne de crédits octroyés aux candidats ayant abandonné et ceux ayant persévéré selon le type de programme chez les 21 ans et plus à l'admission

	Moyenne de crédits octroyés			
	Certificat		Baccalauréat	
	Abandon	Persévérance	Abandon	Persévérance
Crédits octroyés pour acquis scolaires	n=8 5.5	n=23 5.9	n=46 12.4	n=160 12.6
Crédits octroyés pour acquis extrascolaires	n=1 3.0	n=4 4.8	n=4 3.0	n=36 13.5

n = nombre d'étudiantes ou d'étudiants s'étant vu octroyé des crédits

L'abandon et la persévérance ne semblent pas être influencés par le nombre de crédits alloués en moyenne pour les acquis scolaires, puisque les écarts ne sont que de quelques dixièmes de point dans les deux cas. Il est à noter cependant qu'en ce qui concerne les acquis extrascolaires, le fait de se voir octroyer un plus grand nombre de crédits semble encourager la persévérance aux études. En effet, les étudiantes et les étudiants qui ont persévéré se sont vu allouer en moyenne un plus grand nombre de crédits pour leurs acquis extrascolaires que ceux qui ont abandonné et ce, tant au certificat qu'au baccalauréat (tableau 8).

Conclusion

Sans inclure les programmes de médecine et de droit qui montrent traditionnellement des taux de persévérance autour de 95%, les données obtenues pour la cohorte étudiée indiquent un taux de persévérance de 65.1% dont 56.1% de diplômés. À titre de comparaison, il est intéressant de souligner qu'aux États-Unis, selon Tinto (1990, p. 11), la moyenne des taux de persévérance est d'environ de 47%; à l'Université de Montréal, ce taux s'est maintenu à 60%, tous cycles confondus, entre l'automne 87 et l'hiver 90 (Léger, 1990) et à l'UQAM, 48% des étudiants de premier cycle ont persévéré jusqu'à l'obtention de leur diplôme entre 1969 et 1985 (UQAM, 1990, p. 2). Il semble donc, du moins en ce qui concerne cette cohorte, que le taux de persévérance des étudiants de l'Université de Sherbrooke se compare avantageusement à celui des autres universités.

Par contre, le taux d'obtention d'un certificat par les étudiantes et les étudiants de la cohorte étudiée (21.8%, soit 100 personnes de plus de 21 ans sur 455 inscrites) semble inférieur à l'Université de Sherbrooke par rapport à d'autres universités. Ainsi, à l'UQAM, entre 1969 et 1985, le taux de diplômation dans les certificats était de 36% (UQAM, 1990, p. 2). À L'Université de Montréal, 54.1% des étudiants inscrits dans les certificats sont parvenus au diplôme entre l'automne 1987 et l'hiver 1990 (Léger,1990). Que se passe-t-il à l'Université de Sherbrooke du point de vue de la persévérance dans les certificats? Les chiffres des deux autres Universités ne précisent pas en combien d'années les personnes inscrites dans les différents certificats ont réussi à obtenir leur diplôme. Les données de l'Université de Sherbrooke montrent qu' à la fin de l'été 1990, 26.2% (119 personnes sur 455) des personnes de plus de 21 ans qui se sont inscrites dans un certificat à l'automne 1985 sont encore actives dans un programme d'études à l'Université, quoique n'ayant pas encore obtenu leur diplôme, ce qui situe le taux de persévérance à 48.1% (219 personnes de plus de 21 ans persévèrent sur 455 inscrites). Ces chiffres laissent espérer que le taux de diplomation dans les certificats pourra augmenter de façon significative quelques sessions plus tard, mais ils posent quand même question.

Pour ce qui est d'établir un lien entre la persévérance aux études et l'octroi d'équivalences et d'exemptions, nous pouvons, sans toutefois conclure définitivement, affirmer clairement **l'existence d'un lien positif entre l'octroi de crédits en équivalences et en exemptions et la persévérance aux études des adultes**. Ainsi, sur 282 personnes ayant bénéficié de ces pratiques, 223 (79,1%) persévèrent ou ont diplômé cinq ans plus tard alors que sur les 970 qui n'ont bénéficié d'aucune équivalence ou exemption, seulement 482 (49,7%) ont diplômé ou persévèrent après le même temps.

Au chapitre des motifs d'octroi de crédits en équivalence et exemption, les résultats obtenus suggèrent que **les adultes ayant obtenu des crédits sur la base de leurs acquis extrascolaires persévèrent encore plus** (89%) que ceux qui ont obtenu des crédits pour leurs acquis scolaires (77,2%). Cependant, le nombre de personnes s'étant vu accorder des crédits pour leurs acquis extrascolaires étant très restreint (45) et notre étude n'ayant considéré qu'une seule cohorte, nous ne saurions conclure avec certitude sans généraliser outrancièrement.

Les résultats obtenus dans cette première étude méritent qu'on s'y intéresse et appellent de plus amples recherches portant sur des cohortes plus nombreuses et s'étalant sur plusieurs années afin de vérifier leur stabilité.

Il faut rappeler également que l'étude a révélé une fois de plus que les adultes montrent un taux de persévérance dramatiquement plus faible que les étudiants dits «réguliers» et que ce fait à lui seul invite à prendre en considération l'octroi d'équivalences et d'exemptions comme facteur susceptible d'influencer positivement la persévérance des adultes dans la poursuite d'études universitaires de premier cycle.

D'un point de vue plus méthodologique, cette première étude a permis de créer une matrice qui servira désormais à l'analyse de données semblables en provenance des autres universités. De plus, elle a permis de constater que la codification des dossiers ne facilite en rien la recherche sur l'octroi d'équivalences et d'exemptions non plus que sur toute autre pratique éducative particulièrement appropriée aux adultes. Le système de données informatisées de l'Université de Sherbrooke ne permet pas de décrire, de connaître et de comprendre les comportements de cette catégorie d'étudiantes et d'étudiants dont les caractéristiques et les problématiques sont pourtant bien spécifiques. L'exceptionnelle collaboration du Bureau du registraire laisse toutefois présager un changement significatif à ce chapitre dans les prochaines années. Des sources d'information nombreuses et variées affirment par ailleurs que de telles difficultés liées au système de données se retrouvent dans un grand nombre d'autres établissements d'enseignement universitaires au Québec.

Notes

[1] Plusieurs articles de journaux et de magazines font état de cette situation dont; Pratte André «Un tiers de décrocheurs dans les universités» *La Presse*, Montréal, 23 novembre 1989, p. 1; Proulx Jean-Pierre «37% des étudiants de l'Université de Montréal quittent sans avoir décroché leur diplôme» *Le Devoir*, Montréal, 3 avril 1990, p. 3; Bissonnette Lise, «Embarquez, on décroche !» *L'actualité*, Montréal, janvier 1990, p. 17.

[2] Les coûts directs sont les droits facturés par l'établissement d'enseignement. Les coûts indirects sont le cumul du manque à gagner possible, de la documentation, du transport et des autres dépenses supplémentaires que peut entraîner le fait d'avoir à suivre le cours.

[3] Les critères retenus par Bean et Metzner (1985) sont, par ordre croissant d'importance; l'âge, le régime pédagogique (temps plein ou partiel) et le lieu de résidence (sur le campus ou hors-campus). Ce dernier critère, primordial pour l'étude des *colleges* américains, perd toute sa pertinence dans le cas des universités québécoises.

[4] Cette difficulté met en lumière le besoin d'établir un critère uniforme pour qualifier les étudiants adultes et le codage de ceux-ci au fichier informatique des étudiants en vue d'études ultérieures.

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ORGANIZING WITH IMMIGRANT WOMEN: A CRITIQUE OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN ADULT EDUCATION

Jo-Anne Lee
University of Saskatchewan

Abstract

This article addresses two issues in adult education theory and practice in community development. The first is a growing recognition of male, eurocentric, western biases in adult education theory and the second, a glaring lack of the voices, issues and experiences of women, particularly racialized women, in the literature of North American adult education. Based on my organizing experiences with racialized immigrant women, this article deconstructs traditional literature about community development in adult education to reveal an underlying foundational system of beliefs that has privileged the experiences of white, western males. The exclusion of other realities has had serious consequences for what is taken to constitute knowledge and truth in adult education's understanding of community development. The issues and experiences of minority groups, especially racialized women, have not found their way into the knowledge base. Consequently, adult education has been unable to provide really "useful" knowledge to these groups. The article suggests that existing theories of community development in adult education remains limited, selective and partial and in need of revision. It offers some new directions and argues that racialized women's intellectual contributions are urgently needed. Adult education cannot respond to changes and demands arising from global economic restructuring without reformulating its explanatory frameworks.

Résumé

Le présent article concerne deux problèmes de la théorie et de la pratique de la formation des adultes dans le cadre du développement des communautés. Le premier est la réalisation croissante de la présence de parti pris pour les hommes d'origine européenne et de culture occidentale, et le second, un manque frappant, dans la littérature nord-américaine traitant de la formation des adultes, des opinions, questions et expériences féminines, en particulier de celles des femmes racialisées. En se fondant sur mon expérience dans des organisations de femmes immigrantes racialisées, cet article défait pièce par pièce la littérature traditionnelle sur le développement des communautés par la formation des adultes, pour révéler la présence d'un système fondamental de convictions qui a privilégié l'expérience d'hommes blancs occidentaux. L'exclusion des autres réalités a eu des conséquences sérieuses sur ce qui est considéré comme constituant la base de connaissance et la vérité dans la compréhension du développement des communautés qu'a la formation

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des adultes. Les questions et l'expérience des groupes minoritaires, en particulier des femmes racialisées, ne font pas partie de la base de connaissance de ce domaine. En conséquence, la formation des adultes n'a pas été en mesure de fournir une connaissance vraiment "utile" à ces groupes. L'article suggère que les théories actuelles sur le développement des communautés en formation des adultes restent limitées, sélectives et partielles, et qu'elles devraient être révisées. L'article présente de nouvelles directions d'action et propose que la contribution intellectuelle des femmes racialisées est nécessaire de manière urgente. La formation des adultes ne peut pas s'adapter aux changements et aux demandes issues de la restructuration économique globale sans révision de ses structures explicatives.

Doing Research as an "Insider"

This article is based on my personal experiences in community organizing with immigrant women. I first became involved with the immigrant women organization as a volunteer, not to "do" research. Although I was working at the university, I kept my identities of "researcher" and "volunteer" separate. I didn't think of my volunteer experiences and observations as being legitimate "objects" for research, reflection and analysis. But, over time, I began to make connections between these two identities. My organizing work began to inform my thinking, and my reading began to inform my volunteer work. Feminist, post-structuralist and post-modernist social theories helped me to think more clearly about my community work, and my organizing experiences provided me with a basis to read more critically.

In some ethnography texts my role as researcher might be described as an "insider" — a full member-participant (Fetterman, 1989; Adler & Adler, 1987). But as a community activist I was also fully involved in the organizational politics of the group. However, being politically engaged with the object of one's research is normally seen in the academy as illegitimate. Academic norms and values regulate the language, modes and objects of inquiry (Spivak, 1989; Makosky & Paludi, 1990) so that the researcher must separate herself from engagement with the "fieldsite" in order to maintain the "objectivity" and neutrality necessary to produce a "valid" scientific account of her observations. Moreover, a form of textual disciplining occurs in academic writing, according to Spivak (1989), that shifts the participant/activist role into a subordinate position. These are several ways institutional structures and processes operate to privilege certain subjectivities and knowledges (the academic and the objective) over others.[1] In the act of writing, I felt the need to resist this positioning and to reassert my activist identity. For example, after concluding that the traditional explanatory frameworks of community development in adult education were not very helpful in explaining the dynamics within the immigrant women organization, I asked myself the question—how can the existing literature be changed to account better for the experiences of racialized immigrant women?[2]

As a form of engaged scholarship, this article has three objectives: the first is to share personal insights into the dynamics of organizing within a multicultural, multiracial and multilingual women's group. The second is to offer a critique of traditional theories of community development in adult education. The third objective is to suggest ways of reformulating theoretical perspectives on community development in adult education so that these frameworks might be more applicable to the actual experience of community development with a multiethnic, multilingual, multicultural women's group.

In analyzing immigrant women organizing, I found post-modern thinking helpful in several ways. The concept of multiple subjectivity, for example, frees one from the limitations and constraints of thinking solely in dichotomous categories of researcher and volunteer. From a post-modern perspective, several identities may be held simultaneously although only one subject identity might be privileged at any given moment. Additionally, a post-modern perspective allows one to see actors' identities in community development as continually being shaped by social forces and not as something fixed and given.

Post-structuralist feminist theories also suggest that identities and representations are socially constructed and should not be taken as *a priori* (Weedon, 1987). For example, actors' roles in the community development process would not be seen as determined by a predictable chain of events. Both the actors' roles and the process of community development would be seen instead as unfolding out of dynamic social interactions. Moreover, post-structuralism's suspicions of truth claims and foundational, definitive statements help one to ask questions of theories and knowledge once taken as "truth" and inherited wisdom.

But I am not interested in replacing one orthodoxy with another. My desire is to expose the blindness of adult education's understanding of community development to the realities of organizing a multicultural women's group. In doing this I hope to rupture conventional thinking about community development and bring traditional understandings to a point of crisis. Spivak (1989, p. 139) defines "crisis" as the moment at which you feel that your presuppositions about an enterprise are disproved by the enterprise itself. This is necessary and urgent because the actual internal dynamics of organizing within an immigrant women's community cannot be explained through traditional accounts. The established frameworks cannot explain the actual processes of community organizing with a multiethnic, multilingual, multiracial immigrant women's group. The article concludes with some suggestions for an alternative conceptualization of community organizing that better account for differences of race, gender, language and class.

Background

The ABC Organization (ABC)[3] was formally organized in 1984. The organization's beginnings are unclear since members recount different stories of its history and the organization's written records are dispersed in many members' homes. One version that many people tell is that the organization began as a support group for immigrant women organized by a local immigrant settlement agency. With federal government funding it grew into an independent organization with its own bylaws and elected officers. The name "immigrant" women is a misnomer because its membership includes "visible minority," "refugee," "white," foreign-born and Canadian-born women who support the goals of the organization. But all feel marginalized in some way. The membership is extremely diverse in terms of English language skills, educational levels, work experience, length of time in Canada, political ideologies, age and other characteristics. The organization is part of a larger provincial structure consisting of four regional chapters that differ in size and orientation. There has been a division of responsibilities between the provincial organization and the local chapters. In the past the provincial organization took responsibility for advocating on behalf of immigrant and other racialized women on broad social concerns while the local chapters provided social support and direct services. As a grassroots organization, ABC struggles to survive on volunteer labour and project grants. It is managed by an elected board of directors, receives no core funding and, like other grassroots women's organizations, is only as strong as the women who support it.

When I first became involved in 1989, the organization had been going through difficult and demoralizing times. The presidency had changed hands three times in one year. There had been charges of financial misconduct that included the use of organizational monies for personal advantage. Members accused each other of favoritism, nepotism, greed and other undesirable qualities. Membership had fallen off drastically, with fewer than twenty women and sometimes fewer than ten attending the annual general meetings. The organization also faced the prospect of no funding for the upcoming year. Because of internal chaos and a lack of decision-making, the organization had depleted its savings by renting large, costly premises when there was only one staff person working fewer than ten hours per week and offering no programs.

The personal relationships among board members were extremely fragile. At the first few board meetings I attended, the group dynamics were so hostile and acrimonious that the meetings would end in tears, shouting and accusations. At one meeting, chairs were thrown across the room. Meetings were long drawn out affairs that often led to at least one member storming out in protest. In this divisive climate, the annual elections were planned. Information about the membership list was withheld because one ethnic group did not want another ethnic group "to take over". I learned later that these dynamics were not unusual. The board members had not been working together for quite some time. Different factions in the board accused each other of bringing about the collapse of the organization.

During my first year on the board, two presidents had resigned. The president prior to the two resignations had served for three terms and had worked extremely hard for the organization. A highly trained professional woman from an upper class Pakistani family, she had provided the necessary leadership to the organization. But board members told me that, as president, she tended to consult with staff and a small group of supporters. This style of leadership was to have serious consequences for the organization.

How and why did this state of affairs come about? It is difficult to trace this history because many board members left in disgust or moved away. Others would not talk about the situation with me. No one would accept responsibility for the organization's affairs. There are several possible explanations, but one important factor appears to be the degree of English language fluency or, rather, lack of fluency. Because ABC was a multicultural, multilingual women's organization, English was used as the common language. This meant that only women who came from English speaking countries or who were well educated and spoke English fluently were able to become actively involved in decision-making. Increasingly, women from ex-British colonies, primarily India and Pakistan, tended to dominate the board. An impression was created that the organization was not really open to all immigrant and visible minority women. Interest began to wane as more and more women perceived the organization to be unresponsive and irrelevant to their experiences. In recognition of the lack of participation from other groups, one of the main concerns during the time the elections were being planned was how to involve more Chinese, Vietnamese and African women.

Another reason for its organizational difficulties had been an over-reliance on government funding. The organization had received grants over three successive years from Canada Employment and Immigration for a Canadian Jobs Strategy Training Program aimed at job re-entry training for immigrant women. As a result of these relatively large grants and the president's leadership style, the organization focused mainly upon the administration of this job training program. It began to function as though it were a formal service agency. The organization became increasingly bureaucratized as the board concentrated on policy, management and administration of the job training program to the exclusion of other concerns. As with many other community-based women's organizations, diminishing involvement by members was closely associated with acceptance of government funding (see Findlay, 1988). Rather than being member-driven, the organization became staff-driven.

When ABC lost its job re-entry program funding, it also lost its staff. The newly elected incoming president had also just resigned for personal reasons. Immediately, the frailty of the organization was exposed. Because information and decision-making had not been shared, the remaining board members were limited in their ability to manage the organization administratively, financially and organizationally. Underlying class, ethnic and language tensions which had remained submerged and veiled suddenly exploded into a flurry of accusations of financial mismanagement, racism, favoritism and egotism. All the conflict was personalized and individualized since no one had been able to move to overall analysis. One of the most damaging effects was how it encouraged among the remaining members and the wider public a view of immigrant women as "lacking." Many members seemed to lose self-confidence in their ability to run their own organization.

The underlying disputes came to a head when the organization's annual general meeting was held in May of 1991. Few members had seen the bylaws and constitution, and even fewer could understand them, especially since there were several versions in circulation. A Canadian Secretary of State official who was in the audience intervened and began interpreting the organization's bylaws to the members. According to her, she was the only person present who knew the history of the organization and was "neutral," but in fact she spoke up defending the actions of one of the board members. Frustrated and dissatisfied with the existing board and the chaotic meeting, members elected a relative newcomer as president. As a volunteer appointed to fill a vacant board position two months earlier, I was concerned that the organization was on the verge of collapse. Because I felt strongly that ABC was too important a "voice" for racialized women to be destroyed by personal divisions, I spoke out at the general meeting. I must have struck a sympathetic chord among members who elected me president by acclamation.

Making Sense of the Dynamics

In order to understand better the dynamics taking place among women in ABC, I turned to theories of community organizing and community development in adult education. But I found little that seemed relevant to my experiences. I found instead prescriptions based on certain norms and values that surprised me in their underlying assumptions. These fundamental concepts and theoretical frameworks of community development need to be examined closely. I feel it is these underlying assumptions that limit the capacity of existing community development frameworks to explain and make sense of the dynamics of organizing with immigrant and racialized women.

Undeniably, practices and theories of community development are varied (Christensen & Robinson, 1989; Sanders, 1970). Community development is not a monolithic enterprise. It is often viewed as "a process, a method, a program and a movement" (Sanders, 1970, p. 19). But because of the inextricable link between theory and practice (Jarvis, 1991) it is necessary to expand present theoretical frameworks to incorporate the diversity found in the field of practice. I hope this article will begin a reexamination and reformulation of existing explanatory frameworks in adult education and community development so that they better reflect the reality of practice.

Problems with the Basic Concepts

One reason that the theoretical explanations are not helpful is that immigrant and racialized women's lives are not to be found in the traditional literature. To be accorded their rightful significance and full stature, it is urgent to take apart notions of community so that the underlying assumptions that limit recognition and understanding of the reality of women organizing at the community level can be revealed. What seems to be missing from existing accounts is a complex understanding of the dynamics of language, race, class and gender as they operate within racialized communities.

Community development with racialized peoples can only be understood if one acknowledges the historical, social, political and economic context in which they exist. This would avoid the very dangerous essentializing assumptions about any group of people that see these groups as less than equal in their ability to employ specific community organizing strategies and tactics. The divisions, conflicts and tensions in organizing stem more from struggles over the politics of representation and identity than from an inability to manage. The entire basis of how a group has become constituted as a community needs to be called into question.

Racialized women face specific strategies of domination and oppression that may include sexism, linguicism, classism, racism, eurocentrism and so on (Ng, 1988; Giles, 1988). But the specificity of these strategies of domination is obscured by the public representation that all immigrants face similar problems of adjustment and settlement. Social practices use visible physical differences and discursive strategies to signify all women of colour as "immigrant" regardless of their true citizenship status and signify non-white women as "other." Their "otherness" is continually reinforced through public representations of the social category "immigrant women" in government policies, prevailing ideologies and structured interactions of everyday life (see Ng, 1988). Myths of otherness and commonality become internalized, and these myths prevent researchers from recognizing that the category of immigrant woman is socially constructed. Rather than assuming that ABC automatically represents the interests of all immigrant women on the basis of a shared identity based on immigrant status in Canada, the organization should be understood as a re/presentation of a diverse group of women who differ in complex ways and who bring various histories and experiences of colonial, caste and class hierarchies into their everyday interactions. Begun by a settlement agency, it was "constructed" as a multiethnic women's group to serve a specific social service function. Any commonality is only possible in the context of a white, patriarchal society where anyone who is not Anglo-Canadian and male is taken as "other." Even administrative and legal categorization by government bureaucracy or public perception of a woman as refugee or immigrant is insufficient automatically to assume unity, commonality or community.

Eurocentrism, Androcentrism and Classism

These issues cannot be addressed by traditional explanations of community development. Of fundamental concern are the biases and silences in many conceptualizations that centre on eurocentric and androcentric assumptions. Batten (1957), widely recognized as one of the founders of modern community development, takes western norms for granted when writing about community development in the tropics. These communities are seen to be in need of improvement to bring them up to western standards. Batten takes great care to acknowledge cultural differences in community life, but he views small traditional communities as backward. Traditional communities must be assisted through community development processes to face the inevitability of modernization. Christenson and Robinson's (1989) recent text on community development continues this same logic.

Colonial Roots of Community Development.

We also need to be reminded of community development's long service in colonial governing (Batten, 1957). Batten (1957) and Roberts (1979) trace the history of community organizing as a distinct field of practice and scholarly inquiry to its origins in the colonial administration of colonized peoples. Colonial administrators meeting in 1948 defined community development as "a movement to promote better living for the whole community, with the active participation and *if possible on the initiative of the community, but if this initiative is not forthcoming, by the use of techniques for arousing and stimulating it in order to secure its active and enthusiastic response to the movement*" [my emphasis] (quoted in Batten, 1957, p. 1). In my view, this passage alone should remind those interested in community development of the need to critique and reformulate traditional theoretical frameworks. What is taken to be a spontaneous response on the part of citizens is often "stimulated" by external powers. Moreover, community development's colonizing roots may help to explain the racist and class biases that remain in today's conceptualizations.

Classism and Racism.

When I examined the literature for articles dealing with minority groups, I found that many writers view minority groups as homogeneous and imply their inferiority. For example, Edelston and Kolodner (1968) conclude that "the inability of uneducated poor people to conceptualize and their tendency to individualize all problems cast doubt upon the likelihood that the process (community development) itself can produce innovative ideas" (p. 238). Kuyek (1990, p. 91-92) writes,

> When *we* work with *other races*, *we* need to be rigorously honest with *ourselves*, having a sense of humor about *our* 'white mistakes.' ... The success that middle-class whites enjoy for following the rules and being reasonable often leads them to think that these are also good strategies for *non-white / poor* people to follow. In fact, most *non-white / poor* people can only use these tactics if they have *'acceptable' white, educated people* to do it for them [my emphasis].

This passage reveals Kuyek's underlying assumption that people can be differentiated on the basis of racial characteristics and income levels and that these differences somehow account for differences in community development abilities and motivations. Kuyek's use of the possessive and universalizing "we" reflects a view that "we" (the whites) can be set apart from "other races." The racist and classist logic in these statements can be traced as follows: "we" (whites) are more "successful" in following rules and being reasonable than the "poor" and "non-whites." In other words, those who are non-white and poor are culturally distinct (read inferior) and are incapable of participating in community organizations in the same way as white, middle-class people. The white, middle-class way of participating (whatever that is) is taken as normal. Therefore, other ways of participating are different and not normal.

The paternalistic and patronizing tone characteristic of liberal racism is carried in statements such as "[W]e" must be tolerant and "have a sense of humor about *our white* mistakes and the even more outrageous statement that "non-whites/poor" can only be successful in using middle-class community development tactics such as following rules and being reasonable if "acceptable whites" use middle-class tactics for them. But a more dangerous masking effect is revealed in how Kuyek collapses "non-white" and "poor" into a single term separated only by the slash. This elision both obscures and equates the specific oppressions faced by women and men who may simultaneously experience class, race, gender or other forms of discrimination. In the slash we see how Kuyek reproduces the mistaken belief that all poor are non-white and all non-white are poor. This conflation can only take place because non-whites and poor people are seen as part of a monolithic "other."

Androcentrism.

There were similar problems with the issue of gender and community development. Gender, as an explanatory concept, rarely appears in the orthodox literature. Cruikshank (1990) found evidence of gender discrimination in her study of female community development practitioners. She suggested that female practitioners need space to reflect on their work. However, if female practitioners are working within a model of community development that erases and does not acknowledge gender differences, little legitimacy would be given to women's different experiences in community development. Conventional frameworks have tended to generalize and universalize from a limited male frame of reference. In most of the major texts the male pronoun "he" is used to refer to the community development agent. Generalizing from men's experiences ignores the different interacting realities of language, gender, class, age and race as significant factors to be considered from either the practitioners' or the participants' point of view.

As feminist research and theory have found, the experiences of men simply cannot be unproblematically generalized to women, nor can the experiences of white, middle class women be generalized to other women of different ethnic and class backgrounds (hooks, 1984). But despite the progress made through feminist critiques, with few exceptions, explanatory frameworks have generally failed to acknowledge or adopt perspectives that will help to recognize the complexity, diversity and contradictions in racialized women's organizing experiences.

Community As a Problematic Concept

In addition to the omission of the experiences of immigrant and racialized women in the literature, and the literature's more obvious race, class and gender biases, there exist fundamental flaws in the conceptualization of "community". In the following discussion several conceptual problems with the concept "community" as it is used in much of the literature are identified.

Idealizing Community.

Traditional notions of community hold as fundamental a common referent, be it location, need or interest (Roberts, 1979; Rothman, 1974; Sanders, 1970; Warren, 1963). In common-sense usage, this seems straightforward and self-evident. People are thought to identify and share something in common (see Cary, 1970a; Minar & Greer 1969; Roberts, 1979). But collapsing popular usage into analytical definitions has led to conceptual problems (see Young, 1990).

The assumption that a common identity is a necessary prerequisite for community needs to be interrogated. In a recent volume on community development, Christenson and Robinson (1989) define community as "*people* that live within a geographically bounded area who are involved in social interaction and have *one or more psychological ties* with each other and with the place in which they live" [my emphasis] (p. 9). This definition, very similar to those found in much of the literature, is premised on the belief that citizens/individuals are universal, homogeneous subjects who can be brought together on the basis of some common, objective, preexisting social identity (Cox, Erlich, Rothman & Tropman, 1974). A unitary, transcending identity as the basis for community is a fundamental assumption underlying all traditional accounts of community development (see Kuyek, 1990; Rivera & Erlich, 1984). But according to post-structuralist theory, individuals are not unitary subjects; individuals hold many overlapping subject identities. But which identity is the basis for commonality? Is it one's class, race, gender, age, sexuality, ethnicity, occupation, physical location in space or any one of several other bases for identity formation? Analyzing only one basis for commonality pushes all other bases for identity into the background. For example, Lovett, Clarke and Kilmurray (1983) analyze community development solely through the lens of a single collective working class consciousness. They privilege class identity as the common referent for community, thereby obscuring the dynamics of race, gender, language or other bases for social inequality in helping to shape an oppositional community consciousness.

In an immigrant society populated by dislocated people who have been uprooted to new lands either by choice or necessity, what is "community's" referent? What need or interest is held in common? How do categories of representation formulated and imposed on racialized women affect community organizing?

Ng and her collaborators have also raised concerns about the inadequacy of traditional frameworks to account for the diversity of people's lived experiences and forms of community organizing. Ng, Mueller and Walker (1990) argue that orthodox views of community, whether geographic location, felt need, interests or common identity, have not examined critically the state's role in constituting categories of representation. Moreover, the definitional and classificatory approaches customarily employed as theory in community development (see especially Rothman, 1974) are of little use in understanding the complexity of relationships involved in empowering racialized women. Although community organizing may result in oppositional strategies and empowerment, the practice of organizing can also further reproduce gender, class, race and language inequalities and maintain ethnocentric hierarchies under the guise of building "community".

In traditional views, once individuals are joined in a "community" any hierarchically structured basis of inequality among the collectivity seems to disappear and is transcended by a common identity (see Wilkinson, 1986). Cary (1970) describes functional role differences but not political or identity-based differences. Conceptual unity dissolves difference. The assumption that "community" is based on a transcending identity denies the possibility of examining power differences which may exist within a group or a community.

In the case of organizing within a multicultural, multiracial, multiethnic, multilingual women's group, ongoing conflicts over the basis of socially constructed identity positions cannot even be posed. There is no room in conventional community development literature for the possibility of constantly shifting identity positions or of external social relations that might structure the presentation of certain identity positions while subordinating others. The internal dynamics of group or community formation somehow gets lost in the positivity of community in the traditional literature (see Hillery, 1955).

Widely held views on community development that accept as an *a priori* given a common community identity as the basis for forming community are tautologically flawed—"community exists because there is a need for it". Moreover, there is an underlying perennialism in these conceptualizations—"community is and will always be". While it may be true that society has always been organized in social units which social scientists have called communities, the community development literature should ask why communities take the forms that they do instead of insisting that communities must exist. There is a difference between the descriptive use of the noun community to refer to a common space, location, neighbourhood, interest or idea and the analytical use of the concept. Too often these two definitions are collapsed together (Young, 1990).

Animating Community as Metaphysical Spirit.

Another problem of idealization is the overwhelming acceptance in the literature of a "metaphysics" of community. This is often referred to as the "spirit of community". A healthy community is thought to have a "spirit". But a community spirit is not materially produced; it is somehow always supernaturally present. A community spirit somehow radiates by osmosis through individuals in a community. When Batten (1957, p. 6) talks about a "sense of belongingness" that holds people together in a community, he makes it clear that he is talking about something different from the material development of a community: "...that to encourage material development is to tackle only a part of the community problem. It is at least equally important as change occurs *to ensure that the feeling or spirit of community is not destroyed* (emphasis in original)." In the case of immigrant women organizing, the idea of "community" and "spirit" must be materially constructed and cannot be taken as given or supernaturally present.

Objectifying and Reifying Community.

Another difficulty that is related to the flaws identified above is that community is often reified as a fixed social entity existing as objective reality "out there". It is seen as an eternally pre-existing form outside of the people whom it supposedly encloses. Even where the literature refers to the process of "community building," actors supposedly work toward reclaiming or rebuilding a form of social relations that, although abstractly conceived, is still thought to be knowable. This reasoning reifies community as a social fact.

From an aggregate of individuals who naturally come together to form a community, in the Hobbesian sense, it is a small step to endow this collectivity with a sense of agency (see Christenson, Fendley & Robinson, 1989). Thus community is often used in a way that gives it a life of its own beyond the agency of its constituents. Community used in this way is often prefixed by the definitive article "the". We talk of the community taking action, the community speaking with one voice and the community needing X or Y. We use the noun "community" as a form of shorthand to refer to a conglomeration of acting individuals. But this leads to thinking about community as a unified, conscious subject. A limitation of this kind of thinking is that, once reified as a monolithic acting entity, it is no longer possible to question how a community becomes constituted as a community.

Idealizing Community Through Oppositional Dichotomies.

Traditional approaches to community organizing have also been limited by a normative dualism found in opposing categories of community: rural/urban, *gemeinschaft/gesellschaft*, modern/traditional (Batten, 1959; Roberts, 1979, pp. 25-44). These oppositional categories have tended to preclude thinking about community as emergent social relationships that take different forms at different historical conjunctures. Polarized, dichotomous thinking about community supports an idealism that leads to normative and instrumental logic. Idealizing community obscures the reality of difference, politics and power.

But idealizing community as a concept can lead to contradictions. In the opposition of modern and traditional, for example, technologically driven community life is often seen as alienating and individualizing, but the contrary view is often espoused. Modernism is often more highly valued than traditionalism. This preference for one type of community over another is not in and of itself problematic, but when "western" is equated with modern, and "non-western" with traditional in North American versions of community development, the result is that traditional, non-western forms of community are taken as primitive and backward and thus less desirable (see McClusky, 1960; Warren, 1970). This in turn produces and reproduces eurocentric assumptions in community development that were discussed earlier.

Another ambivalence may be seen when the concept "development" is taken apart. Christenson, Fendley & Robinson (1989, p. 9) writes, "*development* implies improvement, growth and change. It is concerned historically with the transition of cultures, countries and communities from less advanced to more advanced social stages. Such terms as *industrialization, modernization, and urbanization* have been used interchangeably with the broader concept of development" (emphasis in original). Community development is contradictorily seen to restore traditional forms of community to their rightful place, while also being seen as a process by which the transition to a "modern" stage of community might be assisted. Thus men and women from developing countries would be seen to be in need of community development to assist their transition to a more "advanced" stage of community life. And people living in industrialized, urban locations would be assisted to return to more "traditional" forms of community life.

Technicism and Instrumentalism in Community Development.

The problem of idealizing community through normative logic and oppositional dualism leads to an emphasis on educational processes and methods to the neglect of other concerns. For example, Compton and McClusky (1980, p. 229) define community development as a "process whereby community members come together to identify their problems and needs, seek solutions among themselves, mobilize the necessary resources, and execute a plan of action or learning or both. This *educative* approach is one in which community is seen as both agent and objective, *education* *is the process*, and leaders are the facilitators, in *inducing* change for the better" [my emphasis]. Compton and McClusky's perspective is widely adopted in adult education's view of community development, as evidenced in the writings of Brookfield (1984), McClusky (1960), Roberts (1979) and Sanders (1970).

Biddle and Biddle (1965, p. 243) assert emphatically that "community development is an educative process. It is this, first, last and all the time. All else is secondary to it and must take its place as a reflection, not as the end result." Because community development is seen as a field of professional practice many researchers in the discipline of adult education seem to want to privilege the educative or learning dimensions to the exclusion of other concerns (see Roberts, 1979).

As a technique, community development is often presented as a neutral or benign process that may be utilized in divergent ways: either as a tool to facilitate modernization or as a tool to resist change and modernization. Issues of power over the use of the process are rarely discussed. As a technique or strategy, community development is seen to be useful both to oppose undesirable change and to promote and manage desired change. But the question of how change comes to be valued as positive or negative, desirable or undesirable, is left unasked. As are questions about who gets to do the valuing. Beliefs in progressive development also reinforce the technicism underlying the literature. Given the right stimulus, it is possible to "encourage" people to adopt needed change. Blakely (1979) goes so far as to describe community development as an applied behavioral science. If, as Harris (1991) claims, social change is the new paradigm in adult education, replacing the old educative paradigm. Although I question this conclusion, one may still ask the question that was asked of the old educative paradigm, "social change for whom and why?"

The professions of social work, adult education and planning tend to see community organizing as a field of practice. In these professions, community is usually objectified as a site or collectivity where the community organizer, as a professional practitioner, intervenes as a conscious agent (see for example, Roberts, 1979; Cox, Erlich, Rothman & Tropman, 1984; Batten, 1957; Chekki, 1979). Other participants are seen as passive and needing to be directed, facilitated or led:

> ...hence he (sic) cannot direct or control them in detailed conformity to a national programme. He has to stimulate and educate them in relation to their own local needs and interests (Batten, 1962, p. 13).

The adult educator as community developer is seen more or less as a conductor who orchestrates learning opportunities and facilitates learning as a means of building community (Roberts, 1979; Chin and Benne, 1976). A community developer is "to help people to adapt their way of life to the changes they accept, or have had imposed upon them" (Batten, 1957, p. 6). This task is achieved by the organizer/adult educator bringing "strategies, techniques and tactics to the group (Cox, Erlich, Rothman and Tropman, 1984). Orthodox frameworks fail to theorize adequately about how participants act to take control of the development process. Little attention is paid to the micro-politics of groups and individual interactions. Therefore traditional theories have little to say about how the external environment selectively permits, delimits and otherwise shapes social interactions by constraining the actions of individuals.

In a major review of articles published in the Journal of Community Development, Christenson concluded that "the discipline devoted to community development seems to be caught in a treadmill of descriptive studies and needs assessments" (1989, p. 41). Drawing upon this literature and reinforced with its own technicist preoccupations, adult education also tends to be concerned with technical, applied issues of "strategies, techniques and tactics" (Cary, 1970; Cox, Erlich, Rothman & Tropman, 1984; Hamilton & Cunningham, 1989). A more critical analysis is needed. Perhaps it would then be possible to reveal and transform adult education's understanding of community development in a way that would make it more useful for understanding the dynamics of immigrant women organizing.

State and Power in Community Development

One way of moving forward is to situate the practice of community development in a broader political economic framework. Although the state plays a central role in mediating community organizations and community development processes, Ng, Mueller & Walker (1990) argue that orthodox views on community development fail to contextualize community development adequately. The state's role in constituting categories of representation in community is overlooked. Alinsky (1971) sees power as a quantity and a resource resting outside of the community in the hands of the state and big business. Typically, the state is seen standing above and separate from the community. In liberal accounts, the state implements change in the interest of the common good while in orthodox Marxist accounts, the state is seen to oppress the community in the interests of the dominant class (Jessop, 1991). More recently, neo-Marxist theories of the state have suggested that the state is not a monolithic entity operating over and above the community but that the state itself is a terrain of struggle (Poulantzas, 1978) and an important actor in constituting community and allocating status, legitimacy and resources (Offe, 1984). As a consequence of viewing community outside and separate from the state, the dynamic interactions among the economy, the state and community as mutually constituting entities tend to be overlooked in conventional theories. Without a theory of the state, community development cannot conceptualize its relationship to the wider context in which communities are situated. This is a major flaw in the literature on community development because it assumes too much independence, too much "free will" on the part of communities to effect change. The concept of "resistance" then remains undertheorized, and there is a corresponding naivete about how change comes about. Ng (1988), Ng, Mueller & Walker (1990) and Findlay (1988) demonstrate how different kinds of communities and community organizations have been mediated, regulated and otherwise shaped by the state even as these communities and community organizations contest these forms of intervention. This more open and dynamic view of the state is better able to account for contradictions in state funding and state/community relations.

Summary

Given the underlying biases in community development's analytical frameworks, theories and knowledge produced about community development cannot be taken as objective, eternal truths. They need to be subjected to ongoing critical deconstruction and reconstruction or reformulation. This is the contribution that racialized women can make to the literature when research and theoretical formulations are grounded in their experiences and not imposed from above. In the tradition of the sociology of knowledge, the values and ideologies of social groups who deploy the knowledge will be reflected in the kinds of explanatory frameworks developed (Foucault, 1980). If community development began as a strategy of social management and control and if its historical emergence is linked to colonization, then dominant groups' interests would likely be reflected in its theories. Therefore, explanatory frameworks developed for community development may also help to support practices that privilege the goals of a white, male, European-dominated colonizing state seeking to promote capitalist development. That it does not always manage to accomplish this end is testimony to the power of resistance.

A major reformulation of traditional conceptualizations of community development is needed that allows for the specific material conditions, processes and activities that actually occur in the practice of community development. We need to move away from generalizing prescriptive and normative frameworks to explanations that allow greater specificity. To begin this reconstruction a more open and dynamic conceptualization of community must be developed. In the following section, some promising directions are identified that are based on my personal experiences in working with racialized and immigrant women and theoretical critiques available through poststructuralist, feminist and post-colonial frameworks.

Toward Alternative Views

At the beginning of this article I wrote that I began this journey through the literature in order to make sense of my community organizing experiences with racialized immigrant women. I also wrote that, as a form of engaged scholarship, I would attempt to suggest alternative ways of thinking about community development that would make theoretical frameworks more applicable to immigrant and racialized women organizing. Having found the traditional literature to be unhelpful, I turned to the insights offered in feminist, post-structuralist, post-modern and post-Marxist theories and theories of racialization. These perspectives offer a way of thinking about subject identity, community and organizing that permit a more sensitive analysis of the actualities of organizing with immigrant and other racialized women.

Who is Being Represented?

Community organizing with any group but particularly with racialized women, needs to be seen as a contingent and emergent process that to a large extent depends on the complex interplay of representational categories. Organizing "community" within these groups is necessarily dependent on the outcomes of the micropolitics of representation and identity that involve class, race, language and gender within an arena circumscribed by the state and the economy. By "representation", I mean discursive and material practices by which people—in this case racialized women—come to see themselves, are seen by others and are inserted into specific social categories by others. How one represents oneself, how others are represented to one and how one is forced to be represented publicly are dynamic and interrelated phenomena (see hooks, 1990; Spivak, 1987; Mohanty, Russo & Torres, 1991). Each of these dimensions has a constitutive effect on other dimensions. For example, Ng (1988) argues that the social category of "immigrant" woman is a category that one enters upon arriving in Canada. Until she emigrates to Canada, a woman does not see herself, nor do others see her, as an immigrant. It is only upon her arrival in the adopted country that she finds herself represented in this way. Because the category of "immigrant women" is materially reinforced through laws and state administrative policy, she begins to represent herself as "immigrant" in order to survive. She finds herself continually reinserted into this category in her everyday life, and this is especially true if she is physically identifiable as "different" in which case racializing processes will continue to represent not only herself but her children and their children as "immigrant" and not really belonging to the nation.

There are many ways that racialized women have been represented and multiple overlapping categories of representation and self-identification. These categories of representation are not benign; they are part of a process of signifying or racializing people on the basis of certain physical and cultural characteristics. Racialization serves many purposes, but one major outcome is how it works to position women unequally according to signifying characteristics such as language skills, country of origin, length of time in Canada, physical characteristics, educational background, professional qualifications and so on (Miles, 1989). Analyzing the dynamics surrounding the politics of representation provides an entry point into understanding community organizing with racialized women. The issue of power would necessarily be brought into focus.

Representational categories played an important part in the unfolding of hierarchical relations among members of ABC. For example, members accepted the representation of the president who served three terms as a well educated, professional woman who knew best. She, in turn, behaved as though she did know best. The social relations that developed within the organization, especially among the president, staff and members developed out of reciprocal expectations regarding what was "proper". Non-English speaking working class members were seen as "clients", and they were treated and consequently behaved in a dependent, client-like manner. On the other hand, professional, English-speaking women were seen as "leaders." "Leaders" were identified on the basis of certain characteristics, including, articulate English language skills, a professional occupation and a high level of education. Women who displayed these attributes fitted a socially constructed category of "leader" and were thought suitable to represent ABC publicly. Hierarchical social relationships derived from the complex interplay of representational politics and socially constructed identities, underlie many of the conflicts in the organization. This is one example, but I hope it is sufficient to illustrate my argument that traditional perspectives of community development have failed to address the actual, real-life experiences of organizing with racialized women. Egan, Gardner & Persad (1988) is one of the few examples that has taken up the question of minority women's organizing experiences in Canada. Generally, traditional perspectives have failed to theorize the bases of conflict within multiracial, multiethnic and multilingual groups.

Rethinking Community

If one adopts a post-structuralist and post-modernist understanding of identity, identity cannot be taken as fixed and given. Community can be seen as being constructed on the basis of selected identities which is an outcome of power relations. Identification with a geographic location, for example, must be produced and constructed in the minds of people. This process of constructing an identification with a specific locale must be seen as part of the community-building process and not something which precedes it.

Moreover, common geographic locale does not mean that other bases of difference and identity are erased. Selecting the referent upon which a "community" will be or has been mobilized is a political process and should not be taken as naturally given.

An alternative way of conceptualizing community is available that sees community not as pre-existing, essential and eternal but as a social formation that is culturally and socially constructed. Benedict Anderson's (1983) formulation of "imagined community" provides a non-essentialist view of community as always in the process of being imagined. Marxist historian Eric Hobsbawm (1983) sees nation and community emerging from invented traditions. If community is invented out of a mythical past, then the preservation of community is no more than the preservation of a selected, partial and invented past. Community cannot then be reduced to eternalized essences and a metaphysical "spirit". No form of community can be privileged over another since all communities are selectively constructed for specific reasons. Bhabha (1990) also links community to nation-building. He suggests that " community" is a cultural space for the creation of peoplehood, one step on the way to mythical nationhood. Yet another promising direction is offered in hooks's (1990) notion of "yearning" for community that lends a poignancy to community that is missing in other formulations. Individuals can be desirous of a form of social relation that is not part of their everyday life. Community can be imagined or yearned for.

The idea of an imagined or yearned for community rejects essentialism and offers the opportunity to view community as an outcome of political struggles. Community can now be seen as an emergent social form rather than as an idealized, romanticized longing for an invented and imposed past. The idealized "gemeinschaft" type of community may be a cultural invention popularized to serve the purpose of nation-state formation.

Rethinking Subjectivity and Identity.

Community development requires a theory of identity and subjectivity in order to move away from the limitations inherent in holding a single unifying, transcending identity as the basis for identification with a community. Poststructuralist concepts of discourse, language, deferral, difference and subjectivity provide some possibilities. Weedon (1987) argues that because the meaning system underlying language is continually shifting and consciousness is linked to meaning it is possible for individuals to hold several identity positions or subjectivities. Lacanian psychoanalysis offers another insight into the construction of subject identities. Although certain subject positions may be privileged and others repressed through discursive networks of power, individuals cannot be made into wholly homogeneous subjects (Weedon, 1987). The possibility for resistance is always present through submerged and deferred identity positions.

If there is a possibility that there are multiple identities in every individual that have the potential for generating contradiction and conflict in community organizations, how can community consciousness be constructed? One response is to view commonality as temporal, strategic and fragile. Even if women stand in political solidarity against oppression, they must be seen to do so only in a tactical sense that remains open and contingent. Accordingly, fractious disputes within community groups can be seen as a normal development, not as some incompetence on the part of group members. Moreover, there can be no necessary or predetermined logic governing community organizing. If the process of organizing is constantly developing and contingent on the outcomes of specific struggles—over representations of social actors, among other things—prespecified progression/development is not to be expected.

Rethinking Power and State.

In order to contextualize community organizing a theory of community development also requires a broadened conception of state/economy/community relations. Poulantzas (1978), Gramsci (1971), and Laclau and Mouffe (1984) have all contributed to a more open and relational view of the state. The state in these formulations is not seen as a separate monolithic structure operating outside of the community and the economy. Post-Marxism, as this perspective has been called (Jessop, 1991), sees the state as constitutive of community, as community is constitutive of the state. Moreover, the determinacy of the economy is no longer primary but also constitutive of and constituted through community and state interactions. Thus, the analytical distinctions between state, community and economy become blurred. This perspective helps to broaden our theoretical understanding of dynamic interactions which exist among social actors shaping community, economy and state. As the basis for empowerment for political action, the privileged position of class determinancy as the basis of social transformation is undermined.

Alternative conceptions of power, such as that found in Foucauldian analysis, do not see power as necessarily repressive and unidimensional. Rather, power is seen as relational and embedded in institutional networks and personal relations. Power is seen to operate on and through the body and through discourse. The physical act of bringing people together may reflect disciplinary power at work. In the case of organizing with immigrant women, for example, the group was initially organized by a quasi-state agency on the basis of certain signifying characteristics. Legal status as "immigrant" woman is only one of several criteria for inclusion.

The organization was initially formed, on the one hand, to organize a support group for immigrant women and, on the other hand, to better manage and regulate women who come from many different countries, speak a variety of languages and possess diverse backgrounds. The only aspect of their lives that is shared is their status as "other" in Canadian society. The categories of immigrant and women do not, therefore, necessarily reflect a unifying basis for forming community. In part, the conflicts within the organization could be seen as structured by the state.

Accordingly, it is necessary not simply to juxtapose power differentials at the level of community against those actors "outside" of the community. All forms of community are conflict-ridden since power, as conceptualized by Foucault, invades all social relationship. Power can be analysed, as it actually operates in community organizing, as a relation which shifts strategically among variously represented categories of social actors.

Rethinking Community Development with Immigrant Women.

Post-structuralist theory draws attention to the need to view the constitution of community itself as problematic. If a common identification with community can no longer be taken as natural or automatic, community organizing can now be seen as a selective process of incorporating certain subject positions in community while excluding others. In other words, participation in various forms of community organizing can be seen as an outcome of struggle over representation and identity in "community".

A culturally, racially, and linguistically diverse women's organization is not a naturally occurring entity in Canadian society. Such an organization is a construction of the state. By this I mean that ordinary social relations among women, particularly among members of the immigrant, non-English speaking population, would normally be with those sharing at least a common language. Multicultural women's organizations are not organic entities. Instead, they must be seen as outcomes of government multicultural and immigration policies. Carty and Brand (1988) have argued that the National Organization for Immigrant and Visible Minority Women (NOIVM) did not grow out of grassroots demand but from a series of government sponsored conferences where bureaucrats, state-funded consultants and advisors played a significant role in shaping the conferences' agenda and selecting participants. Government policies and agents have constructed an invented community of immigrant and other racialized women who are perceived publicly as a homogeneous group sharing a unifying immigrant experience. Under the federal government's Women's Program funding guidelines, for example, single ethnic women's organizations are not eligible for certain types of government funding (Government of Canada, n.d.). Under the federal Multicultural Community Participation and Support Program, ethnic community groups are asked to serve several ethnic communities. Selective funding by the state of community-based multicultural women's organizations helps to construct the public representation of racialized women (see Wallis, Giles & Hernandez, 1988). This is not to say that state interventions necessarily result in containment and control of immigrant, ethnic and racial minority women. State intervention has contradictory effects since the outcomes of state funding are contingent upon the interaction of other forces, including the capacity of the so-called immigrant women to take action.

In a multiethnic, multilingual, multiracial and multicultural women's organization, I found that the dynamics of organizing could not be understood using the familiar mantra of race, gender, language and class on a one-at-a-time basis because these very important social relationships interacted in complex, contradictory and entirely contingent ways. Because the ability to speak English is related to national, educational and class backgrounds, the leadership of the immigrant women's organization reflected world capitalist and class hierarchies as well as racialized hierarchies. Class/colonial distinctions that many immigrant women experienced in their originating countries were often re-enacted inside the immigrant women's organization. Many women were unintentionally placed into circumstances reminiscent of class/race-divided organizations in their own country. Those who were poor and non-English speaking became victims of charity work in their own organization. Language segregated women into those who had a voice because they were able to communicate effectively in English and those who were silenced because they were unable to communicate effectively. Although translation and interpretation services were available to facilitate non-English speaking women's participation, their voices remained muted and indirect. In this way multiculturalism as state policy helped to render non-English speakers more invisible than their English speaking sisters.

The well paid professional staff who were, incidentally, all white women and the president determined what was "best" for the members. The fact that this situation continued unchallenged for so long reflects the depth of internalization of class, race and colonial experiences of many immigrant women. These colonized identities were reinforced by the decision-making and power structure of the organization that operated to continue the silencing of the most marginalized. But the space provided by ABC for racialized women to speak, to validate their experiences and to gain confidence in organizing should not be discounted. Even though power relations within the organization were employed in a non-empowering manner for a period of time, members did resist silencing and employed democratic measures to bring in new leadership. Lack of English does not stop critical thinking in one's own language although, to others, silence may be understood as passivity and ignorance.

Through my own involvement as president, more contradiction was brought to the organization. Although a third generation Canadian, I am perceived by the wider community as an immigrant because of my physical characteristics. This doubled identity works to draw attention to the popular myth that all "racially" or phenotypically distinct people must be "immigrants". The juxtaposition of reality against imposed categories of representation is an effective tool of resistance, even while members insert me into an artificially constructed representation of "leader".

Despite the fact that one main goal for this community-based immigrant women's organization is to provide a voice for all immigrant and visible minority women, its inherent contradictions often worked to reinforce both an existing hierarchy of racialization based on language and ethnic background and a state-constructed "public" representation of a universal immigrant women's organization. Beyond questioning the conceptual bases of orthodox views on community, we may also ask whose interests are being represented in any community and why. Why are immigrant women publicly represented in this way, and why is this representation privileged by the state? It is beyond the scope of this paper to probe these questions, but questions concerning categories of representation as they affect community organizing must be addressed by critical feminist organizers working with minority women.

Conclusions

This article has challenged traditional theories of community organizing/ development on the basis of their inability to account for the dynamics at work in community development with immigrant and racialized women. Through a conceptual deconstruction of theories on community development, several problems were identified that hinder the usefulness of traditional perspectives for understanding community organizing with immigrant and racialized women. The article identified several other difficulties with discourses on community development that obscure the everyday experiences of organizing a multiethnic, multilingual, multiracial women's organization. Because existing theories have been based on male centered, eurocentric assumptions of community and community development to the exclusion of other realities, the article argues that theories of community development need to be reformulated to account for the absences of the voices of women, especially racialized women.

There has been a growing recognition of this need among some writers and researchers in adult education. Evidence that some adult educators are attempting to place the concerns of the marginalized on the research agenda in adult education may be found in the resolution presented by the feminist caucus to participants at the 1992 Adult Education Research conference. The resolution read, in part,

> The 1991 Black Book [*Adult Education: Evolution and Achievements in a Developing Field of Study*, Peters, Jarvis and Associates (Eds.), 1991] endorsed by the Commission of Professors of Adult Education, claims to represent the whole field of adult education. However, it is a book that reproduces the status quo and silences the voices that would challenge that perspective. These silenced voices represent the future of the field. (Blunt, 1992, p. 376)

A reconceptualization of community development in adult education is urgently needed to break the silences about the real-life experiences of marginalized women in Canadian society. There is an urgent need for adult education to move into this area, given the speed at which all societies are becoming pluralistic and multicultural. More intense demands for equity and justice are accompanying the global economic restructuring that is currently underway. Adult education cannot respond without reformulating its explanatory frameworks.

Notes

[1] It is important for minority feminist activist/researchers to write from personal, politically engaged perspectives and to ground their theoretical work in their own social reality. Mainstream feminist researchers have demonstrated that male-centered, logo-centered theories fail to account for the experiences of white, middle class women, and minority feminist researchers such as Moraga and Anzaldua (1983), hooks (1984, 1990), Mohanty, Russo and Torres (1991) have made similar points about mainstream feminism's inability to account for the experiences of minority

third world women. "The personal is political" remains an important strategy when the production of knowledge is seen as a site of struggle.

[8] I do not take the term "immigrant women" as representative of any objective truth. Instead, I prefer the term, racialized women. Miles (1989) has employed the concept of racialization to name the process by which certain groups of people are placed into different social categories on the basis of signifying racial characteristics. Since the 1950s, scientists have shown that there is no scientific basis for classifying people according to biological criteria known as "race". The question Miles (1989) raises is why does "race" continue to be salient?

Following Miles, I use the terms racialized and racialization to name the process by which women, for example, immigrant, refugee, "visible minority" or non-English speaking women, are separated out for differential treatment on the basis of signifying characteristics such as language, "racial" or physical features, religion, culture or ethnic and national origin or any other basis of differentiating groups of people for negative or subordinating treatment—racism. The name or category of "immigrant women" tends to imply that a homogenous group of women who fit this category actually exists on objective grounds. But because the label or category—immigrant women—has been accepted into everyday as well as academic discourse and because the group of women I have been working with choose to call their organization by this name, I use the term "immigrant" women most of the time when I refer to this organization. But I am cognizant of the problematic nature of this label.

[9] This is not the real name of the organization.

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CJSAE/RCÉÉA 7,2 (November/novembre 1993) 43

TEACHING ACTIVISTS FOR SOCIAL CHANGE: COMING TO GRIPS WITH QUESTIONS OF SUBJECTIVITY AND DOMINATION

Sherene H. Razack
The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education

Abstract

Education for social change seemed to be a more straightforward endeavour when we thought only in terms of unitary subjects: Blacks in South Africa, women in the world, Francophones in Québec. Once we started filling in the categories so that we had such subjects as Black women, White women and women with disabilities, for example, and confronted multiple layers of oppression and privilege, we were faced with understanding the interrelationship between systems of domination and the construction of subjectivity. For radical educators, the challenge is to devise a curriculum to facilitate critical reflection where personal privilege meets political practice in these multiple locations. We have to build into our critical education projects a commitment to exploring the depths of discourse as that discourse constitutes us in and out of the classroom. In this article I describe the pedagogical steps in one such experiment: a Canadian Summer College for human rights activists to reflect critically on how power is organized in Canadian society and hence to gain a deeper understanding of their group's strategies for social change.

Résumé

L'éducation à des fins de changement social semblait une entreprise relativement facile quand nous pensions seulement en termes simples: le Noirs en Afrique du Sud, les femmes dans le monde, les Francophones au Québec. Mais quand les catégories se sont complexifiées, nous donnant des femmes noirs, femmes handicapées et des femmes blanches, par exemple, et que nous avons dû confronter des communautés multiples, et donc des couches multiple d'oppression et de privilèges, il faut comprendre le rapport entre les systèmes de domination et la construction de la subjectivité. Pour les éducateurs critiques, le défi est de créer des programmes qui facilitent une réflexion critique où les privilèges personnels rencontrent la pratique politique, et qui tient compte de cette complexification des catégories. Nous devons bâtir nos projects éducatifs critiques en nous engageant à explorer les profondeurs d'un discours qui nous constitue à l'intérieur comme à l'extérieur de la salle de classe. Dans le présent article, je décris les étapes pédagogiques d'une telle expérience: un cours d'été canadien pour les militants des droits de la personne qui visait à les faire réfléchir de façon critique sur l'organisation du pouvoir dans la société canadienne, et ainsi les amener à acquérir une compréhension plus profonde de leurs stratégies de changement social.

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Introduction

To an adult educator immersed in the mechanics of a particular program, theoretical concerns relating to subjectivity and domination can seem remote to the process of deciding how to teach and what to teach, even when there is a strong commitment to examining critically the assumptions that underlie practice. Few of us recognise an ongoing and explicit connection between our theory and practice. Indeed, a common comment from community activists is that theory is not something activists or community educators have much time to consider. Whenever I am asked impatiently by participants in an educational program what the themes of critical theory or postmodernism have to do with their social change activities, the question is usually framed to imply that we would all be better off learning about such pressing global issues as the debt crisis rather than spending time on the construction of subjectivity and the deconstruction of power relations. Obviously, the two pursuits are not mutually exclusive, yet how we might build critical thinking in the activist classroom without recourse to alienating and abstract theoretical notions remains a major challenge and one which the educational project described in this article attempted to meet.

In an issue of *The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education*[1] devoted exclusively to critical social theory and adult education, Michael Welton offered this definition of critical theory:

> Critical theory is a theory of history and society driven by a passionate commitment to understand how societal structures hinder and impede the fullest development of humankind's collective potential to be self-reflective and self-determining historical actors.[2]

Critical theory has an intrinsic connection to social justice, hence an important role to play in radical adult education where the task is to provide learning opportunities directed to "restructuring social arrangements along more equitable, just, and humane lines"[3]. The contributors to the special issue of *The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education* explored the perspectives of Marx, Habermas, Marcuse and, to a lesser extent, postmodern thinkers (conspicuously omitting serious attention to feminist theorists) in order to identify how critical theorists take up issues of subjectivity and domination. For instance, Michael Welton explored in Marx the idea that people have to learn "emancipatory subjectivity," which they stand a chance of doing at the crisis moments (both systemic and social) in capitalism[4]. Habermas, Welton noted, searches for those mechanisms of cognition operating behind material processes, locating in them those conditions that favour critical reflection. Matthias Finger probed how modernist ideas of democracy, justice and emancipation can work to conceal mechanisms of domination. He wondered how we might question these ideas and remain tied to a faith in individual human agency.[5] Michael Chervin reviewed the ideas of Marcuse who recognizes, as do many postmodern thinkers, the many layers of discourse that we must take into account if radical education is to mean anything. Marcuse, for instance, makes the important point that ideology is not just an illusion to be unmasked but a series of regulations on a number of sites (such as the body). Critical education, then, has to explore contradictions at specific sites and at particular historical moments so that we might find those "moments libérateurs" in which it would be possible to resist domination.[6] The value of Marcuse's work is his reminder to be context-specific in how we understand these regulations. For instance, it is simplistic to assume that the oppressed can have either a colonized self or a true self. As many feminists have also pointed out, there is no one true self, no unitary subjectivity waiting to be uncovered beneath the layers of colonization.[7]

It is feminist theorists who have rescued us from the paralysis that comes with confronting the discursive nature of all we know and can know. If all knowledge is partial and embedded in social relations, then we need to be justifiably suspicious of universal concepts that work in service of the status quo. This need not mean a descent into pluralism and the absence of any political projects. Instead, we can build into our political projects "ground-clearing activity," a sustained vigilance about how knowledge always circulates from a position of mastery.[8] We can commit ourselves to taking inventory, as Gloria Anzaldua counsels, asking exactly what we inherited from our ancestors.[9]

Radical educators have to find ways to take these insights from critical theorists and feminists out of the realm of theory and into pedagogy. How do we foster critical thinking on relations of domination, for example, so that our students understand power to be something more than a force that one person or one group exerts over another? To focus their attention on the more covert ways in which power is exerted, to examine instead how we are each ***constituted*** by an existing set of social arrangements, means finding ways to discuss how what we know, think and feel are socially produced. Paradoxically, to explore power relations in this way, educators who value an experiential learning approach must at the same time foster an interrogation into the category of experience itself. That is to say, while the student's experiences must be central to learning, those experiences have to be unpacked in order to explore how it comes to be that we often think and feel exactly what we are supposed to think and feel.

The program I describe below wrestled with a number of theoretical issues named above. We explored, for example, how Western concepts of human rights could in fact work to conceal the North's domination of the South. We worked hard to question the responses we each had to social groups to which we did not belong, watching to see how our respective positions of power and privilege regulated what we knew about the experiences of others. While we did not use words or concepts like regulation and hegemony, the problems that arose when activists tried to fit the daily experience of oppression into the language of human rights and the difficulties of working across differences of race, class, gender, sexuality and physical and mental ability soon led to collective reflection on what a rights-based description leaves out and to a compelling need to explore the limits of identity politics. Inevitably, the design of the program regulated to a large extent how questions of subjectivity and domination in the human rights context were addressed. In retracing both the analysis and the specific pedagogical challenges we encountered in the Summer College, I hope to share my sense of how theory is embedded in practice and to demonstrate some of the ways in which seemingly abstract theoretical issues present themselves in education for social change.

The Idea of A Summer College for Human Rights Activists

The Summer College for Human Rights Activists sponsored by the Human Rights Research and Education Centre of the University of Ottawa completed its eighth year in 1992. The program evolved considerably over this period, reflecting both the politics of the times and the pedagogical roadblocks encountered along the way. After an initial feasibility survey, the Human Rights Centre of the University of Ottawa determined that human rights activists needed information on emerging human rights issues, a chance to network with other activists and an opportunity to reflect critically on their social change activities. In January of 1985, when the project began, we had few other guidelines except a sense that an activist was someone who was willing to take a public stand in fighting oppression, a person who was, in the words of a contemporary feminist newspaper, "actually trying to change institutions"[10]. We were also clear that the curriculum would be written primarily for individuals acting collectively, and we defined the ideal student as a person involved at a community level in the struggles for social justice of women, native people, persons with disabilities, disadvantaged minorities and the poor.

In defining the educational needs of activists, we took as our base that individuals actively involved in social change possessed a wealth of experience but were often frustrated by a lack of time to reflect. To explore such seemingly mundane questions of political strategy as "why are we doing this?" and "where will this get us?" requires looking at how a site of contestation has been described, analyzed and confronted. We imagined a group of sixty activists, in three groups, simultaneously reflecting on their work and pursuing ideas over shared meals in a relaxed environment. Out of this thinking and planning, The First Summer College for Human Rights Activists developed as a residential two week program attracting Canadian groups working in Canada and abroad on issues of sexism, racism, sexuality, peace and the environment. Ultimately, human rights organizations from South Africa, Bermuda, Latin America and Zimbabwe sent a few participants in order to network with Canadian human rights activists. There was also a sprinkling (deliberately limited) of human rights professionals who did not work from a community base but from within a state institution such as a Human Rights Commission. Such participants were required to demonstrate an activist background if not a current connection to a community group. In terms of diversity the students, the resource persons and the team of three instructors typically included roughly equal proportions of men and women: two thirds White, one third Black; five percent disabled persons; five percent lesbians or gay men; five percent persons of aboriginal origin. Few people fell unproblematically into any one category, of course; all the men were not Black and neither were all the women White, for instance.

The pedagogical approach of the Summer College was loosely defined as participant-centred. The participants' own experiences formed the core of the collective reflection, and the preferred pedagogical tools were small group work and group-directed learning.

While there was a commitment to student-directed and participatory learning, there was also an increasingly substantial manual and an agenda of resource persons that limited flexibility and contradicted the notion of experiential learning. In reality, the Summer College embodied a specific social vision and analysis described on the recruitment posters; participants agreed beforehand to work within the framework. Experienced activist instructors led participants to a deepened awareness of how power is organized in Canadian society and hence to a deeper understanding of their groups' strategies for change. Underpinning the curriculum was a critical analysis of society that focused on ideologies and mechanisms of domination, an analysis that strongly regulated the discussion in spite of the commitment to participatory and learner-centred learning.

The analysis upon which the curriculum was formulated began from the position that native people, people of colour, women, people with disabilities and gay men and lesbians collectively experienced social inequality on a number of fronts. How this inequality developed and was sustained and the strategies needed for social justice became the organizing principle of the program's content. In pursuing the themes of inequality and oppression, three pedagogical challenges presented themselves:

1. How to take participants from an individualistic understanding of rights to one in which it was understood that there were subordinate and dominant ***groups*** in Canadian society.
2. How to link the personal to the political and to understand one's own subject position on both a cognitive and affective level.
3. How to develop an understanding of interlocking systems of oppression.

While we did not identify, let alone confront, all of these challenges simultaneously or with the same degree of success, we learned in the course of the eight years that the potential of education for social change is maximized when we remain self-conscious about our multiple and sometimes contradictory locations and vigilant about the deep entrenchment of systems of domination in our daily lives.

From the Individual to the Collective

The participants of the Summer College shared, for the most part, a geographical location in a liberal, capitalist, Western state which was the point of departure for the initial design. In essence, the program sought to enable activists to uncover relations of power particular to Western capitalist states. We asked at the outset: what does it mean to be a human rights activist in a liberal and capitalist Western state, as opposed to one in South Africa, for example? One important difference is the relative invisibility of some of the practices of domination one is engaged in confronting. Another is the strength of what Gayatri Spivak describes as "the great cultural explanations…that allow the entire capitalist caper to carry on to the other side of the international division of labour"[11], the thick overlay of ideological formations specific to the West. The curriculum had, therefore, to define and confront deeply held Western beliefs which, in the context of human rights, help to mask oppressive practices. One such belief stood out above all others: individualism.

Canadian activists, no less than other segments of their society, absorb in their education, in their dealings with the state and in the media, the very strong individualist ethic that is the linchpin of capitalist ideology. For many people, social inequality develops because of individual failing; at best there is a recognition that inequality arises because women and minorities possess a mysterious handicap, often described as disadvantage. Alison Jaggar's contention that social inequality is caused, not by disadvantage but by oppression, "one group actively subordinating another to its own interest",[12] is an analysis of the status of women and minorities which many Canadians would consider inapplicable to their society. Thus, human rights are widely thought to be only about the preservation of the dignity and worth of the individual and equality of opportunity (hence the popularity of the civil libertarian perspective) and not about connecting these to the high infant mortality rate among native populations, the poverty level of certain groups, systemic violence against women or even the issues of pay and promotion for women and minorities. In declaring, therefore, that the curriculum would be about the oppression of women and minorities, the Summer College program had to move participants away from thinking about individuals and towards thinking about groups.

Since the contemporary vocabulary of human rights itself did not easily accommodate this, the first challenge was to subvert and simultaneously work with the language of rights. With hindsight one wonders whether working within the rights paradigm was inevitably corrupting since it tended to direct attention to legal strategies and take away from other perhaps more transformative approaches to social justice such as organizing at the grass roots level to pressure politicians for changes.

In the ideological space of individualism in which Western human rights activists find themselves, human rights abuses are understood primarily as discrimination. The anti-discrimination approach to rights abuses is evident in educational materials and human rights courses that emphasize avenues of legal redress, primarily through human rights commissions. Discrimination itself is widely understood to be mainly about ***individual*** prejudice even when there is also some awareness of its systemic nature. For instance, a 1982 brochure on human rights published by the Public Legal Education Association of Saskatchewan noted that there were seven reasons why an individual might discriminate against a particular group:

1. hatred - this may be a historical hatred between two groups of people
2. false ideas of racial, sexual, physical superiority
3. prejudice - making prejudgments without knowing all the facts
4. ignorance - not knowing and not finding out about other groups or individuals
5. fear
6. intolerance - perhaps based on ideas passed on by parents and friends
7. discrimination as a policy - usually found in organizations such as businesses, clubs, and governments.[13]

Discrimination is seen here primarily as arising from the aberrant behaviour of a few individuals except for the first and seventh reasons which, however, remain unelaborated. If discrimination is explained as the actions of individuals acting out of fear, misinformation, intolerance and historical hatred, rights abuses can be easily psychologized. The power possessed by individuals of the dominant groups to act out their fears and prejudices is minimized in this picture, as is the systemic exclusion of specific groups from meaningful participation in Canadian society. In deliberate contrast, therefore, a theme pursued throughout the Summer College curriculum was that discrimination is less a problem of prejudice and stereotyping and more a problem of power—power that enables the dominant group to oppress through a myriad of social, economic and political institutions as well as in countless daily episodes of interpersonal behaviour.

The view that certain groups are oppressed is, of course, strongly resisted in a society that is officially egalitarian. Denial is central to how privilege is maintained in liberal democracies. Philomena Essed, in two important works on everyday racism, explores how the ideal of tolerance has gained such a stronghold in liberal democracies that dominant groups have a great deal invested in seeing themselves as tolerant and resist strenuously the idea that racism exists in their society. In everyday relationships between Whites and Blacks, this resistance is manifested in a failure to acknowledge covert racism, a persistent denial that a rigid norm is enforced upon subordinate groups.[14]

A classroom discussion about the rights of collectivities suffers from the deeply held belief that we are essentially autonomous individuals who are responsible for making our own way; the failure to do so is attributed to personal and not societal causation. The individual rights model does not give us any conceptual tools for understanding oppression and the systems that constrain individual choice. How individual women's opportunities, for instance, are blocked is not so immediately apparent as it might be in a more overtly oppressive state. Uncovering the limits of an individual rights model, then, and revealing what it masks, i.e., relations of power between groups, was the first pedagogical challenge of the Summer College.

Anxious to begin where the participants themselves were, we thought of the first task of the curriculum as requiring a working through of existing human rights concepts, the main one being individual rights. In the traditional Western, liberal understanding of rights, an individual possesses the right to pursue his or her own interests without interference from others ***providing that this freedom does not inflict harm, either mental or physical.***[15] Since one individual's freedom frequently collides with another's (employers, for example, are not free to run their businesses as they choose if workers are also free to work an eight hour day), harm cannot usually be avoided. A democratic society resolves the collision of freedoms according to the principle that each individual is entitled to equal consideration. Individuals in this model do not belong to communities that define who they are or how they are treated, and the whole process is a relentlessly rational one that leaves unanswered the question of what is "equal consideration." Noticeably absent is any consideration of social justice; the concept of equality effectively replaces the notion of justice.

To critique this understanding of rights, and thus of rights denied, participants were given several case studies of conflicting rights and asked both to resolve them and to identify what values, principles and assumptions contributed to their decision. Perhaps because they were a diverse group of human rights activists, most participants succeeded in contextualizing rights claims. They argued, for instance, that the police do not have the right to bug the homes of the members of a militant Black group whom they suspect to be prone to violence unless it could be shown that the police were acting in this instance on the basis of reasonable information and not on the basis of racism. By the time the session moved to a consideration of the social, political and economic considerations that have an impact on one's rights claims, most participants readily saw that individuals may have their rights denied as a result of their group identity and that, conversely, respecting human rights requires that we take into account what happens to an individual because of membership in a group from which one cannot dissociate (e.g., individual: woman; group: women).

Significantly, however, when confronted with examples where honouring group rights meant limiting the privileges of some groups represented in the classroom, very often the personal histories of participants held sway and influenced how far they were willing to go in respecting the group-based claims of others. For instance, not all White males readily agreed that affirmative action programs that reserved a certain number of jobs for qualified women were just. And not all anglophones accepted the view that Quebec's language laws prohibiting new immigrants from attending English language schools (in the interests of maintaining French as the language of Quebec) was an example of a collective right of an oppressed collectivity. What was often at issue was whether a group could be accurately described as oppressed to the extent that ***unequal*** (i.e., unfair) measures were required.

Their experience as people working for social change notwithstanding, many participants of the Summer College were only superficially familiar with the status of groups not their own. Indeed, we have often presumed too much about the affinity that exists between diverse oppressed groups and have expected White lesbians not to be racist, South African Black men not to be homophobic and virtually everyone working for social justice to be aware of the bodily norms with which they operate. The fiction that we are all just individuals pursuing our own interests permeates the activist classroom and helps to create another fiction that we are all just activists seeking social change. It became imperative, therefore, that the curriculum include sections on the personal and political implications of identity.

In its early years, the curriculum did not explicitly address the issue of differences among participants. It did, however, devote considerable energy to the status of various groups in Canadian society in an effort to emphasize that there was inequality in Canada. Our initial failure to link the personal to the political in the classroom undermined in some ways this project of describing oppression. Participants were able to explore, the statistics relating to various groups, to be appropriately shocked by the evidence that young native men have the highest suicide rate in the world and almost a seventy percent chance of incarceration at least once in their lives and to recognize that disabled people have a 90% unemployment rate and that women of colour earn much less than White women with the same qualifications and experience. While they were able to uncover and understand how those statistics came to be, they sometimes could not locate oppressive practices within their own communities or grasp the personal implications of these statistics. Most students considered themselves exempt from their group's privilege and were initially unable to name what was in their own knapsack of privilege.[16] In recognition of this, we added films and texts of the personal experience of discrimination so that the connection could be made between personal lives and abstract statistics. Tensions remained, however, which underscored why the second challenge of the curriculum involved making a more sustained connection between the personal and the political.

Linking the Personal to the Political

There are a number of land mines strewn along the path when one attempts to interrogate subject position in the classroom. First, an ever-present danger of building on the personal to forge a collective politics is that the political becomes limited to the personal. For example, as Jenny Bourne has noted, when some White women explored their own personal complicity around racism, one result was a lessening of personal guilt at the expense of accountability and sound anti-racist practice.[17] That is to say, how racism works as a system of oppression and its very real impact on Black people's lives take a back seat to the suffering that Whites feel about this state of affairs.

A second difficulty is the unequal risks taken in the classroom when linking the personal to the political. For example, if race awareness sessions take place in mixed groups, minorities sometimes have to watch in anguish as relations of domination and oppression are played out once again. In Canada, an emphasis on intercultural communication and multicultural awareness sessions often pre-empt thinking about how power is organized. Teachers are taught about the customs of their multicultural pupils but not about the economic practices that confine minorities to the lowest paying jobs. They learn to see non-dominant groups as exotic, not oppressed.

To avoid these situations, the Summer College curriculum initially laid such a heavy emphasis on systems that oppress that we almost forgot the faces behind the systems and the strength of ideologies of domination. This made it possible for a man to sit in a classroom and declare that violence against women simply didn't exist to the extent claimed by some participants, for a White woman to demand that a black woman participate in a discussion about racism because it was primarily about her and to enable a Black man to declare that homosexuals were deviants. Ironically, learner-centred pedagogy and a nurturing atmosphere reinforced the illusion of sameness among participants and acted to block a more careful examination of differences *in* the classroom itself. As I have explored elsewhere[18], a pedagogy built around the sharing of experiences often fails to take into account how such stories are both heard and spoken across different subject positions. It is not uncommon, for example, for people of colour who talk about their experiences of racism to White people to be met with disbelief and denial, so strongly do these stories come up against the dominant world view that Western society is basically fair and Westerners tolerant. Ultimately, pained by these instances, many participants felt that more space should be set aside in the curriculum to discuss personal histories that would assist them to cross the chasms of difference. In doing so, however, we had to take into account that, notwithstanding their educative value, the risks of sharing personal stories are very differently shared, as the reaction of dominant groups to the stories of oppression indicate. When Stephanie, a hearing impaired student tremblingly signed a poem she had written on her personal history of incest and the many years she endured without help, she did what no carefully prepared exercise could accomplish. She put herself on the line in order to respond to some male questioning about the nature and extent of violence against women. Popular educators sometimes think, selfishly, that an episode of this kind in the classroom is an opportunity from heaven and devise techniques to encourage the telling. For instance, participants are asked to discuss moments of pain. It came as a considerable shock to the facilitator of a popular theatre workshop that the students of the Summer College resisted and intensely disliked being asked to imagine and act out a moment of great pain. My own response was anger because I did not like the implication that we were all safe with each other and because I disliked what felt to me like therapy instead of political organizing.

Can we discuss rationally and with a minimum amount of pain what is not rational and is deeply painful? Why should women take the risk of telling men what rape and incest and harassment feel like? Why should minorities attempt to explain to Whites the pain of exclusion by whites? Why should native people describe the genocide they are enduring? In the telling, it will be the teller of the tale who stands exposed and the listener who has the option to say I don't believe you. Others have tackled these problems and suggested that confronting privilege in the classroom is a game with many ground rules[19]. For all its inherent dangers, for the purposes of coalition, some telling will have to be done like that at the Summer College and we will have to find a way to question respectfully each other's narratives. When a pedagogy is built around the sharing of narratives, the only possible strategy seems to be to reinforce continually the point that there are narratives, as Gayatri Spivak notes[20], and to focus on what we need to do to change the patterns of oppression they reflect and sustain. The risks of subjecting one's deepest pain to public scrutiny are better borne with support—either from those similarly situated or from an institutional context that prepares the listeners and the tellers of tales for respectful dialogue. That institutional context can be the analytical framework of the curriculum which stresses the interconnections between systems of oppression and the tremendous power of elites. Communicating these themes presented the third challenge of the Summer College curriculum.

Interlocking Systems of Oppression

An analytical framework that stresses the connections between the global and the local can facilitate a better understanding of where we each stand, providing that an exploration of our commonalities does not enable us to ignore very real differences in privileges and power. It was partly in response to Stephanie's eloquence on violence against women that the idea grew to use the connections between violence against women in the family and in society and organized state violence to show how racism, sexism, heterosexism, ableism and economic exploitation link up globally to produce various forms of oppression. The type of connections we hoped students would make are captured in June Jordan's poem which Angela Davis uses to illustrate the links between sexual violence, militarism, racism and economic exploitation:

> they fucked me over because I was wrong I was
> wrong again to be me being me where I was/wrong
> to be who I am
> which is exactly like South Africa
> penetrating into Namibia ...[21]

The intention was to uncover the interconnections between various systems of oppression and to enable each student to find himself or herself in the picture. The connections between the global and the local work particularly well if the classroom is made up of activists from around the world. By the time we tried these themes, the Summer College had begun to attract participants from Zimbabwe and South Africa who came initially to network with Canadian human rights activists. Their presence and that of participants who were born elsewhere and who had worked in their home countries (about thirty percent of the student body) made it possible to discuss apartheid, militarism and human rights and state violence while the presence of Canadian women working on violence issues or who had personally experienced violence highlighted the realities of oppression here.

What was less well fostered was how to uncover some of the same practices of domination that drive these various systems in different parts of the world. Black South African participants, for instance, continued to think that incest only happened in North America and that gay and lesbian issues were irrelevant to their political world while Canadians did not really believe that their human rights struggles were integrally linked to those elsewhere. At least a part of the failure to make these connections has to do with the ratio of Canadian to non-Canadian participants (about 10 to 1) which privileged the perspective and issues of the developed world even while ostensibly discussing political issues of the south.

To respond to the difficulty we noted in participants drawing connections between various forms of oppression, we devoted more time to the structure of the world economy and to the ways, both historically and currently, in which various elites utilize racist and sexist ideas in their bid to control the world's resources. To draw on Cynthia Enloe, bananas, beaches and bases are integrally connected in the current world economic order. As she puts it:

> Women active in nationalist movements in the Philippines, Ireland, South Africa, Canada, Sri Lanka, Mexico and Nicaragua have begun to analyze how the 'home' and the 'international system' are integrally tied to one another. In doing so they are far ahead of those women in industrialized countries who have scarcely glimpsed those political connections. The process that ties them together is not just globalized consumer advertising, it is domestic relations between women and men. If women, they argue, are kept in marginalized roles by men as lovers, fathers or husbands, the chances of halting foreign financed invasion, ending an unfair military bases treaty or holding accountable a multinational employer will be slim. In this sense foreign base commanders and entrepreneurs may depend on domestic violence as much as they do on alliances with men in the local élite.[22]

To foster this interconnected kind of analysis, sections were added on the International Monetary Fund and the current debt crisis and on the international creation of marginalized labour forces made up of minority women. If these sections could help participants see the connections between Canadian economic and foreign policy and third world politics and between sexism and racism and economic exploitation and to find the common principles and practices they were fighting for, perhaps then they would be more equipped for working across differences than if we relied only on the sharing of personal narratives in the classroom.

Clearly, to understand the debt crisis, for example, at a level beyond the abstract, means confronting the First world privilege that sustains it. At the same time that participants explore the dimension of the debt crisis, they have to come to "feel" in their bones that there is a Third world because of the actions of the First world. They have to "know" about economic exploitation in cognitive and non-cognitive ways, an undertaking that can only begin from a recognition that there are multiple subject positions and that we are, as members of various groups, constituted by systems of domination in different ways.

Continuing Dilemmas

Common cause was the underlying rationale of the Summer College. That various human rights struggles are linked by the interdependency of all systems of oppression has been the foundation on which the curriculum rested. The task at hand has always been clear: uncover how racism, sexism, economic exploitation and the oppression of disabled people, old people, lesbians and gay men work in specific contexts and determine effective political strategies. The complexities of this kind of uncovering has meant that time must be spent deconstructing the deeply held belief in the autonomous and essentially free individual who is thought to inhabit Western democracies. If an individual is not an autonomous being, he or she inhabits a variety of communities. Neither a generic woman nor a generic man exists. Each individual inhabits cultural, linguistic, political, racial communities in which are entrenched various sexual, racial and bodily norms. More importantly, the norms of each community reflect the way in which power is organized in society. One can, as a popular educator, try to devise ways in which participants' everyday experiences of oppression can be understood in terms of these webs of domination. This has been the pedagogy of the Summer College.

What remains disturbingly out of reach is a way to make the transition from critical consciousness to action. To put it simply, when students left the Summer College, did they leave with the same "investments of power and privilege" with which they entered, critical consciousness notwithstanding?[23] There was ample proof that consciousness was raised; student evaluations and behaviour at the college itself indicated this to be so. But no educator could credibly claim that a two week residential program changes political practices in any remarkable way. Furthermore, at the Summer College students already possessed a high degree of consciousness about oppression, at least in their own sphere, and were experienced activists. One cannot ever be certain that participants have learned anything new. What then would make this two week experience, if it is positive, something beyond a brief interlude? The question about promoting critical reflection over the long term is one part of the challenge; the other is the more metaphysical issue about transforming consciousness when there is still very real privilege to be derived from retaining the old. As Charles Paine expressed it, how do you build critical consciousness when your students are quite "comfortable with the world" and are, in fact, affluent?[24] Most of the participants of the Summer College cannot be described as affluent by North American standards, and many are, in fact, poor. But privilege comes in many different packages, among them gender, skin, heterosexuality, able bodied, developed world, etc. Ironically, when the interrelationship between systems of oppression consumes students' analytical and political energies, and the full extent of human rights abuses is revealed, it can feel self indulgent to turn the light on to one's self and ask about personal privilege.

Comfortable students and comfortable teachers continue to trouble me as I teach Canadian activists each summer and university students in the winter. I am not the first, nor I expect the last, educator to lose sleep over the question of the limits of education for social change. What will persuade men to give up their privilege, for instance, lies at the heart of many feminist critical reflections, and the answers have ranged from a liberal insistence on reasoned argument to a seemingly pragmatic response that only organized power on the part of women will effect any change. One could ask instead, as Teresa de Lauretis did, "What will persuade women to walk out of the male-centred frame of reference in which gender and sexuality are (re) produced by the discourse of male sexuality…?"[25] The answer may well be that women will walk out when they realize that they have something to gain by doing so. It remains difficult to make a similarly compelling case for White women walking out of their skin-based privilege. Education for social change seemed to hold more potential when we thought only in terms of unitary subjects: Blacks in South Africa, Native people in Canada, women in the world, Francophones in Quebec. Once we started filling in the categories so that we had White Quebecers, White women and disabled men confronted the multiple communities and hence the multiple layers of oppression and privilege, we were faced with the need to understand the interrelationship between systems and the construction of subjectivity.

Given these multiple locations, the challenge is to devise a curriculum which would facilitate critical reflection on where personal privilege meets political practice within a specific context. We have to build into our critical education projects a commitment to exploring the depths of discourse as that discourse constitutes us in and out of the classroom. I have tried in this article to describe the steps in one such experiment, a Canadian Summer College for human rights activists.

I have come so far as to see that we have to find ways to question each other's experiences, given what Spivak terms "the great cultural explanations" that affect us. But to what end? If, as I would argue, it is for the sake of coalition building and not for the sake of personal friendship, then the goals of education for social change and its limits come more clearly into focus. We need to understand and respect each other just long enough to work together for change. It is promising that we have recognized the importance of the non-rational in this process. Spivak suggests that we have to reflect on what it would be like to be on the margins, whatever that may be for us. Thinking about privilege and giving it up are not the same thing, however, even though one cannot happen without the other. It is my view that one cannot make a compelling case for change on moral grounds; ultimately, people change because it is in their self interest to do so. What then is our role as teachers in ***organizing*** for change? Do we leave the organizing to the organizers and the teaching of critical thinking to ourselves? Can we effectively do one without the other? This is the crossroads I find myself at today.

Notes

1. *The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education* V, Special Issue, (Winter/hiver 1991).
2. Michael Welton, "Shaking the Foundations: The Critical Turn in Adult Education Theory," *The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education* V, Special Issue (Winter/hiver 1991): 24.
3. David Little, "Critical Adult Education: A Response to Contemporary Social Crisis," *The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education* V, Special Issue (Winter/hiver 1991): 13.
4. Welton: 29.
5. Matthias Finger, "Can Critical Theory Save Adult Education from Post-Modernism? *The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education* V, Special Issue (Winter/hiver 1991): 133-144.
6. Michael I. Chervin, "La Théorie de Marcuse et l'Education Critique," *The Canadian Journal for The Study of Adult Education* V, Special Issue (Winter/hiver 1991): 63.
7. For a discussion of some feminist theorists in law on this point, see Razack, "Revolution from Within: Dilemmas of Feminist Jurisprudence," *Queen's Quarterly* 97, 3 (Autumn 1990): 398-413.
8. Trinh Minh-Ha, *Woman Native Other* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989): 41.
9. Gloria Anzaldua, *Borderlands/La Frontera* (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 1989): 82.
10. *Off Our Backs*, XVI, 1 (February 1986): 1.
11. Gayatri Spivak, "The Post-modern Condition," in *The Post Colonial Critic*. Interviews, Strategies, Dialogues, ed. Sara Harasym (New York: Routledge, 1990): 20-21.
12. Alison Jaggar, *Feminist Politics and Human Nature* (New Jersey: Rowman and Allanheld, 1983): 6.
13. Public Legal Education Association of Saskatchewan, *Human Rights* (Saskatoon: Public Legal Education Association, 1982: 2.
14. Philomena Essed, *Everyday Racism*. Cynthia Jaffe, (California: Hunter House, 1990); *Understanding Everyday Racism* (California: Sage Publications, 1991).
15. A classic expression of the liberal democratic approach to rights is contained in Allan Borovoy's popular booklet for human rights advocates, *The Fundamentals of Our Fundamental Freedoms* (Ottawa: The Canadian Labour Congress, n.d.)
16. Peggy McIntosh explores countless daily instances of White privilege such as always finding your own race in stories, media, etc. She has designed exercises to facilitate looking at daily instances of hidden privilege which we successfully used at the Summer College. See her "White Privilege and Male Privilege: A Personal Account of Coming to See Correspondences Through Work in Women's Studies," Working paper #189, Wellesley College Centre for Research on Women, 1988.
17. Jenny Bourne, "Towards an Anti-racist Feminism," *Race and Class*, XXV, 1 (Summer 1983): 1-22.
18. Sherene Razack, "Storytelling for Social Change," *Gender and Education*, 5, 1 (1993): 55-70.
19. Many teachers working with majority white students counsel "ground rules" for behaviour, but this does not, to my mind, significantly reduce the risk for the most vulnerable students. See, for example, Lynn Weber Cannon, "Fostering Positive Race, Class, and Gender Dynamics in the Classroom," *Women's Studies Quarterly*, 1 and 2 (1990): 126-134. I have proposed instead that strict limits be placed on what is attempted when the power imbalances between students are too great.
20. Spivak, 44.
21. June Jordan, "Poem About My Rights," quoted by Angela Davis in *Women, Culture, & Politics* (New York: Random House, 1989), 36.
22. Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases. Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (London: Pandora Press, 1989), 56.
23. Elizabeth Ellsworth, "Why Doesn't this Feel Empowering: Working through the Repressive Myths of Critical Pedagogy," *Harvard Educational Review* 59, 3 (August 1989): 301.
24. Charles Paine, "Relativism, Radical Pedagogy and the Ideology of Paralysis," *College English*, 51, 6 (October 1989): 562.
25. Teresa de Lauretis, *Technologies of Gender. Essays on Theory, Film and Fiction* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1987), 17.

ÉVOLUTION DE LA VIE AU TRAVAIL DES PERSONNES DE TYPE SOCIAL ET DES FORMATEURS D'ADULTES

Danielle Riverin-Simard
Merardo Arriola-Socol
Clémence Michaud
Université Laval

Résumé

Le présent article vise à identifier le cheminement professionnel des personnes de type social dont font partie les éducateurs d'adultes (enseignants, conseillers). Pour ce faire, des entrevues menées auprès de 109 sujets répartis dans neuf strates d'âge ont été analysées. Les résultats indiquent que la trajectoire professionnelle de ces personnes se dirige tout d'abord vers une accentuation de leurs habiletés spécifiques, soit l'exercice d'un savoir-être relationnel. Puis, durant les dernières années de vie au travail, cette trajectoire se caractérise par un certain élargissement des aspirations premières. Des implications pratiques sont suggérées.

Abstract

This article aims to identify the professional path of workers of a social personality type, including adult educators such as teachers and counsellors. In order to achieve this objective, interviews with 109 subjects in nine age groups were analyzed. The results indicate that the vocational trajectory of these workers first accentuates their specific skills: the application of a relational knowledge (know how to be). Then, during the latter years of working life, this vocational trajectory is characterized by a broadening of initial professional aspirations. Some practical implications of these results are indicated.

Bien qu'il soit déjà complexe de cerner les véritables frontières du champ de l'éducation des adultes, des facteurs multiples rendent encore plus difficiles la précision de ce qui pourrait constituer l'identité professionnelle des intervenants qui sont au coeur même de ce domaine de pratique, soit les formateurs d'adultes: fonctions variées, formations multiples, principes très diversifiés de philosophie et d'intervention (Galbraith, 1990; Cerveco, 1987; Griffith, 1986). Par exemple, Cervero (1987, p. 75) recommande avec insistance ceci: "...field should professionalize in ways that are consistent with central beliefs about what it really means to be continuing educators".

Dans un effort de définition de cette identité professionnelle, certaines typologies de ces intervenants ont été élaborées. Par exemple, Boshier (1985) a distingué, parmi les éducateurs d'adultes, des planificateurs et des enseignants. Knox (1979), pour sa part, a différencié les administrateurs, les enseignants, les conseillers et les concepteurs de politiques. Dans l'ensemble cependant, les enseignants et les conseillers représentent, selon Boshier (1985), la classe la plus nombreuse. Etant donné cette forte représentativité, il va de soi que des recherches doivent s'intensifier afin de mieux comprendre l'identité professionnelle de cette sous-catégorie très importante de formateurs d'adultes.

Par ailleurs, les travaux de Knox (1979), maintes fois cités par les chercheurs en éducation des adultes (Lewis et Neimi, 1986) ont défini trois compétences fondamentales que devrait posséder le formateur d'adultes: le sens de l'engagement envisagé dans une perspective de vie, l'efficacité des relations interpersonnelles et le désir d'améliorer sa propre pratique par des stratégies innovatrices. Fait à noter, ces trois compétences sont directement pertinentes à la problématique de l'identité professionnelle de ces praticiens. Surtout, la première en importance, c'est-à-dire, le sens de l'engagement envisagé dans une perspective de vie, ramène directement à la question de l'identification du cheminement professionnel du formateur d'adultes au fil des ans.

Ainsi, étant donné, d'une part, l'importance en nombre de cette catégorie des formateurs d'adultes que sont les enseignants et les conseillers et, d'autre part, la nécessité de mieux conscientiser, pour ces derniers, le sens de leur engagement envisagé dans une perspective de vie, il semble d'autant plus impératif de procéder à des études susceptibles de contribuer à une meilleure compréhension de l'identité professionnelle de ces intervenants et ce, par le biais d'investigations plus précises sur la nature de leur cheminement vocationnel. Le présent article s'inscrit précisément dans cette optique; il veut jeter un peu de lumière sur la trajectoire professionnelle de ces formateurs d'adultes (enseignants, conseillers) au fil des ans.

A cet égard, Holland (1985) et Walsh et Holland (1992) fournissent un cadre qui peut s'avérer très utile dans cette tentative pour préciser l'identité professionnelle des formateurs d'adultes, enseignants et conseillers. Les travaux internationalement reconnus et validés de ces chercheurs indiquent que cette classe fort nombreuse de formateurs d'adultes se rattache à un type précis de personnalité, soit la personnalité de type social. Sur la base de ces travaux, le présent article veut mettre en évidence les éléments distinctifs du processus d'évolution vocationnelle propre à cette catégorie de personnalité.

Les données d'une telle recherche peuvent, sous un angle très particulier, contribuer de multiples façons au développement des compétences de ces intervenants. Tout d'abord, elles permettraient à l'éducateur d'adulte de type social de mieux préciser, à chaque étape de sa carrière, son mode particulier d'évolution vocationnelle. Ce faisant, il lui serait peut-être possible de tracer sa trajectoire d'engagement, de se situer dans un passé, un présent et un avenir vocationnels. Conséquemment, il pourrait plus facilement adapter ses stratégies d'intervention et d'enseignement à chacune des étapes de sa trajectoire professionnelle. De plus, étant lui-même davantage conscient de son propre mode d'engagement, le formateur d'adultes serait possiblement amené à prendre en considération, de façon créatrice, des cheminements vocationnels distinctifs de ceux-là même à qui il prodigue enseignement et conseil. Il s'engagerait ainsi, d'une façon encore plus intense, dans une formation continue d'habiletés interpersonnelles adaptées aux diverses situations, contextes et personnes qu'il côtoie dans l'exercice de ses fonctions. De cette façon, l'identification plus particulière du cheminement vocationnel des personnes de type social représenterait pour les formateurs d'adultes (enseignants et conseillers) un outil important de formation à chacune des étapes de leur carrière. Elle constituerait, par ailleurs, un jalon significatif dans un processus de professionnalisation des formateurs d'adultes, processus envisagé comme essentiel par Galbraith et Zelenak (1990). Elle répondrait, de plus, à une priorité urgente en matière d'éducation des adultes, telle que précisée par Deshler et Hagan (1990): celle de placer la recherche et les programmes de formation dans une perspective de développement du cycle de vie.

Le but du présent article est donc de faire connaître l'identité professionnelle des personnes de type social ainsi que l'évolution vocationnelle des formateurs d'adultes tout au long de leur vie de travail. Il répond à la question suivante: Quelle est la spécificité du développement vocationnel du travailleur appartenant au type de personnalité sociale?

Très peu de recherches ne semblent s'être penchées sur cette question; celles qui s'y sont intéressées, quoiqu'intéressantes à plusieurs égards, n'ont même pas abordé l'identification du développement vocationnel comme tel. Par exemple, l'étude de Entrekin et Everett (1981), menée auprès de 672 professeurs d'universités australiennes suggère qu'avec l'âge, l'engagement professionnel, de même que l'attitude vis-à-vis des méthodes d'enseignement diffèrent. Si on les compare aux adultes dans la vingtaine, les personnes de type social de 30-45 ans ont un engagement professionnel légèrement moins intense et elles favorisent de façon nettement plus marquée des méthodes progressistes d'enseignement. Dollar (1983) démontre, pour sa part, que par rapport à leur début de carrière, les personnes de type social de la trentaine préfèrent aborder les problèmes théoriques en utilisant une méthode de pensée plus rigoureuse ou scientifique. Par ailleurs, les résultats d'une étude menée auprès de 200 professeurs (Pajak et Blase, 1989) font ressortir la grande importance que revêtent les relations interpersonnelles chez les personnes de type social de ce même groupe d'âge. De plus, selon Entrekin et Everett (1981), au moment (entre 45 et 49 ans) où l'engagement professionnel est fortement remis en question et où l'environnement est perçu comme très instable, les personnes de type social accordent davantage de valeurs aux méthodes d'enseignement traditionnelles. Les résultats de la strate d'âge de 50-54 ans indiquent, par rapport aux mêmes thèmes, des changements d'attitudes plus modérés; cette période en serait une d'acceptation de son identité professionnelle et de son milieu de travail. Plus tard, vers 55 ans et plus, les personnes de type social manifestent, selon Entrekin et Everett (1981), une préférence pour des méthodes d'enseignement mixtes, à la fois progressistes et conservatrices. Il y aurait cependant, à cette dernière période de vie au travail, une relative absence d'engagement professionnel.

Ainsi, parmi les quelques rares recherches qui se sont penchées sur le cheminement professionnel des personnes de type social ainsi que des formateurs d'adultes (enseignants et conseillers), aucune ne semble s'être réellement intéressée à l'identification de la trajectoire professionnelle particulière de ces praticiens au fil des ans.

Éléments Théoriques

La perspective d'un développement vocationnel s'étendant au fil des ans rejoint le courant humaniste des conceptions de l'éducation des adultes (Merriam et Elias, 1980). Quant à Beder (1990), il situe ce courant humaniste dans l'un des trois courants philosophiques de l'éducation des adultes (le "Liberal-progressive, le "Countercritic" et le "Personal growth"), soit le "Personal growth".

L'étude du développement vocationnel des adultes postule en effet, un potentiel illimité de développement chez l'humain, une actualisation continue de ce potentiel, rejetant, tout comme beaucoup d'écrits psychologiques du vieillissement, la conception endogène ou de décroissance irréversible du développement. La présente étude se place aussi en marge du modèle compensatoire qui restreint le développement à un processus de compensation qui a pour objectif de réduire les déficits causés par le hasard et l'usure de la vie.

C'est dans le courant du développement continue que se situe cette recherche. Le développement y est synonyme d'une évolution permanente (Heer et Cramer, 1982; Lewis et Gilhousen, 1981), répondant à une poussée intrinsèque continue (West et Graziano, 1989; Overton et Reese, 1981). Cette poussée continue se produit avec une intensité équivalente au fil des âges (Kenny et Campbell, 1989; Levinson, 1978) et est accompagnée de variations infinies de modalités et de rythmes (Digman, 1989; Nesselroade et Von Eye, 1985). La période adulte ne peut plus être considérée comme la cessation du développement mais plutôt comme une période de vie programmée pour une future croissance (Labouvie-Vief, 1986).

Ce qui peut être dit du développement en général, peut s'appliquer de façon plus spécifique au développement vocationnel et au choix de carrière. Les théories développementales vocationnelles sont plus récemment passées de théories plus exclusivement centrées sur des contenus à des théories de contenus et de processus (Minor, 1992). La présente étude portant sur le développement vocationnel des personnes de type social s'apparente à ce courant. Basée en grande partie sur le modèle de Riverin-Simard (1990, 1984), elle souscrit à une définition du développement envisagé comme un processus visant une meilleure adéquation, d'une part, entre ce que l'expérience de croissance et d'exploration de l'individu l'a amené à considérer comme "approprié" et, d'autre part, les réponses de l'environnement à ces besoins et attentes (Super, 1990; Crites, 1983; Krumboltz, 1979; Ginzberg, 1972; Tiedeman et O'Hara, 1963). Dans ce contexte théorique, la maturité vocationnelle devient un concept dynamique et s'éloigne du caractère monotone ou monolithique que certains lui ont conféré. Tout en conservant une certaine stabilité, elle évolue dans une redéfinition continue des buts, des compétences, des préférences vocationnels, de l'image de soi et des rôles (Bordin, 1990; Super, 1990; Ginzberg, 1972). Dans ce même contexte théorique, les transitions professionnelles sont envisagées comme autant de périodes marquant les changements de vie au travail qui se situent tout au long des diverses étapes et qui s'expliquent surtout, selon Riverin-Simard (1993) par l'un ou l'autre des quatre modes d'interaction personne-environnement, soit l'analogique, le relationnel, l'organique et le transactionnel. L'adaptation à la carrière s'opère ainsi à travers un enchaînement de petits cycles qui viennent nuancer les macro-stages des théories vocationnelles de type linéaire (Minor, 1992). Ces mini-cycles s'adaptent mieux aux caractéristiques propres du développement vocationnel de l'adulte de notre temps, amené, comme le précise Tiedeman et Miller-Tiedeman (1984) tout au long de son cheminement à des phases nouvelles d'exploration, de différenciation et d'intégration de sa réalité propre et de la réalité commune qu'il partage avec d'autres.

La présente recherche emprunte, par ailleurs, un postulat central aux théories typologiques de la personnalité (une des sept conceptions de la personnalité, selon Clapier-Valladon, 1986) qui préconisent la présence de types permettant de regrouper les individus, tout en respectant leur complexité et leur unicité; parmi celles-ci, la présente recherche s'appuie sur la conception de la typologie des personnalités vocationnelles de Holland (1985) qui comprend six types de personnalité, les types réaliste, investigatif, artistique, social, entreprenant et conventionnel. Walsh et Holland (1992) décrivent ainsi le type social auquel se rattache les formateurs d'adultes exerçant des fonctions d'enseignants ou de conseillers. Les préférences des personnes de type social vont aux activités spécialisées dans l'assistance à offrir à autrui: informer, former, développer, guérir ou enseigner. Elles aiment les occupations orientées vers les contacts humains comme celles de l'enseignant, du travailleur religieux, du conseiller d'orientation, du psychologue clinicien, du travailleur social, du thérapeute. Elles sont douées pour les contacts sociaux et possèdent souvent peu de talents pour la mécanique et les sciences. Elles ont en aversion les activités explicites, ordonnées, systématiques comportant l'utilisation de matériaux, d'outils ou de machines.

Éléments Méthodologiques

Schéma de recherche. Afin de pallier aux lacunes des approches longitudinales et transversales, cette recherche emprunte à deux des méthodes séquentielles proposées par Schaie (1984), les méthodes dites "cross-sequential" et "time-sequential". Pour répondre à la première méthode, les sujets ont été divisés en neuf cohortes et observés par rapport à une même variable, à une période donnée; cette méthode appelée "cross-sequential" suppose que les facteurs de changement sont reliés, non pas à l'âge, mais à la cohorte au moment de l'observation. La seconde méthode a été utilisée de la façon suivante: chaque cohorte a été étudiée à trois moments différents: le moment présent, dans une rétrospective de cinq ans et dans une perspective de cinq ans. Cette méthode dite "time-sequential" facilite l'observation des détails de chaque séquence et la mise en relief de la continuité globale du développement, ce qui a pour effet de diminuer l'aspect statique de la méthode "cross-sequential". Par ailleurs, un nombre d'années précis de cinq ans a été choisi pour la rétrospective et la perspective et ce, pour deux raisons: 1. éliminer les narrations fantaisistes d'événements relevant d'un passé lointain; 2. contrer les trop grandes différences individuelles dans l'appréciation du temps. Nardi (1973) suggère à cet égard un écart situé entre deux à cinq ans pour les études de de type.

Échantillon. L'échantillon du présent projet consiste en 109 adultes québécois choisis au hasard et répartis selon neuf strates d'âge (de 23-27 ans à 69-67 ans); ces sujets ont été répartis, a priori, également selon trois autres variables, soit le sexe, la classe sociale d'appartenance (défavorisée, moyenne et aisée) et le secteur de travail (privé, public et parapublic). Quant à la répartition des sujets selon la variable âge, il faut noter, tout comme le font la majorité des chercheurs (Lerner et Lerner, 1989; Birren et Schaie, 1985) que l'âge chronologique est un critère-indice et aucunement causal. Quant à l'identification des sujets appartenant au type de personnalité social, nous avons emprunté à une typologie psychologique de la personnalité, la typologie des personnalités vocationnelle de Holland (1985).

Pour identifier l'un ou l'autre des six types de personnalité vocationnelle, Holland propose des méthodes qualitatives et quantitatives validées. Mais, fait à noter, les méthodes qualitatives se sont avérées plus efficaces que les méthodes quantitatives telles les inventaires de personnalité ou d'intérêts (Holland, 1985, p. 83). Dans la présente étude, le type de personnalité a donc été établi en combinant deux méthodes qualitatives validées et suggérées par Holland, à savoir d'une part, l'identification de la profession exercée et, d'autre part, l'histoire de vie occupationnelle. Ainsi, on a tenu compte à la fois: 1. de la profession exercée actuellement et 2. de celle (s) occupée (s) depuis les cinq dernières années. Avec ce double critère, l'échantillon se compose donc de sujets dont la (les) profession (s) exercée (s) depuis les cinq dernières années se situent dans une seule et même catégorie (type dominant) professionnelle. L'équivalence de ces catégories avec les six types de personnalité est basée sur la Classification canadienne descriptive des professions (CCDP). Cette typologie de personnalités vocationnelles a l'avantage d'être directement liée à la problématique des travailleurs et, surtout, d'être validée par au-delà de 500 recherches menées dans près de 10 pays occidentaux et orientaux (Walsh et Holland, 1992).

Cueillette des données. Elle consiste en des entrevues semi-structurées (enregistrées), d'une durée moyenne de 55 minutes. Ces entrevues, de type semi-structuré, portaient sur la formation ou l'expérience professionnelle et les perspectives de carrière à moyen terme; elles englobaient une rétrospective et une perspective de cinq ans chacune.

Traitement des données. Ce traitement se situe dans l'approche qualitative. Pour l'analyse de contenu, la présente recherche a suivi le processus de catégorisation et de classification correspondant au modèle A identifié par l'Ecuyer (1987, p. 57). Il s'agit du modèle ouvert dans lequel les catégories proviennent du matériel analysé, à partir de regroupements successifs des énoncés, en se basant sur leur parenté ou similitude de sens, les uns par rapport aux autres. Les thèmes utilisés sont précisés tout au long de la présentation des résultats.

Les entrevues ont été analysées à l'aide d'une grille construite a posteriori selon le procédé d'analyse comparative de Horth (1986) dans laquelle chaque information est comparée à l'information déjà relevée dans le discours des sujets précédents. Lorsque l'information est répétitive, nous l'associons alors aux réponses précédentes; si elle apporte un élément de nouveauté, nous créons une autre catégorie. Notons enfin que notre analyse met l'accent sur l'univers individuel et non sur l'incidence que peuvent avoir les structures sociales par rapport à la courbe d'existence des individus. Selon la terminologie de Clapier-Valladon (1986), il s'agit d'une analyse de type surtout psychobiographique (centrée sur le vécu de l'individu) plutôt qu'ethnobiographique (centrée sur l'expression des modèles culturels).

Resultats

D'une façon globale, les données de la présente recherche corroborent en un sens celles de Walsh et Holland (1992). Tout au long du cheminement professionnel des personnes de type social, dont font partie les formateurs d'adultes (enseignants, conseillers), on retrouve sensiblement les mêmes caractéristiques statiques décrites par ces auteurs: elles privilégient les activités sollicitant des compétences interpersonnelles et délaissent les activités à caractère ordonné, systématique ou impliquant du matériel et des outils. Par ailleurs, différemment de Walsh et Holland (1992) qui n'ont pas étudié l'aspect longitudinal des personnes de type social, il ressort également de cette étude deux autres observations majeures inédites. Les personnes de type social accordent généralement plus la priorité à leur savoir-être vocationnel (ensemble des attitudes et habiletés cognitives mises à la disposition de la société) lié à des habiletés interpersonnelles qu'à leur savoir-faire vocationnel (ensemble des connaissances, techniques ou expériences pertinentes). Bien que ce savoir-être relationnel ne constitue qu'une partie de leur façon d'être, il semble néammoins représenter un dynamisme fondamental qui amène ces personnes à valoriser surtout leurs habiletés interpersonnelles et à rechercher des contextes qui en permettent l'expression. Une seconde observation, caractéristique d'un mouvement évolutif particulier du développement vocationnel des personnes de type social, révèle que le rapport aux activités à caractère explicite, ordonné, impliquant des matériaux et de la mécanique subit de légers changements avec le passage du temps. Ces activités détestées dans la première moitié de la vie au travail sont l'objet dans les dernières étapes, d'une réappropriation progressive.

Dans les rubriques qui suivent, nous présentons les résultats détaillés par strates d'âge. La trajectoire vocationnelle des personnes de type social, incluant les formateurs d'adultes (enseignants, conseillers), est sommairement décrite et illustrée par des extraits d'entrevue.

Transposition du savoir-être vocationnel

Les personnes de type social de 23-27 ans (n=7) tout comme leurs pairs de la même strate d'âge, traversent une transition majeure, celle de leur insertion sur le marché du travail. Les personnes de type social y arrivent avec l'intime conviction qu'elles doivent mettre intégralement à la disposition de la société ou de leur organisme-employeur les particularités de leur savoir-être ainsi que l'unicité de leur personne et ce, pour le bien-être des individus ou de divers sous-groupes de la collectivité.

> Quand je commence à travailler...peu importe l'endroit.. j'ai une personnalité.. j'ai une individualité...en partant, c'est important que je reste tel que je suis [ton insistant sur les derniers mots]...c'est comme cela que je pourrai être utile.

Cette volonté de transposition de leur savoir-être relié à des habiletés interpersonnelles s'accompagne parfois d'une certaine insécurité devant les réactions imprévisibles de l'environnement de travail, insécurité qui se mute, en d'autres occasions, en une confiance de pouvoir s'appuyer sur une compétence particulière, celle de leur savoir-être relationnel.

> Je ne savais pas comment est-ce que le monde allait me prendre...ni comment j'allais les prendre...dans le travail, ce n'est pas tout le monde qui peut t'aimer non plus.
>
> C'est rare que je ne m'entends pas avec une personne...ça a toujours été comme ça..je n'essaie pas de juger une personne.. j'aime mieux la comprendre...donc, ça devrait bien aller.

Par ailleurs, en cette période d'insertion socio-professionnelle, les jeunes adultes de type social souhaitent vivement se retrouver dans un climat de travail harmonieux où ils pourront transposer efficacement leur savoir-être relié aux habiletés interpersonnelles.

> Je veux me retrouver dans un climat de confiance pour que je puisse répondre à mes exigences personnelles face au travail.
>
> Il y a beaucoup de compétences qui vont se développer seulement dans un climat favorable.

Parallèlement, une des difficultés majeures que les personnes de type social soulignent relativement à la transposition de leur savoir-être est celle d'oeuvrer dans un milieu où les relations interpersonnelles sont tendues et où les possibilités de contact avec les collègues ou patrons sont très rares.

> La première année, ça été très difficile parce que j'étais toujours à me demander si j'aimais cela...pas à cause des tâches...à cause du climat..j'avais toujours envie de changer de job..je n'étais jamais bien.
>
> Travailler sans un bon climat de travail, ça nous porte à vouloir fuir...ce n'est pas intéressant, je veux surtout fuir...fuir ce climat-là...parce que j'ai l'impression qu'avec les personnes ici, ça va toujours être sensiblement pareil.

Recherche d'une culture organisationnelle valorisant les relations interpersonnelles

Les personnes de type social de 28-32 ans (n=10), tout comme leurs pairs de la même strate d'âge, semblent être à la recherche d'un chemin prometteur. Suite aux premières années passées sur le marché du travail, elles essaient d'identifier un champ d'activités professionnelles davantage relié à leurs habiletés interpersonnelles, en modifiant par exemple, de façon substantielle, l'orientation de leur trajectoire professionnelle.

> Je vais reprendre mes études...peut-être qu'au bout, j'aurai des difficultés à affronter...mais je n'ai pas peur de ça..je me dis: enfin, je vais vraiment travailler avec l'être humain.
>
> J'ai donné ma démission ici..j'ai décidé d'orienter ma carrière tout autrement...pour moi, la possibilité de rendre mon travail plus humain, c'est ma plus grande préoccupation actuellement.

Une culture organisationnelle qui valorise les relations interpersonnelles leur apparaît comme un chemin prometteur. Les uns y puisent assurance, d'autres ressentent la nécessité d'un changement et envisagent de déployer des efforts pour humaniser davantage leur travail.

> Quand c'est humain à mon travail, comme là...tout le monde est bien..je ne me tracasse plus pour le reste, car je suis assurée que mon rendement sera bon...que l'organisation de mon travail sera bonne...et que tout va s'ensuivre.
>
> Après quelques années, je suis plus conscient que la structure...la bureaucratie...ça déshumanise le travail...mais j'espère bien l'améliorer en faisant des efforts personnels...et en le demandant aux autres...de façon à rendre mon travail plus humain.

Cette recherche d'un chemin prometteur conduit la personne de type social à prendre davantage conscience, au fil de l'expérience, de la hiérarchie de ses valeurs, de ses ressources personnelles, de son unicité.

> C'est beaucoup plus important pour moi le côté humain...où je travaille, je veux avoir ma place comme tout le monde..je veux être bien dans ma peau...c'est beaucoup plus important que d'avoir un salaire plus avantageux...car de toute façon,

> une promotion ne compensera jamais pour toutes les relations que je peux avoir avec les gens.. jamais [ton insistant sur le dernier mot].
>
> J'ai eu une période d'adaptation...ça n'a pas été toujours facile...mais...cette période m'a aidée à mieux connaître ma valeur réelle.
>
> Après quelques années d'expérience...et de contact ici.. je suis davantage conscient de mon individualité.

La stratégie de recherche d'un chemin prometteur par les adultes de type social est fondamentalement interrelationnelle: les deux parties moi-milieu sont conçues comme devant être affectées par leur interaction. La valorisation personnelle ne peut se réaliser qu'en interrelation avec les autres.

> Dans le travail si on n'a pas la possibilité d'être utile pour les gens, pour le milieu dans lequel on vit...alors ça ne donne absolument rien de faire ce qu'on fait...on cherche tout le temps à mieux s'épanouir à travers ce que l'on fait...si on ne fait rien qui soit utile, alors ça ne donne absolument rien...si on n'a pas cette possibilité là, c'est foutu.
>
> Être utile à quelqu'un, c'est important pour moi...c'est un être humain que je veux être...dans toute sa plénitude...et j'ai toujours voulu être utile à mon prochain.

Course à la reconnaissance des habiletés interpersonnelles

Les personnes de type social de 33-37 ans (n=14), tout comme leurs pairs de la même strate d'âge, semblent vivre une étape de vie au travail associée à une course vocationnelle, ce qui les amène parfois à fonctionner par défis comme pour épouser le plus possible le rythme de la course.

> Moi je marche par défis maintenant.. je m'utilise mieux.. je n'étais pas comme ça dans les premières années...maintenant, il s'agit que tu me dises: "tu n'es pas capable de faire ça" pour que je le fasse...des fois je vais foncer.. je vais m'essayer...ça m'aide à avancer (ton joyeux).

La stratégie de la course des personnes de type social correspond à un processus d'interrelation. Elles associent étroitement la réussite de la course vocationnelle à une intensification de la qualité des influences réciproques moi-milieu. Elles fournissent, par exemple, des efforts accrus et soutenus pour rendre ces interinfluences fécondes.

> Si je suis honnête avec des gens...et que je fais attention pour toujours y aller travailler en chantant...c'est rare maintenant que je dispose d'un client sans avoir dit un mot drôle, une histoire, une chose encourageante...si tu reflètes le bonheur, on n'a pas à se tracasser.. j'ai juste à laisser faire et je vais influencer les gens.. je me sens aimé par mes clients...et moi, je les aime...ça se sent.

Les buts de la course vocationnelle des personnes de type social semblent surtout rattachés à l'obtention de la reconnaissance de leur savoir-être relationnel, reconnaissance qui passe parfois par l'accès au pouvoir, par une collaboration concertée avec la hiérarchie ou par une participation sur un plan plus élargi à des projets sociétaux.

> Plus on monte dans l'échelle sociale de travail...plus on est utile au travail...ça...il ne faut pas se le cacher.
>
> J'ai l'impression que les cadres, et moi-même, travaillons pour aider à améliorer...à bâtir...l'utilité sociale est, à ce moment-là, très, très importante.

> ..je pourrais apporter mon concours à un autre niveau...à un niveau plus large...avec ma sensibilité...et tout...et tout...par exemple, ça fait plusieurs années que je veux faire un programme de lutte contre l'alcoolisme..je voudrais sensibiliser les classes ouvrières à ce problème ainsi que le syndicat....

Dans certains cas, cette stratégie d'interrelation empruntée par les personnes de type social résulte déjà en des effets bénéfiques et les chances de réussir cette course vocationnelle, et d'obtenir prochainement la reconnaissance de leur savoir-être relationnel, semblent maintenant plus élevées.

> L'épanouissement au travail...moi c'est la plus belle chose que j'ai découverte...être à l'écoute des gens..j'ai eu les plus belles joies depuis que je fais ce travail.
>
> C'est sûr...les premières années...ce n'était pas pareil...aujourd'hui, j'ai atteint un maximum d'épanouissement au travail.

En d'autres occasions cependant, des menaces sérieuses à la réussite de la course vocationnelle sont identifiées, par exemple la lourdeur organisationelle.

> Il y a beaucoup de choses à faire...ils sont là les défis, ils sont omniprésents...mais mes interventions par rapport aux défis s'en vont en se dégradant...c'est très difficile de faire avancer ou modifier les choses...c'est peut-être à cause de la structure de la boîte...il y a une forme de dépendance au conseil du trésor...au conseil d'administration...notre intervention professionnelle est décantée là-dedans...pourtant le défi ne cesse d'être là...ça devient doublement frustrant.

Essai de nouvelles lignes directrices basées sur une lecture de l'utilité sociale

Les personnes de type social de 38-42 ans (n=14), tout comme leurs pairs de la même strate d'âge, semblent vivre une étape de vie au travail associée à l'essai de nouvelles lignes directrices. Elles ressentent une certaine obligation de faire le point sur leur cheminement vocationnel, selon des principes reformulés à la lumière des expériences accumulées au fil des ans.

> C'est toujours cette question-là maintenant que je me pose: est-ce que le travail que je fais m'épanouit ou m'abrutit...est-ce que j'atteins quelque chose de nouveau...est-ce que je me développe...est-ce que je m'épanouis?
>
> Au cours des années, on arrive...non pas à s'ajuster ou à s'adapter...mais surtout à mieux se comprendre soi-même...dans le sens qu'on peut mieux savoir ce qu'on peut faire et ce qu'on ne peut pas faire.

Quant à la nature des nouvelles lignes directrices que les personnes de type social voudraient dorénavant redéfinir, afin de parfaire leur savoir-être lié aux habiletés interpersonnelles, elles seraient basées sur une lecture expérimentée de leur utilité sociale. Cette dernière est d'ailleurs considérée comme une condition essentielle à un sain fonctionnement professionnel.

> Pour moi, c'est important...quand le travail est entrepris..j'ai confiance déjà dans la qualité du travail que je fournis...surtout, j'aime bien avoir une influence...une utilité...sur les autres..je pense que je vais rechercher cette possibilité d'influencer dans toutes les occasions qui me sont données.

> Si j'ai des préoccupations sociales…c'est une belle chose en soi…mais si je ne peux pas atteindre les décideurs…ou bien…si je ne peux pas avoir une certaine influence qui me permette d'atteindre des politiques…eh! bien! je ne peux pas m'épanouir au travail..je peux m'épanouir seulement si je suis utile…il faut que je vise ça.

Les nouvelles lignes directrices envisagées en fonction de leur utilité sociale prennent tout leur sens dans la qualité des rapports humains qui est relevée ici avec beaucoup plus d'insistance que dans les strates précédentes.

> Les gens qui te font confiance, t'aident à avoir confiance en toi…si tu rencontres des gens qui t'écrasent ou qui doutent de toi, ce n'est pas bon…si les gens doutent de toi, je trouve que c'est normal qu'on se sente abaissé…mais moi, si les gens ont confiance en moi, je trouve que c'est automatique..je me sens des ailes.

En d'autres occasions, la lecture expérimentée de leur utilité sociale amène les personnes de type social à s'inquiéter vivement pour leur situation actuelle et à venir. Elles se sentent ainsi parfois momentanément dépourvues de nouvelles lignes directrices permettant un développement accru de leur savoir-être lié à des habiletés interpersonnelles.

> C'est tellement froid ici que ce n'est pas possible…lorsque je suis arrivée ici, je me suis dit: bon, eh bien! je vais rester travailler dans mon coin..je ne sais plus quoi faire…le climat est tellement impersonnel que personne ne pourrait s'apercevoir si je suis malade ou pas…c'est strictement chacun ses affaires.
>
> Je me demande si je vais rester ici…cela me tracasse beaucoup..je vois le sort peu privilégié qu'on donne aux gens en fin de carrière ici…on les éloigne du public…on se fiche d'eux…cela m'inquiète parce que je me demande si je vais rester dans cet emploi…de peur d'avoir plus tard le même sort qu'eux…il me faut lutter..je ne sais pas encore comment…pour éviter d'avoir le sort peu enviable des aînés de l'organisation.

Identification du fil conducteur: priorité accordée aux habiltés interpersonnelles

Les personnes de type social de 43-47 ans (n=12), tout comme leurs pairs du même groupe d'âge, semblent en quête du fil conducteur de leur histoire professionnelle dont elles cherchent à saisir le sens. Cette recherche d'un fil conducteur semble être reliée à une sensation de passage, de point tournant.

> Je suis en période de transition..je me regarde faire…le passé, l'avenir…il y a des choses que je n'aime pas.
>
> Il y a trois à cinq ans, je menais les opérations, je n'avais même pas le temps de me poser des questions…il fallait que ça marche…mon déroulement de carrière se faisait de façon très spontanée…maintenant, je réfléchis à tout ça..je suis plus conscient de toute sorte de choses..je suis plus à même d'analyser…ma situation…alors que dans les années antérieures, je devais agir vite.

Pour les personnes de type social, le fil conducteur de leur histoire vocationnelle aurait été marqué par le souci d'accorder la priorité à leur savoir-être vocationnel, et plus particulièrement, à leurs habiletés interpersonnelles.

> Le sens humain…le rendement humain est très important..je mentionnerais même que cela a toujours été la priorité dans mon travail.

> Pour moi.. je me suis vite aperçue que le travail devient une valeur…uniquement dans la mesure où je rends les autres meilleurs…bien…et heureux.

L'analyse du fil conducteur des adultes de type social les amène également à prendre conscience que, tout au long de leur trajectoire, le contact humain positif s'avère une condition de base de la réalisation de soi.

> Je travaille avec des étudiants…évidemment.. j'ai l'impression que ce que je leur donne leur est très utile…et cette impression me fait très chaud au coeur…ça me motive à me dépasser.

Les personnes de cette strate d'âge reconnaissent qu'elles ont été régulièrement motivées à s'engager sur un plan plus collectif qu'individuel.

> Pour aider l'individu.. j'aurais toujours le goût de travailler davantage sur le milieu plutôt que sur un individu.. je veux dire…sur le côté de la restructuration sociale…et moins sur les contacts individuels.

Par ailleurs, au sein de cette analyse du fil conducteur de leur histoire de vie au travail, les adultes de type social semblent chercher à développer d'autres avenues qui viseraient à donner un caractère plus explicite, plus tangible, plus visible à leurs actes professionnels.

> C'est quelque chose que je considère important de jouer un rôle visible [ton insistant sur ce dernier mot] dans l'entreprise…presque aussi visible que n'importe quel corps de métiers ici…surtout au niveau du développement des ressources humaines qui est mon secteur d'activité…par exemple, un programme bien clair…bien précis…bien visible…qui impliquerait beaucoup de monde.
>
> Je vois la planification d'une intervention comme étant une présence nécessaire…mon action ne devrait pas être seulement à court terme…comme répondre aux urgences des gens…mais beaucoup plus à long terme…pour pouvoir avoir plus l'impression de déboucher sur du concret…sur de l'humain concret…aussi concret là…que les gens qui bâtissent cet édifice là-bas.

Accentuation de la spécificité des habiletés interpersonnelles

Les personnes de type social de 48-52 ans (n=11), tout comme leurs pairs de la même strate d'âge, s'emploient à une modification de trajectoire professionnelle qui se manifeste, de prime abord, lorsque ces personnes témoignent d'une altération globale de leur conception du travail.

> J'ai changé.. je n'ai pas toujours eu cette philosophie de vie au travail.
>
> J'ai moins d'illusions que j'en avais…en ce sens que je ne pense pas que je vais changer le monde…mais ce détachement de vouloir absolument de changer le monde me permet de travailler mieux…

Les personnes de type social modifient généralement leur trajectoire professionnelle dans le sens d'une accentuation de la spécificité du savoir-être vocationnel lié aux habiletés interpersonnelles. Elles soulignent, par exemple, de façon constante l'utilité sociale de ce savoir-être.

> Je voulais davantage voir une dimension sociale…une utilité sociale…c'est une motivation pour moi…quand j'ai constaté que, de plus en plus, les problèmes

devenaient purement politiques, et qu'ils n'étaient plus de nature à permettre que j'intervienne pour améliorer les choses...bien là! j'ai quitté.. je me suis dit: ici, il y en a d'autres qui vont profiter de mes expériences...ici définitivement.. je considère que je joue un rôle éminemment social.

> Je ne pensais pas que c'était si important que ça pour moi l'utilité sociale.. j'accorde beaucoup d'importance à l'utilité sociale...sentir que ce que je fais ne serait pas utile, cela ne se peut presque pas.

Cette valorisation de leur savoir-être relationnel s'accompagne d'une reconnaissance de l'utilité sociale de chaque travailleur y compris ceux qui utilisent des techniques, des matériaux, des appareils.

> De plus en plus, je crois que chaque personne a son rôle à jouer quel que soit le travail.. je crois beaucoup à l'apport d'une autre personne...à l'apport de chacun dans la société.. j'ai beaucoup d'admiration par exemple, pour la personne qui est...[ici le sujet énumère trois emplois nécessitant l'utilisation de matériaux d'outils ou d'appareils]...cela m'émerveille beaucoup la complémentarité des rôles sociaux...ce que je fais n'est pas plus important que ce que l'autre fait...ce qui est important...c'est que chacun fasse ce qui est attendu de lui.

Contrairement au mouvement noté dans le stade précédent, les adultes de type social de ce stade se déclarent hostiles à l'idée de devoir forcément rendre explicites et opérationnels leurs actes professionnels, les considérant, à toutes fins pratiques, très difficiles ou même impossibles, à comptabiliser ou évaluer.

> L'utilité sociale de mon travail, c'est difficile à évaluer...les gens n'en voient pas facilement l'utilisation immédiate...même nous....
>
> Je me dis souvent: il ne faut pas chercher à voir les résultats immédiats de mon influence sur autrui...c'est à long terme...alors, on voit ou on sent davantage l'influence...puis le mieux est de poursuivre son travail du mieux qu'on peut...et finalement se dire: au fond, le travail va toujours réussir à influencer positivement quelqu'un.

Par ailleurs, afin de mieux se garantir une réelle spécification de leur savoir-être relié aux habiletés interpersonnelles, les personnes de type social tiennent à davantage bonifier ce savoir-être, car selon ces dernières, il s'avère, tout compte fait, le seul véritable outil de base leur permettant d'avoir un impact réellement positif sur l'entourage.

> Je suis heureux dans mon travail...mais je suis loin d'être satisfait par rapport à tout l'aspect humain que je pourrais mettre à la fois pour moi...et pour les autres...dans mon milieu de travail.
>
> Ce qui est important, c'est de toujours respecter la personne au travail.. je ressens cela...et j'aimerais que d'autres puissent aussi le ressentir...on peut découvrir chez la personne des possibilités que l'on ignore.. juste par le fait de la respecter.

Démonstration de l'utilité sociale des habiletés interpersonnelles

Les personnes de type social de 53-57 ans (n=12), tout comme leurs pairs de la même strate d'âge, sont à la recherche d'une sortie prometteuse de leur trajectoire professionnelle. Elles s'appuient, pour ce faire, sur l'utilité de leur travail pour la société actuelle et pour les générations à venir.

> Je suis persuadée que c'est utile ce que nous faisons pour la société...on peut maintenant améliorer la vie des gens...et ceci aura des répercussions sur les enfants.
>
> Le contexte social tel qu'il est aujourd'hui pèse sur moi...sur ma génération...qu'on le veuille ou non...tout se passe dans la société.. je me sens un peu responsable...et je cherche à ce que la société soit meilleure.

Une façon importante de démontrer cette utilité sociale est de mettre en évidence qu'elles ont su réaliser une certaine harmonie entre leurs aspirations personnelles et certaines prescriptions socio-professionnelles, même les plus ardues pour elles, en particulier celles qui comportent un caractère systématique et ordonné, impliquant la manipulation de matériaux, d'outils et de la mécanique.

> J'ai fait tout un parcours très diversifié.. j'ai travaillé dans divers milieux...dans l'industrie, dans les organismes gouvernementaux...et à un moment donné de ma vie, j'ai senti le besoin de ramasser tout ça et de me consacrer à l'enseignement...comme enseignant agricole, on aide à comprendre comment travailler avec la nouvelle machinerie...comme ça [ainsi]...avec cette machinerie-là...on peut améliorer le travail...et la vie des producteurs agricoles.
>
> J'ai cette responsabilité d'amener les gens à prendre conscience des valeurs coopératives et à les sauvegarder...mais [en insistant sur ce dernier mot], je fais ceci...à travers un aspect davantage financier...et plus technologique.

Parallèlement à cette préoccupation de vouloir démontrer qu'elles arrivent ou arriveront à harmoniser leurs aspirations avec certaines préoccupations socio-professionnelles ardues pour eux, les adultes de type social font ressortir certaines caractéristiques de leur personnalité qui les favorisent dans cette démonstration de l'utilité sociale de leurs habiletés interpersonnelles. Ainsi tiennent-elles à souligner la richesse de leur savoir-être vocationnel spécifique.

> A mon âge, je suis assez stabilisé du côté humain.. j'ai atteint un certain niveau depuis au moins une dizaine d'années...et j'ai appris à avoir grandement confiance en moi...dans mes contacts avec les gens...surtout j'ai une perception assez rapide de la nature des gens.
>
> Je n'ai jamais eu d'accrochages avec les employés.. je n'ai jamais eu de difficultés même si on a beaucoup de jeunes maintenant qui ont été embauchés...personne n'est gêné avec moi...ils vont me demander n'importe quoi...on n'a jamais d'obstinations ou des contrariétés.

Enfin, les personnes de type social déclarent parfois qu'elles ont déjà réussi à rencontrer toutes les exigences du travail. De ce fait, elles ont l'impression d'avoir démontré, du moins à elles-mêmes, l'utilité sociale de leur savoir-être relié à des habiletés interpersonnelles et elles en ressortent épanouies.

> Etre heureux de ce qu'on fait...à venir jusqu'à date, c'est ce que je ressens...ce n'est pas un enrichissement matériel...c'est un enrichissement du travail accompli...être heureux parce qu'on a fait un travail qu'on imagine être celui qu'on aurait dû faire normalement sans avoir d'arrière pensée...mes expériences antérieures, j'en suis heureux...alors, je ne regrette pas tout ce que j'ai fait à venir jusqu'à date...cela a été un enrichissement.. je n'ai aucun regret.

En d'autres occasions, cette recherche d'une sortie prometteuse leur semble compromise. La démonstration de l'utilité sociale de leurs habiletés interpersonnelles ainsi que l'harmonie entre leurs aspirations personnelles et certaines prescriptions socio-professionnelles leur paraissent impossibles à réaliser. Certaines n'ont plus de défis stimulants et vivent un certain désengagement professionnel.

> J'ai 57 ans..je doute fort d'être en mesure de jouer un rôle important dans l'organisation...pour tout de suite...et pour les prochaines années.
>
> On [les patrons] ne tient pas assez compte du qualitatif...de l'humain...qui est sous ça [la performance]...on donne beaucoup...beaucoup trop d'importance au quantitatif.
>
> Si je ne découvre plus de défis...comme là, là [présentement]..je commence à décroître dans mon rendement.

Conciliation du savoir-être relationnel et de ses opposés

Les personnes de type social de 58-62 ans (n=16), tout comme leurs pairs du même groupe d'âge, semblent procéder à un mouvement migratoire devant les amener graduellement vers les tout premiers moments de leur retraite. Tout en souhaitant demeurer actives, elles pressentent l'éventualité qu'il puisse en être autrement.

> Je pense que ce que j'avais à faire ici [marché du travail] est fait...ce que j'avais à donner de ma personne est fait..je vais plutôt maintenant penser à m'orienter vers autre chose.

Durant ce mouvement migratoire, le discours professionnel de type social prend une couleur particulière. Il continue à mettre en évidence un savoir-être relié aux habiletés interpersonnelles; mais, cette fois-ci, il fait surtout valoir l'importance, voire même la nécessité, de se préoccuper du contexte dans lequel évolue ce savoir-être, c'est-à-dire un contexte incluant des éléments autant humains (éléments privilégiés) que matériels, techniques ou structuraux (éléments opposés à leurs intérêts premiers, selon Walsh et Holland, 1992). Les adultes de cette strate d'âge prennent de plus en plus conscience (et c'est là la particularité de cette strate d'âge) que ces deux réalités, privilégiée et opposée (les éléments à caractère humain et interpersonnel et les éléments à caractère matériel, technique ou structural), font partie inhérente du même contexte ou des coordonnées globales de la vie au travail.

> On s'achemine vers de meilleurs moyens [nouvelle technologie] pour aider les gens...les connaissances évoluent...la société change...il faut ajuster notre travail en conséquence.
>
> Eh puis, l'humain qui a immédiatement besoin d'aide, qu'est-ce qu'il devient?...ce n'est pas statique...ça ne peut être reporté comme de simples questions administratives ou déconnecté comme des appareils...c'est très dynamique...on doit toujours s'acheminer vers...un effort de refaire...un peu...comme...un lien entre le statique et le dynamique.

Par ailleurs, soucieuses de concilier leur savoir-être et ses opposés, les personnes de type social voient une certaine urgence à oeuvrer sur la structure même de la société reconnaissant son influence indéniable sur les gens.

> L'influence que les gens subissent, c'est l'influence de la société en général...je doute que l'on ait une réelle influence sur les gens...sans passer d'abord par le collectif...la structure.
>
> Il y a des problèmes dans toute l'organisation sociale...prenez, par exemple, la médecine, elle n'est pas organisée pour traiter les vieux...il n'y a pas de médecins qui connaissent les véritables maladies des vieux.

Durant ce mouvement transitoire, visant une conciliation de leur savoir-être et de ses opposés et accordant une plus grande attention à la globalité du contexte, les personnes de type social semblent, du même coup, se préoccuper davantage de leur propre lieu d'appartenance.

> Ma plus grande anxiété...c'est de ne pas être acceptée par les jeunes qui travaillent ici...car je ne voudrais pas laisser mon travail pour tout l'or au monde...quand je suis au travail...j'oublie tout...j'oublie complètement toute l'autre partie de ma vie.

Par ailleurs, les personnes de type social, en ce mouvement migratoire les amenant vers les tout premiers moments de leur retraite, offrent certaines leçons de vie. Ces dernières ont surtout trait à une façon plus avertie d'exercer un savoir-être vocationnel qui leur est typique, à savoir celui qui est lié à des habiletés interpersonnelles.

> Les rapports entre humains...les interrelations...c'est très fluctuant...il faut toujours investir dans sa relation personnelle avec les gens.
>
> J'aime qu'on m'aime...puis moi j'aime les autres...j'essaie de ne rien faire pour les contrarier pour qu'ils puissent, eux aussi, se sentir aimés autant que moi je les aime...je ne veux pas les écraser à cause de mon âge...il faut leur donner la chance.

En d'autres occasions, ces leçons de vie proposées par les personnes de type social sont surtout à l'effet que les relations interpersonnelles harmonieuses ainsi que l'entraide doivent se perpétuer.

> Le désir d'aider...je ne sais pas si on réussit toujours à transmettre ce dynamisme-là aux jeunes...il faut qu'ils fassent aussi leur expérience dans le milieu mais...pour moi, je leur dis...c'est quelque chose de très important et je vais continuer ça.
>
> Il faut se préoccuper du bien-être des autres...il faut avoir confiance qu'on peut vraiment aider les gens à un mieux-être.

Enfin, les principales autres leçons de vie léguées par les personnes de type social sont à l'effet que le sentiment d'utilité sociale s'avère un besoin fondamental.

> Avoir un certain statut social que te rend nécessaire aux autres...et réussir à faire en sorte qu'un jour plus personne ne pourra se passer de toi...ça, c'est tout un rêve.
>
> Au fond, on croit...ou du moins, il faut croire...il faut espérer que ce qu'on fait est utile...parce qu'autrement, il faudrait tous s'arrêter de travailler....

Intégration progressive du savoir-être relationnel et de ses opposés

Les personnes de type social de 63-67 ans (n=13), tout comme leurs pairs du même âge, se retrouvent aux prises avec le passage à la retraite. A cette étape de leur développement vocationnel, elles établissent un bilan des expériences vécues.

> J'ai eu la possibilité de me ressourcer continuellement dans ma profession...sur le plan moral, j'entends.
>
> L'écoulement du temps, ça me préoccupe...métaphysiquement, je me suis toujours demandé pourquoi les choses sont comme elles sont: c'est-à-dire pourquoi on vieillit? pourquoi on meurt? pourquoi tout passe? j'aurais tant le goût de continuer à vivre...il me semble que je n'ai pas eu de vie.

Confrontées à cette perspective d'une diminution notable ou d'une disparition complète de ce contexte qu'est la structure du marché du travail, les adultes de type social persistent néammoins à se préoccuper intensément de leur savoir-être et de ses opposés. Il ne s'agit pas, comme dans l'étape précédente, de concilier les éléments humains et techniques vus comme opposés, mais de les intégrer et de les percevoir comme étant présents, non seulement dans un contexte particulier, mais à l'intérieur même de la singularité de l'individu. Par exemple, elles ont reconnu et déjà adopté, au sein de leur comportement vocationnel, l'utilisation d'instruments et de technologies pertinents, et ce même si elles jugent cette façon de faire nettement moins utile.

> Il faut partir avec l'esprit qu'on n'est pas seul et qu'il y a toujours plus d'idées dans dix têtes ou vingt têtes que dans une seule...alors il faut avoir le souci de la consultation, de la programmation et de l'exécution...également en équipe...et, tout ça...surtout, avec des techniques de pointe dans la structuration du travail.
>
> Pour rendre mon travail plus humain, je me suis rendue compte...ça peut paraître curieux...qu'il faut d'abord considérer les autres d'une façon systématique et formelle...les autres, ce sont les subalternes dont on a à étudier les tâches et à qui on donne des opinions formelles, des renseignements, des conseils et des évaluations systématiques.
>
> C'est plus difficile aujourd'hui que ça l'était il y a quatre ans...c'était beaucoup plus humain avant...j'aime beaucoup le contact humain... maintenant on est considéré surtout comme des machines, et moins comme un être humain...je trouve qu'avant on apportait [donnait] beaucoup plus aux gens...nous sommes devenus maintenant de simples machines pour les gens... et pourtant, c'est bel et bien comme ça, maintenant, qu'il faut aider...et c'est avec ça, qu'il faut se débrouiller...pour réussir à aider...pareil [autant].

En d'autres circonstances, les adultes de type social manifestent leurs efforts d'intégration de leur savoir-être et de ses opposés, en reconnaissant davantage l'importance des structures et l'influence des aspects matériels du contexte, telles les conditions socio-économiques.

> Ça me dépassera toujours ces histoires de structures...toute ma vie, ça m'a dépassée...j'aurais dû m'initier à ça tout de suite...quand j'étais plus jeune...car il n'y a pas un endroit que j'ai fait où les structures étaient vraiment faites pour les gens.
>
> Un employé quel qu'il soit...où qu'il travaille...a un statut social et un statut économique dans son milieu...ça...on n'a pas tellement...tellement...le choix...que tu le veuilles ou non, il faut bien le reconnaître avant de commencer à l'aider.

Implications et Conclusion

Cet article a tracé l'évolution de la carrière des personnes de type social et des formateurs d'adultes (enseignants et conseillers) en utilisant des extraits d'entrevues menées auprès de 109 sujets. La trajectoire professionnelle a été découpée en neuf étapes qui témoignent d'une évolution dans le temps d'un savoir-être relié aux habiletés interpersonnelles et d'une intégration, en seconde partie du parcours, d'activités à caractère explicite, ordonné, systématique, impliquant l'utilisation de matériaux, d'outils ou de la mécanique.

Les neuf étapes de la vie au travail se déroulent de la façon suivante:

- Transposition du savoir-être vocationnel. Les personnes de type social arrivent sur le marché du travail avec un savoir-être relationnel qu'elles s'efforcent d'exercer tel quel, en souhaitant fortement que le climat de travail soit harmonieux.
- Recherche d'une culture organisationnelle valorisant les relations interpersonnelles. Suite aux premières expériences de travail, les personnes de type social précisent leurs besoins en fait de milieu de travail. Elles recherchent la meilleure interrelation possible moi-milieu.
- Course à l'obtention de la reconnaissance des habiletés interpersonnelles. La reconnaissance de leur savoir-être relationnel presse les personnes de type social à accélérer le rythme de travail, à intensifier les influences réciproques moi-milieu, à élargir leurs visées vocationnelles.
- Essai de nouvelles lignes directrices basées sur une lecture de l'utilité sociale. Cette étape permet aux personnes de type social d'embrasser du regard leur cheminement pour réajuster leur trajectoire professionnelle. Elles décident d'intensifier encore les interrelations positives, de faire reconnaître leur utilité sociale et de mieux choisir la cible de leurs efforts.
- Identification du fil conducteur: priorité accordée aux habiletés interpersonnelles. Cette étape est vécue comme un point tournant. Pour les personnes de type social, les relations interpersonnelles ont toujours été le principe directeur priorisé pour l'exercice de leur savoir-être vocationnel, comme pour leur bon fonctionnement au travail. Elles mettent le doigt sur les obstacles qui ont pu provenir autant de leurs propres doutes que d'un contexte défavorable. Elles cherchent à élargir l'éventail de leurs compétences, en y incluant éventuellement les éléments détestés.
- Accentuation de la spécificité des habiletés interpersonnelles. Les personnes de type social raffinent la conception qu'elles ont de leur travail. Pour cela, elles peuvent se servir des éléments détestés comme preuves a contrario de cette spécificité, sans pour autant les décrier. Elles se rattachent à l'impact social de leur intervention professionnelle et aiment à sensibiliser le public à la valeur fondamentale de la dimension relationnelle.
- Démonstration de l'utilité sociale des habiletés interpersonnelles. Cette étape permet aux personnes de type social de constater et de démontrer l'importance qu'elles ont pour la collectivité. Elles ont réalisé une certaine harmonie entre leurs aspirations personnelles et les contraintes du milieu

socio-professionnel. Elles ont enrichi leur savoir-être vocationnel spécifique au cours des années, et leurs qualités personnelles les ont aidées.

- Conciliation du savoir-être relationnel et de ses opposés. Pensant à la retraite prochaine, les personnes de type social font maintenant une place plus importante, dans la définition de leur milieu de travail, aux éléments qu'elles ont habituellement en aversion (activités systématiques, ordonnées, explicites, avec des matériaux, des outils ou de la mécanique) et elles en éprouvent une certaine surprise. Elles perçoivent leur besoin d'appartenance à un milieu et se préparent à s'en créer un nouveau. Les principales leçons de vie qu'elles donnent concernent l'harmonisation de la personne avec son milieu de travail et la valeur fondamentale de l'entraide.
- Intégration progressive du savoir-être relationnel et de ses opposés. La retraite marque le temps du bilan. A l'instar des personnes des autres types de la même strate d'âge, les personnes de type social reconnaissent davantage comme partie intégrante de leur personnalité les éléments qu'elles avaient en aversion et qu'elles ont tout de même utilisés de temps à autre dans l'exercice de leurs fonctions. Ils font désormais partie de leur identité vocationnelle.

A titre d'implications pratiques, notons que les données de cette recherche constituent possiblement un outil précieux de connaissance de soi pour les formateurs d'adultes (enseignants, conseillers) faisant partie, selon Walsh et Holland (1992), de la personnalité de type social. Selon Richmond (1987) et Hartman (1984), la majorité des formateurs d'adultes privilégient un contexte informel d'apprentissage (la formation par essais et erreurs, l'apprentissage par la lecture, les ateliers, les échanges avec les pairs); dans un tel contexte, la connaissance de leur mode d'évolution vocationnelle est susceptible d'offrir aux formateurs d'adultes de type social un outil stimulant de réflexion et d'auto-évaluation. Elle pourrait les aider, par exemple, à comprendre et à prédire, jusqu'à un certain point, les expériences aussi bien qu'à identifier les difficultés. Elle pourrait aussi permettre de mieux préciser les enjeux des transitions de carrière qui jouent un rôle-clé en donnant forme et direction à chaque vie individuelle. Elle offrirait, enfin, un outil nuancé qui identifient des cycles multiples où se révèlent constantes et changements dans le savoir-être vocationnel. Les autres catégories de formateurs d'adultes, telles les planificateurs et les administrateurs, devraient aussi faire l'objet d'éventuelles recherches susceptibles de révéler les étapes de leur trajectoire professionnelle; il faudrait alors investiguer le cheminement professionnel des personnes de type entreprenant, car c'est à ce type de personnalité vocationnelle qu'ils correspondent selon Walsh et Holland (1992).

L'ensemble de ces études pourrait contribuer à l'élaboration d'un corps de connaissances spécifiques du champ de l'éducation des adultes. A cet égard, Lewis et Neimi (1986) mentionnent que l'étude du développement de l'adulte devrait faire partie intégrante des programmes de formation parce qu'elle peut, d'une part, participer au mouvement de professionnalisation des formateurs d'adultes et qu'elle constitue, d'autre part, un outil de connaissance de soi, des étudiants et des clients. L'étude du mode d'évolution vocationnelle des personnes de type social, dont les formateurs d'adultes (enseignants, conseillers) se présenterait ainsi comme une composante importante des programmes de formation et ce, peu importe si ces programmes prennent place de façon formelle dans le cadre d'institutions ou de manière informelle dans la démarche personnelle des éducateurs eux-mêmes.

Tout en apportant un éclairage important, il faut toutefois noter que les résultats de la présente étude soulèvent la question des contextes dans lesquels se déroule la vie adulte. Même si les sujets de notre étude étaient répartis d'une façon sensiblement égale selon les variables âge, sexe, secteurs de travail et statut socio-économique, il n'en demeure pas moins qu'ils étaient tous des québecois. Selon Neugarten et Neugarten (1987), la vie des individus doit être envisagée dans un contexte historique, en relation avec les normes sociétales qui imposent culturellement des transitions à un âge donné. De plus, à l'instar d'un courant récent de recherche qui privilégie une intégration du champ des sciences sociales dans la compréhension de la complexité de la vie adulte (Fassinger et Schlossberg, 1992; Mayer et Schoepflin, 1989; Gutmann, 1987; Rosenmayr, 1985), une suite prometteuse de la présente recherche serait ainsi d'étudier l'impact des contextes sur le déroulement vocationnel de l'individu, de préciser en quoi cette évolution du savoir-être vocationnel est lié à des structures sociales ou organisationnelles ainsi qu'à l'évolution de ces structures dans le temps, comme le suggère certains travaux en cours (Riverin-Simard, en préparation).

Par ailleurs, relativement au domaine du développement personnel de l'adulte proprement dit, la présente recherche rejoint, sous l'un ou l'autre de ses aspects, trois des quatre perspectives de l'étude du développement de l'adulte jugées importantes par Fassinger et Schlossberg (1992): 1. les stades de développement; 2. les transitions sociales ou individuelles; 3. la perspective du cycle de vie. L'étude du développement vocationnel des personnes de type social repose ainsi sur une vision de l'éducation qui veut fournir au formateur d'adultes des moyens d'adaptation et le rendre sensible à ses forces, dans une attitude non-pathologisante. Elle veut éduquer le formateur d'adultes, ainsi que ceux qu'il côtoie, à une vision évolutive du développpement; elle veut également sensibiliser ces derniers à ce grand thème qui rejoint tous les humains, à savoir celui de l'intégration de la constance et du changement dans leur vie. Dans cette perspective, les témoignages rendus dans cette étude constituent en eux-mêmes, croyons-nous, un outil de formation et d'éducation.

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PERSPECTIVES

ADULT EDUCATION GRADUATE PROGRAMS IN WESTERN CANADA: WHAT'S HAPPENING, WHAT'S WRONG AND WHO CARES?

Tom Sork
University of British Columbia

Abstract

Adult education graduate programs in Western Canada—both new and old—are facing a variety of threats. This article reports on the status of these programs, identifies the threats they are experiencing, explains the strategies they are using to build and maintain support, suggests factors that make programs vulnerable, and offers recommendations designed to strengthen support for graduate study.

Résumé

Dans l'ouest du Canada, les programmes de formation des adultes conférant des diplômes, tant anciens que nouveaux, font face à une diversité de menaces. Cet article décrit la situation actuelle de ces programmes, identifie les menaces auxquelles ils sont soumis, explique les stratégies qu'ils emploient pour établir et maintenir le soutien dont ils ont besoin, suggère des facteurs qui rendent ces programmes vulnérables, et fait des recommandations conçues pour renforcer le soutien aux études de maîtrise et au-delà.

Introduction

For at least 20 years, professors of adult education have been discussing the "marginality" of their graduate programs and strategies for building a stronger base of support. In 1973 a report was prepared for the Commission of Professors of Adult Education of the Adult Education Association of the U.S.A. (Knox, 1973) which focused on the development of new graduate programs, catalogued the views of professors about the problems they faced in gaining legitimacy for their programs, and offered advice on how to strengthen support for programs. In 1993 the Committee of Professors of the Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education and the Commission of Professors of the American Association for Adult and Continuing Education carried out a study designed to identify immediate and long-term threats to graduate programs and to recommend ways to strengthen support for graduate programs. One of the reports from this study (Knox, 1993) was based on interviews conducted with adult education faculty at representative universities across the U.S. The other report (Sork, 1993) was based on interviews with adult education faculty at six universities in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia that offer, or are in the process of offering, graduate study in adult education. Telephone interviews were conducted with seven faculty members at the six universities in Western Canada that offer, or will soon offer, graduate programs in adult education.

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The interviews were semi-structured; five questions were used to focus conversations. They were: 1) What is the current situation/status of your graduate program? 2) Has there been a recent threat to the program? If so, what was the origin of the threat, what were the indicators (warning signs) and how did you (your program) respond? 3) What have you (and your colleagues) done, or continued to do, to build and maintain support and cooperation for your graduate program? 4) What is it that makes an adult education program vulnerable to cuts, reorganizations and other changes that may not be in the best interests of the program? 5) Do you have any other comments or advice you would like to offer regarding building and maintaining support for adult education graduate programs? Both of these reports were presented and discussed at the November, 1993, meeting of the Commission of Professors of Adult Education in Dallas, Texas.

It is now early 1994 and several university graduate programs across Canada are facing major reorganizations. The programs at Dalhousie, O.I.S.E., Alberta and British Columbia are all facing administrative or academic reconfigurations proposed in response to fiscal pressures. Meanwhile, electrons have been flying across the Canadian Adult Education Network as academics debate the "marginality" and relevance of university programs, pass along rumours about program dissolutions, and fret about what can be done to strengthen the position of adult education as a field of study.

The purpose of this report is to summarize the findings from the study conducted in Western Canada in the fall of 1993 because the observations and suggestions made by those who participated seem to be both timely and potentially useful to others who may face various threats to their programs. This report begins with a brief summary of the status of programs as of early 1994 and continues with observations and suggestions made about strengthening university support for adult education graduate programs.

Current Status of Graduate Programs in Western Canada

There are no free-standing departments of adult education in Western Canada. Every graduate program is contained within a department that includes other fields of study or disciplines. Most often these other fields are—in some combination—educational administration, educational foundations, higher education, community education, and career and technical education. During the last 3 years in Western Canada, opportunities to study adult education at the undergraduate and graduate level have increased: one new masters program has been approved, another is in the process of being approved; a B.A. in adult education has been approved; and certificate- and diploma-level programs have expanded.

The number of faculty in these programs ranges from one to seven. Some established graduate programs have lost faculty to retirements, experienced awkward reorganizations, and lost supportive deans or department heads while others have added staff, refocused their programs and consolidated support. On balance, graduate study in Western Canada can best be characterized as *stable*, although in early 1994 it is a precarious stability as fiscal pressures are prompting faculties of education to review their priorities and operate with diminishing resources. All programs report that demand for graduate study in adult education is clearly increasing at a time when university funding is either stable or declining.

Recent Threats

Although some respondents considered *"threats"* too active a word, faculty found themselves in various circumstances that caused them to be concerned about the future of their programs. Following are the main "threats" faced by these programs.

Financial pressure to cut programs or faculty.

Cutbacks in university funding make it difficult to sustain higher-cost graduate programs. Cutbacks also make it difficult to replace retiring faculty members and a higher priority is often given to teacher education programs which are viewed as more central to the mission of the Faculty. Since adult education graduate programs are relatively small and are not working in areas considered directly related to a K-12 mission, they are vulnerable when a dean is asked to cut positions or programs.

Proposed reorganization.

Often related to financial pressure, reorganizations are thought to reduce administrative overhead, "broaden" the intellectual base of a department, and increase flexibility in staffing. They also effectively dilute the influence of some faculty and programs while increasing the influence of others. Reorganizations are viewed as one solution to internal squabbling and dissention because they invariably alter the dynamics of debate and centralize decision making.

Dissention among faculty.

Fundamental—and often very public—disagreements among adult education faculty and between adult education faculty and others in the department or Faculty are threats because they divert energy from teaching and research programs; sometimes embarrass administrators who view them as *"problem programs"*; and become the focus of attention for current and prospective students, other faculty, and those in the field who may offer support. Scholarly work being done in the program by faculty and students is overshadowed by bickering, disagreements and ideological warfare.

Confusing the field of practice with the field of study.

Adult education as a field of study is not only difficult to describe but it is largely invisible to others in the College or Faculty who focus on the preparation of teachers and administrators for schools. Those who do not make a conceptual distinction between the field of practice and the field of study will not appreciate the research traditions and contributions to scholarship that are rewarded in universities. In some quarters there are still doubts about the legitimacy of adult education as a field of study in part because it is multidisciplinary in character and in part because its scholarship deals with such diverse and amorphous phenomena.

New dean or department head.

The departure of a supportive dean or department head and the arrival of a nonsupportive or ill-informed replacement represents a threat since new administrators often feel the urge to put their own *"stamp"* on the unit by reorganizing it or changing its orientation. Such changes also represent opportunities to build new alliances and situate a program so that the new administrator can better support and defend it. Nevertheless, any change in key decision-makers is likely to alter the priorities of the unit and the way it is administered.

Strategies Used to Build and Maintain Support

Respondents described both what they had done and what they thought should be done to strengthen support. No single strategy was viewed as more important or useful than any other. Employing a combination of strategies seemed to produce the best results.

Develop internal strategic alliances.

Adult education programs are generally considered lower priority within their Faculty than school-oriented teacher education programs. Strategic alliances are used to build support for an adult education program in a context where its contribution to the mission of the Faculty may be questioned. Building these alliances involves developing more or less formal cooperative relationships with academic units both within and outside the Faculty. Depending on the history and emphasis of the program, outside units might include Extension or Continuing Education, Agriculture, Social Work, Business/Commerce, Health Professions, and so on. Developing *mutually-beneficial dependencies* with other units not only raises the profile of adult education, but also links its continued health with the health of the other units.

Develop external strategic alliances.

Graduate study in adult education developed from the concerns and with the support of the field of practice. Developing and maintaining alliances with key groups and individuals in the field of practice has worked to the advantage of several programs by providing a constant flow of experienced graduate students, sites for research and field placements, and a source of support when programs are threatened. Again, the concept of *mutually-beneficial dependencies* applies; the alliances must be seen to benefit both the external group and the adult education program.

Cultivate support among key decision makers.

Key decision makers include department heads, deans, and vice presidents, all of whom are involved in allocating resources to programs—and threats to programs typically involve decisions to re-allocate resources. Keeping these people informed of the role, direction and accomplishments of the adult education program is viewed as important because these programs generally have a low profile within their Faculty and are doing work which is often not considered directly relevant to the teacher education function (or other primary function) of the unit. Adult education programs can easily become isolated/marginalized unless energy is put into building a stable base of support. The programs in Western Canada which consider this an important strategy rely on the personal relationships cultivated by one or more faculty with deans, vice-presidents and other key decision makers.

Involve non-adult education faculty on supervisory committees.

Related to developing internal alliances, this strategy is used to broaden awareness among other faculty of the kind of work being done in adult education and to demonstrate the abilities and perspectives of adult education graduate students. The success of this strategy depends, of course, on having well-prepared students who are knowledgeable about educational developments both within and outside adult education and adult education faculty who are similarly aware and who are willing to take the risk of having "outsiders" evaluate the work of their students and the perspectives on research and scholarship that characterize the field.

Publicize accomplishments.

This strategy is another response to the relatively low visibility of adult education programs. Since faculty and students outside of adult education rarely attend adult education research conferences, read adult education journals and books, or know much about adult education scholarship or professional practice, student and faculty accomplishments can easily go unrecognized. Making others aware of these accomplishments is an important strategy for raising the profile of adult education by demonstrating that faculty and students are active scholars and talented practitioners who are recognized as such by their peers. This process includes publicizing awards received, research grants/contracts acquired, publications produced, conference presentations made, exemplary programs developed, and so on.

Indicators of Vulnerability

So far this report has considered the kinds of threats faced by graduate programs and strategies these programs have used to respond. In this section indicators of program vulnerability, drawn from the experience and reflections of respondents, are described with the hope that they will stimulate self-analysis and discussion within programs.

Loss of key faculty.

Retirement, resignation or reassignment of faculty who have provided leadership and/or balance to programs increases vulnerability because they create opportunities to reallocate resources and to eliminate positions. Programs with few faculty are especially vulnerable because the departure from a small program of one or two faculty makes it easy to justify elimination of the program. If faculty are reassigned/dispersed to other academic units, then programs are vulnerable because there is no "*core group*" to defend them and because the dynamics of decision making change in favour of larger programs which are viewed as more central to the mission of the Faculty. Retiring faculty also take with them whatever influence, respect and credibility that is connected to their personalities and scholarship. If these are not "*replaced*" in the program, then the program becomes more vulnerable.

Low enrollment/low graduation rate.

Small programs that attract few students or graduate a small proportion of those who do enrol are vulnerable to elimination, especially in those institutions that use a *"portfolio analysis"* approach to resource allocation. In this approach programs that serve small or highly specialized *"markets"* are vulnerable unless serving these markets is considered central to the mission. Low graduation rates suggest either low program quality or that the market is not being well-served. In either case, programs become more vulnerable because they do not represent areas of potential growth, high demand or high quality—any of which would justify continued support.

Low admission standards/high acceptance rate.

Most graduate programs are subject to minimum admission criteria established by a senate, a faculty of graduate studies or other such body. Programs that are more *"selective"*—meaning that they admit only a portion of those who satisfy the minimum criteria—are often held in higher esteem and are viewed as higher quality than those who admit all or most of those who apply. Adult education programs become vulnerable if those who make resource allocation decisions come to view them as less demanding or challenging than other programs in the Faculty. Although adult education programs are often heavily populated with mature students who have proven themselves more academically capable than their undergraduate records would suggest, there are those in the university who view a *"selective"* admissions approach much more positively than an *"open"* approach. The degree to which admission practices influence vulnerability is most likely dependent on whether key decision makers view graduate education from an egalitarian or an elitist perspective, so it is important to understand which perspective is held by department heads, deans, vice-presidents and others in key decision-making positions.

Low faculty commitment to field of study.

As a multidisciplinary field, adult education programs are often staffed by faculty with a variety of disciplinary backgrounds and interests. There are many advantages of this, but one disadvantage is that faculty allegiances are often to their primary disciplines rather than to adult education as a field of study. This seems to happen most often with faculty who have their academic training in another field or discipline and find themselves affiliated with an adult education program later in their careers. Low faculty commitment to and involvement in the field of study can result in teaching and research only marginally relevant to extant concerns and issues. While there are many examples where those trained in another field or discipline joined and became fully committed to adult education, there are also examples where there was a low level of commitment because the original field or discipline was considered the primary academic *"home"* which could be reoccupied if things did not work out in adult education.

Low or invisible scholarly productivity.

Respect and relative stability are the rewards for programs with high levels of scholarly productivity. Programs with low or invisible scholarly productivity are vulnerable because they are viewed as not contributing fully to the mission of a research-oriented university. Unless such programs provide an essential service function for other academic units—which is rare in the case of adult education graduate programs—they are vulnerable to cuts or to reorganizations designed to "*reinvigorate*" the scholarly interests and activities of faculty and students.

Internal squabbling/ideological warfare.

Academic life in North America seems to encourage individualism and the development of well-reasoned and vigorously-defended ideological stances. In one respect these enliven the academic environment and lead to new insights and understandings wrought from debate and disagreement. Yet when it comes to building support for graduate programs, the very characteristics that make the university a stimulating place to work can make it nearly impossible to reach agreement on required collective action. Programs become vulnerable when faculty are unable to reach consensus on directions, policies and strategies necessary to build and maintain a program. Personal and professional animosities, when played out publicly, become thorns in the sides of key decision makers, put students in the uncomfortable position of having to "*choose sides*" to make any progress in their programs, and demonstrate to the academic community that the group cannot govern itself. In such circumstances, programs become vulnerable to reorganizations designed to distance the warring factions, to outright dissolution, or to placement in a unit under the supervision of someone thought able to either referee the contest or to make decisions for the group since they cannot make decisions for themselves.

Poor relations with the field of practice.

Scholarship that results in refereed publications and attracts research grants remains the most valued form of work in universities, so those responding to the reward structure would devote most of their energies to grant getting and writing for publication. And yet the experience in Western Canada suggests that building and maintaining good relations with the field of practice reduces vulnerability while poor relations increases vulnerability. Poor relations with the field of practice make it difficult to get outside support if the program is threatened and may also affect the quality and number of applicants. Several instances were described where support from the field of practice was rallied to convince various decision makers that a position should be filled, that a program should *not* be discontinued or reorganized, or that additional resources were justified because the program was making significant contributions to improved practice. Since practitioners are the primary clients of adult education graduate programs, a program viewed as irrelevant, unresponsive or aloof from the concerns of practice may also have problems recruiting talented students.

Poor or uneven student/faculty relations.

Students are an important source of political support for graduate programs. Satisfied students who are helped to achieve their academic goals in a safe, supportive and challenging environment can be potent lobbyists within the university. But students who are ill-served by their advisors, who are subject to second-rate teaching, who are exposed to outdated or irrelevant ideas, or who feel harassed or threatened by faculty can be equally potent in expressing their discontent with the program. Programs become vulnerable when they do not maintain positive student/faculty relations because they are viewed as *"problems."* Poor student/faculty relations, when combined with other indicators of vulnerability, can be used to justify eliminating or reconfiguring programs to solve *"the problem."*

Insularity from other academic units.

Some adult education programs pride themselves on their *"uniqueness"* and the fundamental differences they claim distinguish their programs, students and scholarship from those units which focus on other forms and levels of education. The case for uniqueness has its roots in the need to justify separate programs and units devoted to adult education in a setting where many scholars are interested in educational issues. But one consequence of winning this argument—and repeating it when circumstances warrant—is that adult education programs have insulated themselves from the *"evil"* influences of other academic units to the point where there is little interchange of ideas and a jealous guarding of students from competing paradigms and value positions. Such insularity makes programs vulnerable not only because they are seen as isolated—and therefore easy to eliminate or reconfigure without consequence for other programs—but also because they may be viewed by those outside as ideologically monolithic with little to offer the wider educational community.

Little regard for building/maintaining internal base of support.

Complacency regarding building support for adult education graduate programs is cause for concern even if enrollments are healthy, students are satisfied, and faculty are busy getting published and acquiring grants. Building and maintaining support is a continuous and deliberate process that requires planning and energy. Programs become vulnerable when it is assumed that, because everything seems to be going well, there is no need to worry about cultivating relationships with decision makers and maintaining a base of support. A related problem is having only one person involved in this work. It is a problem because if something happens to that person, the base of support may have to be reconstructed from scratch. Personal relationships do seem to be the most common foundation on which support is built, but these take time and constant attention to maintain. Engaging successfully in university politics depends on developing trust, gaining and maintaining academic credibility, providing timely and useful information, demonstrating a future-oriented perspective, and recognizing that adult education is only one program among many with legitimate claims on limited resources.

Recommendations

Following are some general recommendations concerning how adult education graduate programs might reasonably respond to the ideas presented in this report. They are based on the proposition that no program—regardless of its history, size, prestige or location—is completely secure in this time of shrinking university budgets, shifting priorities, and competition among educational providers. This proposition has been reinforced numerous times in Canada and the US in the last few years during which major programs have been eliminated or substantially reconfigured. Quality of academic work, size, grant getting ability, noteworthy specializations and prestige, even when taken together, have not been sufficient to ward off major unwanted changes.

1. Understand the ways in which a program is vulnerable.

   It may be possible to construct a rough and highly-subjective "*vulnerability index*" that reflects the degree of risk to a program based on where it stands on each indicator described above, and others considered important for each institution. Every program exists in a unique context. Characteristics that make a program vulnerable in one context may be irrelevant or inconsequential in another. The important point is to reflect on the unique circumstances of each program and come to some conclusions about where a program might be most vulnerable.

2. Develop strategies to reduce vulnerability.

   Once areas of vulnerability are understood it becomes possible to develop strategies intended to strengthen support. The strategies noted above that were used in specific circumstances in Western Canada may be a starting point for developing a strategy. Again, each program's context is unique, so what worked in one setting may not work in another. It is important to develop feasible plans that everyone associated with the program is either supportive of or, at minimum, not resistant to.

3. Decide on the best way to implement and sustain the strategies.

   Implementing the strategies and sustaining them will take energy that could be spent doing other things more rewarding or enjoyable, but it is energy invested in the future of the program. In programs with more than one faculty member, placing the entire burden on one person seems unwise since the impact can be greater if all those associated with the program take some responsibility. This will also reduce the likelihood of finger-pointing and blame-laying if the strategies do not produce the desired results. In one-person programs there is not much choice; either that person does the work or it does not get done.

4. Plan to periodically reassess program vulnerability and take necessary action.

   As circumstances change it will be useful to reassess program vulnerability and alter strategies. Making this a part of an annual internal program review, keyed to other recurring events like course scheduling, will increase the likelihood that it will get done.

We have learned from experience in Canada and the U.S. that once a decision about a program's elimination or reconfiguration is made, it is very difficult to reverse. There has been some success in *delaying* implementation of a decision, but it is a rare instance when letters of support, phone calls, and offers to discuss alternative solutions have resulted in decisions being reconsidered or reversed. The implication of this is clear—understanding vulnerabilities and taking action to strengthen support are best thought of as proactive activities because they surely do little good as responses to undesirable decisions.

Practitioners, program graduates and other academics are invited to express their views on the issue of support for adult education graduate programs and how the strength of support is related to the things we do and don't do as academics. It is through open debate and discussion of vulnerabilities and how they can be addressed that we will learn how to halt the apparent erosion of support for graduate programs and begin a process of reclamation.

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BOOK REVIEWS/RECENSIONS

BORDER COUNTRY: RAYMOND WILLIAMS IN ADULT EDUCATION.

J. McIlroy and S. Westwood (1993). Leicester: NIACE

The late Raymond Williams is best known as a cultural critic. What is often forgotten is his contribution to adult education. In *Border Country*, John McIlroy and Sallie Westwood have taken a step towards remedying this, one that is long overdue.

Since Williams' death in 1988, several posthumous anthologies and critical essays have been published by notables such as Terry Eagleton and Alan O'Connor. Anyone with a general interest in Raymond Williams will find these well worth reading, and it is gratifying to see tribute paid to this articulate and original socialist thinker. *Border Country*, featuring as it does selections of Williams' writings on a range of topics, is unique. This book situates Williams' theoretical work in relation to his practice as an adult educator, a practice spanning the 15 year period between 1946 and 1961. To borrow a formulation used by Williams himself, adult education is the *context* in which *texts* such as *The Long Revolution* and *Culture and Society* had their genesis. This point should be emphasized, lest we slip into the error of assuming that his work as a WEA tutor was merely a "day job"—something Raymond Williams did to support his family, while his real preoccupation was with criticism.

As *Border Country* shows, this was not the case; McIlroy and Westwood present a portrait of an integrated intellectual. On the surface, Raymond Williams was a study in contradictions, the "scholarship boy" who became a Cambridge professor, the self-declared Marxist who rejected the dogmatism of party orthodoxy. However, as McIlroy and Westwood point out, Williams also rejected the view that education was a ladder designed to enable a minority of bright individuals to rise above their peers. His practice in adult education helped keep him in touch with his roots in the Welsh working class:

> For Williams, involvement in adult education was first and foremost about the working class, his own relationship with the class he came from and the collective emancipation of that class...the complex interrelations between education and class were to haunt his work for the rest of his life (p. 14).

Raymond Williams struggled to maintain this connectedness throughout his career. His consistent refusal to either romanticize, or condescend to working people was expressed not only in his critiques of both revolutionary and evolutionary socialism but also (as McIlroy and Westwood make clear) through his manner and methods of teaching adults. All the above will likely appeal to Raymond Williams scholars, since McIlroy and Westwoods' perspective differs from that of other writers and editors. What about the overall significance of *Border Country* for adult education here and now? Consider the following:

In the section entitled "Teaching and Learning", McIlroy and Westwood present Raymond Williams' analyses of his own activities as a tutor. Some aspects deal specifically with teaching literature. As an early admirer of the practical criticism of F.R. Leavis, Williams believed that the best way to learn to criticize and thus come to understand literature was by actually doing it. He differed from mainstream academics because he assumed that people in general, "an elementary-school-trained boy in a steelworks office, a forty-year old village-school-educated farrier's wife, and a sub-editor on a provincial paper who went to a minor public school" (p. 137), were just as able to do textual criticism as were Cambridge undergraduates. The expectation was not that the "boy in a steelworks office" would turn out to be another F.R. Leavis (few Cambridge undergraduates, with the exception of Raymond Williams, managed that!). Rather, through their life experience and the sharing of a common language, relatively uneducated adults could, given the opportunity, not only learn but learn well. They possessed what Williams termed the "potential for sensibility" (p. 137).

This example is typical of Raymond Williams' conviction, as summed up by McIlroy, that adult education "must provide the tools for understanding not received understandings" (p. 205). Referring to his students, Williams commented that "they didn't want the conclusions of arguments, they wanted to reach their own conclusions" (p. 258). One hears echoes of Paulo Freire's critique of "knowledge banking", and it does not denigrate Freire to point out that Raymond Williams arrived at similar conclusions independently and expressed them publicly earlier on. If anything, it is an affirmation of the emancipatory power of learning.

The section of *Border Country* entitled "Adult Education" is also relevant to current concerns. Here we encounter discussions and debates on the purpose of adult education, the nature of its constituency, and whose interests it serves. For Raymond Williams, adult education was about increasing access and providing the broadest and best education for everyone:

> Williams saw the threat of market economics and philistinism as embodied in "the industrial trainers". Adult educators had to confront this threat. Adult education was not relevant to industrial training—it was essentially part of public education. Adult education, he emphasized, was not relevant "to expanding productivity nor to increasing the efficiency of the society in direct terms". Its objective was the extension of democracy and the deepening of the quality of active participation in society" (p. 311).

In Canada today, adult educators who attempt to advance populist goals—goals that challenge the human capital model—face similar dilemmas.

Raymond Williams' vision and practice of adult education unifies *Border Country*. Some readers may be surprised at the breadth of the material included (on social movements, the mass media, literary and film criticism, and the importance of community). In fact such inclusion is crucial. While McIlroy and Westwood situate Williams in the context of his work as an adult educator, they also stress that this is only part of the picture. Raymond Williams saw education in terms of its broader social implications. Education was an aspect of culture and an informed, critical culture was central to the "long revolution" that would, he believed, help create a more humane and genuinely democratic society.

There are lessons here as well. Currently in Canada we face a situation in which publicly funded cultural institutions (schools, universities, libraries, publishing and broadcasting, to name only a few), are being either privatized or starved to death. The next time we hear (yet another) politician assert that there is simply no more money, we may want to recall the words of Raymond Williams:

> Any existing economic system is the expression of real preferences... [attention] must be turned to these actual preferences and not to an arbitrary argument in terms of total production, which obscures the real choices we are making or underwriting (p. 240).

Arguments for fiscal restraint may conceal choices that are actually ideological and adult educators, among others, need to challenge the underlying assumptions of these arguments. As McIlroy and Westwood remind us:

> Adult education, too, has felt the winds of privatisation, commercialisation and the market economy. The emphasis is not on the public education Williams espoused—despite the crying need for it—but on education seen as a consumption good or help up the vocational ladder. Courses about work proliferate, but are centred on professional techniques, not the social and personal meanings of work. His "Industrial Trainers" are in the saddle; his "Old Humanists" and "Public Educators" are embattled. But they are still battling; [and] a glance at the curriculum of adult education shows that the game is far from up! (p. 19)

In some ways, the "long revolution" that Raymond Williams spoke of has never seemed farther away. But *Border Country* reminds us that we are not without "resources of hope". This is Raymond Williams' legacy to adult education.

Patricia Hughes-Fuller
University of Alberta

BUILDING COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENCE.

William G. Tierney (1993). Toronto: OISE Press

Tierney's book positioning higher education in the twenty-first century is part of the *Critical Studies in Education and Culture Series* edited by Henry A. Giroux and Paulo Freire. In introducing this work, Giroux says, "For Tierney, theory is...a borderland where conversations begin, differences confront each other, hopes are initiated, and social struggles are waged" (p. ix). With these words Giroux has framed Tierney's journey into uncertainty in which this Penn State academic asks all of us who have a stake in higher education to "create a politics of difference that places every institutional member in a new location with regard to cultural identity" (p. 148). Tierney states his purpose is to develop the ideas of critical postmodernism as a framework for an elemental analysis of postsecondary education. He begins his task by examining "five axes of contention that underscore the differences between postmodernism and critical theory" (p. 4). He builds his "theoretical scaffolding" (p. 3) emphasizing that "critical theory's advocacy for empowerment needs to be fused with the postmodern notion of difference" (p. 10). Essentially, Tierney seeks to incorporate postmodern notions of multivocality and difference into structures built by critical theory to enhance empowerment and democracy.

Tierney uses critical postmodernism as a "paradigm to critique and to think about organizational life" (p. 90). On a base level, I find myself comforted, even seduced, by his way of thinking about what universities could be like. I agree that we must work to decenter norms in order to make visible "identities and voices that have been silenced and dispossessed" (p. 41). I like his framework that uses difference as an organizing concept. I concur, "An educational process concerned with empowerment needs to engage students so that they are able to learn about themselves by coming to terms with the 'Other', with those who may be quite different" (p. 41). However his preoccupation with hope and agape (selfless love)—ethereal terms he does not satisfactorily define—eroded my initial feelings of joy and contentment. His words, tempered as they are by his idealism, create a picture of higher education in the next century that treats the realities of the past like blurred negatives cast in a box in the attic. Consequently, he fails to adequately address his central question, "How do we create understandings across differences so that we are able to acknowledge and honor one another, rather than bring into question one another's legitimacy?" (p. 27). His critique fills me with thoughts of what can be, rather than with thoughts of what we can do. At the end of his book, I still wonder how I can translate dialogue into action.

This translation is the central struggle, and Tierney knows it. He says a critical postmodernist must "enable individuals to utilize their voices in defining communal values" (p. 76). He highlights that a community of difference is "in constant negotiation, dialogue, and reformulation" (p. 140). Yet, while Tierney leads me to envision a community of difference as a dynamic social entity, he does not posit how I am to move from awareness through dialogue to action that challenges the power of the norm. It may be as he concludes, "Critical postmodernism leaves us perhaps with as many questions as it answers, and it should" (p. 158).

Tierney is substantive in other ways though. He provides contrasting descriptions of several American colleges and universities, outlining and analyzing a collage of problems. He presents the voices and experiences of marginalized individuals; he lets them speak about their fears, their exclusion, and the ways in which they have been silenced and dispossessed. He lets them tell their own stories in a way that invites the reader to listen, to reflect, and to understand. However, Tierney only presents those I have come to call the mainstream marginalized—gay men, lesbians, Native Americans, and women. All groups have made inroads in developing voices and fighting the power of the norm. I acknowledge that their struggles continue. However in limiting his discussion to these groups, Tierney does not acknowledge the dynamics of marginalization in the North American context, a dynamics that has created the new marginalized. Many immigrant groups fall into this category. Declining economic conditions and the rise of right wing conservatism have manifested in a critique of immigration that has forced many Asians, Eastern Europeans, and others to the fringe of North American consciousness. It is no longer enough for any author to acknowledge the subjugation of the traditionally marginalized; co-existence in a critical postmodern sense requires that we be aware of the dynamics of marginalization that create new silent voices. Such awareness is crucial to any reconfiguration of norms required to reposition all who are marginalized.

As a critical postmodernist, Tierney calls on us to focus "on the structural relations of power in an organization and on how reality is constructed" (p. 102). I found Tierney's own focus aberrant in this regard. Firstly, his earlier noted preoccupation with ideals of hope and agape seems to distance Tierney from any real consideration of how reality is constructed. He himself states, "The concept of hope is helpful in providing meaning and a basis for action, but it neither tells us how to act, nor how to communicate across differences; it also suggests commonalities where none may be possible" (p. 23). Secondly, while he allows us to hear the voices and the experiences of the marginalized, he fails to present us with sufficient critique of the privileged in his discussions of identity and difference. He should have included more than a tangential discussion of the roles of the State and the New Right in influencing directions taken by postsecondary institutions. He should have focused more clearly on the structural relations of power in organizations as pat of a process of clarifying how we are to move from awareness to action in the reconfiguration of norms. Has it ever been enough to hope? Can Tierney really expect that those at the center will universally operate from a belief in agape? Why in 1994 must we still cling to deals? Why have we not been able to build his communities of difference? Why is there still so much injustice? Why are there so many people in need? Why do we have the new marginalized in democracies like Canada and the United States? Perhaps Tierney would have done better to spend more time explaining these realities, rather than promoting his ideals.

Tierney has left me with many questions to answer and with the desire to explore the depths of critical postmodernism. On this level he has succeeded as a critical postmodern writer. I still believe that his challenges to recognize difference, engage in dialogue, and honor difference provide in fine modus operandi for those of us who wish to build communities of difference. However, Tierney leaves us with so many processual questions. How do we build a community of difference? Substantially, Tierney has not answered this question.

I wish he had grounded his idealism in practical discussion designed to help elucidate how we might create postsecondary institutions founded on agape. At this point he has left me wondering how to translate awareness into action. For now, building a community of difference will remain transcendent in my lived experience.

Andre P. Grace
Dalhousie University

Graduate Degrees in Canada-Adult Education and Cognate Subjects - 1993.*

Graduate degrees awarded by Canadian universities in adult education and cognate subjects in 1993. Compiled by: G. Ambury, L. Devlin, M. Gillen, K. Kennett, R. O'Reilly, D. MacKeracher, M. Proctor, S. Scott, T. Sork, M. Waldron.

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

Department of Adult, Career and Technology Education

Master of Education in Adult and Higher Education (Theses)

K.E. Barnes, *Barriers to integration: The immigrant professional engineer experience* (T.M. Derwing)

M.M. Bauman, *Evaluation of a home study program* (D. Collett)

J.E. Benders, *The need for faculty development as perceived by faculty members in an Alberta community* (A.G. Konrad)

B. Cunliffe, *Evaluation of an introduction literature course for ESL students* (P.A. Brook)

M.I. Davey, *Response to literature: A comparative study of the reaction of adult ESL and ENL students to two contrasting short stories* (R. Hayden)

A.J. Dunn, *Professional immigrant women: Experiences and perceptions of acculturation* (D. Collett)

D.L. Fedoruk, *Relationship of teaching styles to learning styles in music education* (P.A. Brook)

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K.H. Hess, *Multimedia supported instruction of poetry for ESL classes* (D. Collett)

C.S. Jackson, *Program evaluation in adult literacy: Volunteer tutor program in Alberta* (T.M. Derwing)

M. Konrad, *Special needs recreation independent study courses: An evaluation of efficacy* (D.A. MacKay)

F.G. MacMahon, *Learning informally to be a team player* (D. Collett)

M.H. Moore, *Management of quality training in organizations* (A. Deane)

P.M. Ness, *Understandings of health* (M. Haughey)

L.J. Rachynski, *Goal setting activities for academic upgrading students* (P.A. Brook)

I.S. Rogozinski, *Participative management and employee empowerment* (A.G. Konrad)

M.L. Shaw, *Patient perception of the need for follow-up support for learning after a diabetes education program* (J.F.D. Ilott)

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K.L. Sveinungaard, *Transformative learning in adulthood* (D. Collett)

M.M. Xie, *A survey of community English language programs in Beijing* (T.M. Derwing)

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E.L. Gray, *Women's experiences as further education coordinators* (B. Young)

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*Mémoires et thèses en français en éducation des adultes ou sur des sujets connexes-1993-non disponible.

C.L. Snow, *Evaluating nursing instructor evaluations at the Misericordia Hospital School of Nursing* (D.A. MacKay)

Master of Education in Instructional Technology Education (Thesis)

P.J. Loney, *A survey of the development and use of computer based interactive multimedia training among selected northern Alberta organizations* (M. Szabo)

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K.R. Nelson, *The development of a welding filler metals handbook* (J.F.D. Ilott)

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Correspondance - Articles en français

Dr. Nicole Tremblay, Département de psychopédagogie et d'andragogie, Université de Montréal,
C.P. 6128, succursale A, Montréal, Québec, H3C 3J7

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Feminisms in Adult Education: Fostering Visibility and Change for Women

Les féminismes en éducation des adultes: une invitation à la visibilité et la transformation pour les femmes

The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education is published twice annually by The Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education (CASAE). The *Journal* is committed to the dissemination of knowledge derived from disciplined inquiry in the field of adult and continuing education. It is a refereed journal subject to the canons of review which determine the quality of papers to be accepted for publication. Articles are accepted in either of Canada's two official languages. English articles are submitted to the Anglophone Editor, French articles to the Francophone Editor.

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Table of Contents/Table des Matières

Editorial i

Articles

Problematizing Adult Education: A Feminist Perspective
Bonnie Burstow 1

The Adult Learner/Teacher Relationship and
Sexual Harassment: De-meaning Traditions
Joyce Stalker 15

Critical Philosophy-in-Action: Power and Praxis
Sue M. Scott and Donna M. Chovanec 31

Autoformation féministe
Claudie Solar 41

Call for Applications for Anglophone Editor
and Book Review Editor 59

Avis de poste vacant - Directrice/Directeur
de la rédaction francophone 60

Annual Meeting with the Learned Societies 61

Congrès annuel 62

Guidelines for Contributors/Directives pour
les collaboratrices et collaborateurs 63

EDITORIAL

FEMINISMS IN ADULT EDUCATION: FOSTERING VISIBILITY AND CHANGE FOR WOMEN

Guest Editors

Gaétane Payeur	Marilyn Taylor	Catharine Warren
Université du Québec à Hull	Concordia University	The University of Calgary

This Special Issue of *The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education* has been published to highlight the perspectives and priorities of women in the field of adult education. In particular, it is intended to support *scholarship* which emphasizes and advances the interests of women as adult education practitioners, theorists and adult learners.

Feminism can be viewed as a political movement for social change. Feminists from a variety of corrective theoretical positions attempt to redress gender inequity and hence we feel it is important to speak of **feminisms** rather than a monolithic feminism.

Is there really a need to devote an issue to feminisms in adult education? Since adult education is an historically community based discipline and has a longstanding tradition of emancipatory priorities, one would have thought that redressing the inequities of women would be well underway and a prevalent feature of the field. Regrettably, after more than 25 years since the report of Canada's *Royal Commission on the Status of Women*, this does not appear to be the case. If it were, we believe we would readily see the following: (1) contributions of women to the field of adult education fairly represented in the historical record; (2) conceptualizations of the field, with epistemological and research practices consistently acknowledging and including the realities and interests of women; (3) women equitably included as learners in adult education settings; and (4) women equitably included in their adult education work settings.

With respect to the first point, there is considerable evidence suggesting that the work of women practitioners and the realities of women are not fairly represented in the adult education literature. Hugo (1990) provides support for her assertion that adult education historians have not only consistently, but even more seriously, "increasingly marginalized women's historical roles in American adult education" (p. 2). She notes that the proportion of women active in American adult education exceeds the proportion recognized in the written histories of work in the field. Significantly, she points to the professionalization and institutionalization of adult education as a source of what she calls "amnesia" concerning women's considerable and indeed central role in the origins of adult education. More recently, Smith (1992) made similar observations and provides documentation for the same case in Canada. Also in Canada, Zinman (1988) cites the Pierson and Prentice (1982) use of the "amnesia" metaphor to describe an historical eclipse of women's contributions, stating that "there is a great urgency for women to recover or uncover their past" (p. 360). Yet, as Bonnie Burstow in this issue of the *Journal* observes, a history of the field in Canada published as recently as 1991 by Selman and Dampier under-represents women's contributions to the field. Specifically, in that history of 301 pages, two pages were devoted to Adelaide Hoodless and the Women's Institutes, one paragraph to the women's movement, and infrequent references to women such as Florence O'Neill and Women's Canadian Clubs. Mark Selman (1991) in the same Selman and Dampier work made absolutely no mention of feminist perspectives in his overview of "philosophical approaches and issues which are relevant to the practice of adult education" (pp. 18-34).

Turning from representation of women and the citing of our contributions as women in the historical record to the adequacy of the treatment of women's experiences, we now can examine the perspectives and concerns in research and scholarship. Smith (1992) provides us with some documentation. With generous interpretation, she identified only 12% of the publications in prominent adult education scholarly journals and practitioner publications in Canada and the United States that mentioned women who published between 1987 and 1990; and 10% (9 out of 90) of the 1990 CASAE/RCÉÉA meeting presentations represented women-related topics. Our review of the proceedings of the 1994 CASAE meeting presentations reveals only a slight proportional increase (12.8% or 10 out of 78). Furthermore, an examination of the same 1994 proceedings reveals that there is still a pervasively "gender blind" approach to the study of adult education and learning, often obscuring women's realities and needs. In her contribution to this issue of the *Journal*, "Problematizing adult education: A feminist perspective", Burstow draws our attention in detail to this phenomenon. There appears to be little recognition in the field of adult education of the mounting evidence that there are significant gender learning preferences and gender perspectives on learning (e.g., Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, & Tarule, 1986; MacKeracher, 1994), gender differences in adult life change patterns (e.g., Gilligan, 1982; Bardwick, 1971), and structural differences and barriers facing women in education (e.g., Briskin & Coulter, 1992; Litner, 1991).

Epistemological habits and prevailing discourses in our field display comparable research patterns which submerge women's realities. We refer readers to Burstow's analysis of some of the predominant writers in adult education. Joyce Stalker in her article in this *Journal*, "The adult learner/teacher relationship and sexual harassment: De-meaning traditions", illustrates how pervasive assumptions about learners' experiences of adult educators preclude even questions about the possibility of sexual harassment. The dominant adult education discourses do not address power relationships either within or outside the classroom in relationships between learners and adult educators. The absence of critique or concepts of power within these relationships leaves women and other marginalized persons who experience abuses of power further disadvantaged. For them, it is a steep climb up invisible stairs to seek representation much less redress.

Joyce Stalker's article simultaneously raises questions on the third point, the equitable inclusion of women as learners in adult education settings. In elucidating other aspects of disadvantage for women learners, Benson, Fretz, Jiao, and Kennett (1994) discuss their experiences as graduate students in an adult education classroom. They provide examples of ways in which the rules of discourse disadvantage women, especially non-Western women, and the prodigious difficulties facing members of such disadvantaged groups. In their article in this issue of the *Journal*, "Critical philosophy-in-action: Power and praxis", Sue Scott and Donna Chovanec provide a description of an alternative approach to teaching adults in university classrooms. The approach *does* attempt to consistently take into account dimensions of power in the classroom by problematization and critique of the power structures within the educational institution and the classroom. The professors in their study view power issues as content necessary for transformative change and as such the content centres on a critical analysis of the power relations of race, gender and sexuality.

Finally, on the topic of the equitable inclusion of women adult educators in adult education work settings, there appears to have been little published. Does this mean that women whose careers and employment are in adult education work settings have not experienced inequities or abuses of power such as sexual harassment? Or does this mean that raising such issues is enormously threatening to their well-being and possibilities for advancement in these settings? No news has not been good news in other professional settings. What *is* clear is that there has been silence in the adult education literature on the ethics of gendered educational and supervisory practices.

Claudie Solar in her article in this issue of the *Journal*, "Autoformation féministe", provides a perspective on the process through which we as women come to reformulate our self-understanding and analysis of our environments. She presents the stories of women who have struggled with disadvantage and have reoriented themselves in ways which have constructive consequences for themselves and others. Their experiences provoke us to think of our own, not only in the past, but perhaps in relation to the challenges ahead. Solar's contribution reminds us that there is far too little research or publication based in practice which contributes to understanding and the promotion of constructive and lasting change in the lives of adult women learners.

Two features of our own editorial perspective need to be made explicit. First, we are women who were initially attracted to the field of adult education because of its emphasis upon the improvement of the human condition and enhancement of the human experience. We continue to recognize the accomplishments of generations of adult educators in fostering wider participation in educational and democratic processes and institutions in this country and around the world. We consider that it is as debilitating and uncritical to disregard the strengths, resources and allies as it is to deny the weaknesses, deficiencies and oppressive practices within our field. As women, we have experienced and been discouraged by the discrepancies between the espoused values and the actual practice in the field, especially those concerning the participation and recognition of women. It is for those of us who have experienced these discrepancies to enter those truths into the public record and onto an agenda for action.

The process of giving voice to the experiences of women in adult education in its literature has begun (see Butterwick, 1987; Miles, 1989; Collard, 1990) and may be gathering momentum. However, we are at a point in time in 1994 when we are likely to be experiencing what could be called "problem overload". The initial efforts to deal with "women's issues" in all aspects of public life have been underway long enough to address the easy problems and to reveal ways in which the enormity and complexity of the issues have been underestimated. The creative beginnings and small successes now give way to the very hard work ahead. Additionally, the problems that women are facing are nested within and intricately connected to the experiences of members of other marginalized groups on the basis of age, sexual orientation, race, class, and disability. All these inequities are being presented in the context of a long and arduous period of economic strain in which most of us are overtaxed and bereft of adequate time for reflection. Experiencing inequities is enormously consuming for those who are attempting to articulate them, and demanding for those of us who are being challenged to review our practice. The urge for flight is predictable and understandable. Yet, paradoxically, it is often during these periods of strain that the greater burden is borne by those who are already disadvantaged. The cost of ignoring these issues, even now, is too high for those who are marginalized and, we think, for the field of adult education. The emphasis on *practice* as a primary quality of adult education, means we are challenged to critically examine what is constructive and destructive about current realities expressly for the purpose of *changing them*. From this perspective, "bad news", discrepancies, and critique, are essential and constructive.

The second feature of our approach to this issue is to welcome different viewpoints. Practice is well served by considering a multiplicity of theoretical and ideological perspectives. Those of us, usually but not always women, who actively represent and support the interests of women are feminists. As with any other domain of human activity, there are differences in the way that we view and pursue these purposes. In an overview of feminist thought, it is common practice to divide the ideas along the traditional political lines of liberal, radical and socialist (Gaskell & McLaren, 1991).

Liberal feminists emphasize the provision of equal opportunities for women to participate in the social and economic institutions that exist. Research which supports equity studies and which provides data on how women are doing in relation to men or male standards would be examples of studies influenced by a liberal tradition. Both socialist and radical feminists are concerned with changing those institutions so that they create less gender inequality in power, status and income. **Radical** feminists locate the cause of gender oppression in patriarchy, that is, in male domination and the control of social, economic and ideological processes. For them, the answer is more space, power and attention to women's concerns or women's cultures. Research within this tradition is often rich in description. Tisdale (1993) suggests that research from this perspective in addressing feminist pedagogy focuses more on how to teach for women's personal empowerment as individuals rather than dealing directly with structured power relations or direct social action. *Women's Ways of Knowing* (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, & Tarule 1986) would be an example of such a work. **Socialist** feminists locate the causes of gender oppression in economic structures which benefit the few and want to transform the structures in their entirety. For example, Tisdale (1993) refers to a liberatory model which comes out of this feminist-materialist perspective. This model addresses the nature of structured power relationships and includes teaching strategies which aim to help alter the nature of those structured power relations based not only on gender but on social class and race as well (p. 205).

It is useful to keep these orientations in mind when reading the authors' work in this *Journal* for, as Gaskell and McLaren point out, doing so alerts us to the authors' assumptions and the implications of their ideas. However, the distinctions between these categories are not always clear for "changing opportunities for women means changing social structures; changing patriarchy means changing economic processes; and changing capitalism can involve challenging male power" (Gaskell & McLaren, 1991, p. 13). Few feminist authors can be placed easily into one category as distinct from another though we can generally identify a predominant perspective and the extent to which it is consistent with or challenging our own assumptions. Exchanges amongst feminist adult educators representing a range of different perspectives can be helpful in promoting action for women and in obviating debilitating divisions. We have welcomed a range of feminist perspectives in this issue.

As editors, it is our hope that this special issue contributes to fostering attention to women's contributions and concerns in the field, and that, in addition to the authors' work offered here, further interest in research and publication will be generated to address the considerable gaps which currently persist.

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EDITORIAL

LES FÉMINISMES EN ÉDUCATION DES ADULTES: UNE INVITATION À LA VISIBILITÉ ET LA TRANSFORMATION POUR LES FEMMES

Dans ce numéro spécial, on vise à mettre en relief les intérêts des femmes en éducation des adultes, qu'elles soient théoriciennes, intervenantes ou étudiantes. Alors que dans la pratique de l'éducation des adultes sous l'inspiration des théoriciens humanistes, on a prétendu réaliser des objectifs libérateurs, il reste aujourd'hui encore pertinent de s'interroger sur l'intégration réelle, la juste place et représentation des femmes et de leurs besoins en éducation des adultes.

Selon Hugo (1990), le rôle historique des femmes y a été marginalisé aux États-Unis. Smith (1992) et Zinman (1988) corroborent ce fait et parlent d'"amnésie" à propos de l'apport des femmes éducatrices d'adultes au Canada. Burstow le démontre également dans l'article qui suit. Selon elle, les expériences, perceptions et préoccupations des femmes y sont pour une très large part ignorées.

La question d'un environnement approprié aux étudiantes adultes est examinée par Sue Scott et Donna Chovanec. Elles relèvent les stratégies mises de l'avant par des éducatrices féministes afin de développer chez leurs étudiantes la conscience critique face à l'inégale distribution du pouvoir qu'elles vivent en classe, tout comme dans leur vie personnelle et sociale. Joyce Stalker pour sa part aborde dans son article la question spécifique d'abus de pouvoir dans le cas de harcèlements sexuels dans la relation éducative au niveau des études avancées. Cette réalité reste vécue malheureusement sous silence le plus souvent et on peut espérer que cet article incite d'autres chercheures et praticiennes à rendre visibles les contributions et préoccupations des femmes à ce propos.

Dans cet éditorial, loin de vouloir ignorer les forces, les ressources et les alliances bénéfiques dans la pratique humaniste de l'éducation des adultes, nous croyons qu'il est nécessaire d'examiner d'un oeil critique le fossé qui existe entre l'intention et l'action, entre les valeurs énoncées et la pratique sur le terrain.

D'une part, nous estimons qu'il est grand temps de dire ici l'expérience problématique des femmes en éducation des adultes. Il est nécessaire d'admettre et de révéler à quel point les difficultés des femmes en éducation des adultes ont été sous-estimées, liées qu'elles sont notamment à d'autres aspects de la discrimination. La refonte de nos pratiques n'est guère facilitée en période de contraintes économiques, nous le savons, et nous présentons la critique des erreurs et des échecs dans un but constructif.

D'autre part, nous offrons ici une place à l'expression de différents points de vue concernant la pratique éducative féministe auprès des adultes. Que l'on se rattache à tel ou tel courant (Harding, 1986), que l'on soit radicalement critique face à tout alliance du savoir et du pouvoir, il importe de percevoir nos propres biais. Ultimement, nous considérons que tout effort pour mettre au jour les préoccupations et les intérêts des femmes demeure important pour améliorer la pratique de l'éducation des adultes.

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CJSAE/RCÉÉA 8,1 (May/mai 1994) 1

ARTICLES

PROBLEMATIZING ADULT EDUCATION: A FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE

Bonnie Burstow

Abstract

This article explores androcentrism in the adult education field generally, with a particular focus on North American adult education training. Adult education historicism and enrolments are discussed, though it is the dominant adult education philosophies and approaches that are highlighted—Tough's and Knowles' especially. The emphasis in androgogy on the neutrality of goals, highly intentional learning, individualism, the cognitive, and measurement is critiqued. Promising shifts identified include: the development of a feminist critique, the hiring of feminist faculty, and the creation of explicitly feminist courses. The author discusses backlash, lack of awareness, and lack of integration as problems which both limit and threaten the feminist changes made to date.

Résumé

Dans cet article, l'auteure démontre le fait de l'androcentrisme au sein de l'éducation des adultes en général, au sein de la formation des formateurs en Amérique du Nord en particulier. L'auteure y discute la façon de présenter l'histoire de l'éducation des adultes en regard des faits concernant les clientèles d'adultes. Elle examine surtout les approches de Tough et Knowles. Elle critique l'importance que l'andragogie attache à la neutralité des objectifs, à l'enseignement intentionel, à l'individualisme, au domaine cognitif. Parmi les changements prometteurs que l'auteure retient, il y a le développement de la critique féministe, le recrutement de professeures féministes et la création de cours résolument féministes. Par ailleurs, on doit tenir compte des difficultés qui menacent et entravent les initiatives féministes déjà en place: ce sont les chocs en retour qu'elles provoquent, le manque de sensibilisation à leur égard et l'insuffisance de leur intégration.

Adult Education is a field of learning and a profession which has been strongly dominated by male thinkers and shaped by male hegemony/hegemonies. It is also a field which has received comparatively little feminist attention. In recent years, advances have been made and a multi-dimensional feminist critique has begun to emerge.

To list some of the major contributions, Hugo (1990) points out that women's work in the field has been rendered invisible by the male historians. Thompson (1983) uncovers how adult education programs for women historically have reinforced patriarchal values. Miles (1989) maintains that a creative response to "women's challenge to adult education" would "strengthen the ...currently embattled social purpose tradition of adult education." Taylor (1987, p. 179) writes "popular discussions about adult learning, independent and self-directed, notably in Knowles … and Tough … did not … represent adequately my experience as an adult learner." Other important feminist critics include: Faith (1988), Walker (n.d.) Rockhill (1987), and Gaskell and McLaren (1987).

As a feminist who entered adult education at a time when there was barely a hint of a feminist critique, I am heartened by these writings for I have been long convinced that we need to systematically deconstruct and reconstruct adult education. It is tragic when any field with liberatory goals remains mainstream/malestream especially one with so many women in it.[1] The overall purpose of this article is to support that liberatory purpose by extending as well as synthesizing certain aspects of the feminist critique.

The understanding of feminism which I am employing is a structuralist understanding—an understanding shared with my colleagues at the School of Social Work at Carleton University as well as with other feminists throughout the world. While emphasizing sexism, feminists committed to structuralism challenge all systemic oppression including but not limited to racism and classism.

My primary focus of address is North American adult education—Canadian in particular—with adult education as a discipline and area of training. Many of my examples are drawn from the Adult Education Department at The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE), it being the largest and arguably the most influential adult education department in Canada. While touching on history, I highlight dominant adult education philosophies and approaches. I specifically focus on Knowles' and Tough's understandings and approaches for they have largely dominated North American adult education. I discuss new feminist and positive feminist advances in the field while drawing attention to the severe limitations of those advances, ending with a fuller articulation of the limitation and the anti-feminist backlash.

Male Leadership, Male Power

Historically, as feminists like Walker (n.d.) have illustrated, men, and indeed, *white middle class men*, have occupied the positions of power in the large powerful adult education organizations such as the Canadian Association for Adult Education. They also have dominated university departments of adult education not only as departmental heads but as the full-time faculty. In 1970-1971, by way of example, the percentage of full time male faculty in adult education departments in Canadian universities was 82.7%. (Statistics Canada, 1972). While no official statistics have been kept on class or colour, we know that the vast majority of men occupying these positions were white and middle class. Men have retained this power to a large extent. The latest Statistics Canada figures (Statistics Canada, 1993) for the percentage of male full-time faculty members at Canadian departments of adult education is 79.8%—a fairly minimal difference in light of the feminist movement and alleged affirmative hiring policies. From these positions, males have determined the official direction of adult education. That direction at once reflects their views and reinforces their power. The dominance of white middle class men in leadership positions in prestigious adult education organizations has ensured that what is white, middle class, and male is taken as the norm. It similarly has ensured that the directions taken are those that reinforce white middle class patriarchy.

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[1] For relevant figures and discussions of the implications of the predominately female student constituency for adult education, see Gaskell & McLaren (1987, p. 310) and Hootsman (1990, p. 79). For comments on adult education's liberatory purpose and the relevance of feminism to that purpose, see Miles (1989).

Male-Serving Continuing Education Programs

An obvious indication of patriarchal reinforcement is the nature and funding of continuing education for women. The British situation is a case in point. Thompson (1983) illustrates how historically state funding for continuing education programs for women has favoured courses which reinforce patriarchal values—courses like cooking, sewing, house management. Patriarchal governments as well as the patriarchal adult education field may legitimately be seen as implicated in this problem.

In Canada, the gendered division in continuing education enrolments reflects a similar problem. Note in this regard the 30% female enrolment in vocational courses, as contrasted with the 80% female student enrolment in hobby, craft, and recreation courses.[2]

The "Official" Histories

Pivotal in the androcentric skewing of the field has been the written histories of adult education. In this regard, adult education is like most other fields of knowledge. As sociologist Dorothy Smith (1987, pp. 241-264) has pointed out, it is mostly men who write the history of fields. As men primarily attend to what men say and do, women's contribution is thereby rendered invisible and the field's history is distorted. This invisibility/distortion further impacts on what gets taught and accepted as legitimate content and approach.

In line with this analysis, the major histories, as listed in outlines for general history or outline of adult education courses, are authored by men—Knowles (1977) Stubblefield (1988), Selman and Dampier (1991) and Thomas (1993).

Examining four typical widely used American adult education history texts, Hugo (1990) found that the percentage of women's names cited in the indexes ranged from three to 10%. By contrast, in the formative adult education years identified by Hugo, 27% of the entries in the major adult education journals were by women. Hugo's rationale for using scholarly journal writing to exemplify women's activity in the field is not clear. Notwithstanding, the point is, even when women writers are published in scholarly adult education journals, these writings are overlooked by the influential male historians. Differences in focus, style, methodology, or perhaps the fact of them being authored by women lead the elite male adult educators to dismiss these articles as unscholarly, interesting at best, and then bypass them. Indeed, given that scholarly journal writing has historically been a male activity, Hugo's work may well understate rather than overstate the problem. Reading the histories themselves deepens the problem. Large sections are devoted to the work of individual male educators; and the books read like a tribute to these educators. While certainly ample mention is made of associations, networks, and movements, one is left with the overwhelming impression that there were a few individual "great men" whose unique individual talents and commitments enabled them to create and develop the field and the associations.

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[2] For these and other relevant statistics and arguments, see Gaskell & McLaren (1987, p. 305) and Deveraux (1985, p. 6).

Similar biases exist in Canadian histories. General Canadian adult education histories provide raving accounts of individual "great men", for example, Coady, Corbett, and Kidd. Numerous books and articles have been written exclusively on the contribution of one or other of the "great" male adult educators.[3] We do not find such accounts of women. Educational movements by women, like the feminist movement, are not counted as adult education. By contrast, the National Film Board, which was largely male dominated and can be associated with an individual male figure—Grierson—is invariably highlighted in adult education history. Even with those highlighted movements in which women did play key roles, the involvement and contribution of the women have tended to be invisible. The Antigonish Movement is a case in point. Search through a standard Canadian adult education history text like Selman and Dampier (1991) and you can find no direct mention of the part played by women.

The Significance of Male-Led Professionalization

The male led and elite emphasis on professionalization and the concomitant stress on graduate training in adult education has been an overriding direction in adult education and has played a profound role in shaping the field. From its beginning, the Canadian Association for Adult Education has stressed professionalization; and from Kidd's directorship onward, there has been a particular emphasis on graduate training in adult education.[4]

Professionalization itself may be taken as a white middle class male value which inherently is in white male middle class interest. The enormous emphasis on expertise and formal legitimized routes to achieving professionalism clashes with feminist values and ways of operating. It disregards personal knowing. It creates a hierarchy, with those who have received doctorates from these routes toward the top, and those who have not taken these routes at the bottom. At the very pinnacle, and indeed setting the direction in the field, are those with professorships in the area. With the majority of the power lodged here, and the majority of the professors being white middle class men, it is clear whose interest professionalization serves.

[3] By way of example, see Selman (1982), McLellan (1985), and Armstrong (1968).

[4] For a discussion of the Association, professionalization, and the roles played by Corbett and Kidd, see Armstrong (1968) and Selman (1982).

Brookfield (1988) explores the relationship between the rise of professionalization and the pronounced shift in adult education away from grass routes community organizing and toward liberal and competency based graduate training. On this basis as well, the interests being served are the interests of the privileged.

From Professionalization to Dominant Models and Philosophies

The privileging of what is male extends to the actual model(s) which dominate the North American adult education field and which are legitimated in graduate adult education training. Given adult education's overwhelming identification with what can be described as "the adult education method", this methodological privileging is of enormous significance.

The privileging of a particular model or limited spectrum of models is itself grounded in the movement toward professionalization. Brookfield (1988) points out that adult education's professional claim to unique expertise was strengthened by identifying and articulating a specific understanding and approach. If trained adult educators were to be regarded as uniquely qualified to facilitate adult learning, then there had to be something unique about adult learning. Facilitation training, moreover, had to address that specificity. Androgogical theory and training answered that need. Feminist views on education, generally found in books and articles of feminist pedagogy, were ignored. By the early seventies, despite the existence of more political understanding both from critical theory and from feminism, androgogy or self-directed learning had become the *sine qua non* of North American adult education. Knowles was ensconced as the guru of androgogy, with other adult educators like Tough doing their own research into androgogy and articulating their own versions.

There is no question but that androgogy and self-directed learning as defined by Knowles and others represent a major advance over traditional pedagogy. It is a dramatic departure from the top-down learning in which the teacher is the expert and students are empty vessels to be filled by the information bestowed upon them. The trust in people's ability to identify their own learning needs and to develop their own learning projects and the value placed upon personal experience and personal defining, moreover, clearly coincide with feminist values in a way that top-down education does not. That notwithstanding, there is an overwhelming elite male bias, more specifically, a liberal male bias, in the literature, the understanding, and the approach.

Problematizing Knowles

An early clue that there is something profoundly wrong with androgogy comes in a foundational book by Knowles (1975). Distinguishing between androgogy and pedagogy, Knowles writes:

> The body of theory and practice on which teacher-directed learning is based is often given the label "pedagogy," from the Greek word paid (meaning "child")…. Pedagogy has come to be defined as the art and science of teaching, but its tradition is the teaching of children. The body of theory and practice on which self-directed learning is based has come to be labelled "androgogy," from … the

> Greek word aner (meaning "man"). Androgogy is defined therefore, as the art and science of helping adults (or ... maturing human beings) learn (p. 19).

The skewing and elimination which is evident here is one with which feminists are all too familiar. "Adult" or "maturing human being" is treated as synonymous with "male". Knowles seems unaware that there is a problem with this equation. This unawareness is shocking given that he was writing at a time when feminist consciousness was at a high point and when there was considerable feminist literature on male hegemony What is more outrageous is that this definition is still used today. The fact that feminist and other political critiques of this equation are relatively invisible and inaudible speaks to the male professional stranglehold on the field.

The trouble with androgogy or self-directed learning, unfortunately, is not limited to what might otherwise be thought of as the incidental androcentrism of this equation. The larger problem is that certain elite males' modes of operating are being accepted as how all adults actually operate or should operate. Certain white patriarchal norms, in other words are the foundation on which androgogy is constructed.

The Knowles method, which has become identified with adult education in North American graduate schools, is based on the concept of the highly purposeful autonomous learner. To summarize, Knowles tells learners: See and act as autonomous learners. "Diagnose" your learning needs. Formulate concrete "learning goals". All goals and the values which they reflect are totally acceptable if, though only if they are attainable and clear. Meticulously develop and hone "learning contracts". These contracts should include: general objectives, highly specific goals, concrete methods for realizing those goals, human and other "resources" to be identified and accessed in the process of fulfilling the contract, and explicit observable criteria to be applied in measuring progress and outcomes. Make sure the criteria used are "valid" and the proper "data" is being collected. Pursue the learning as described. Amass or present "evidence" for purposes of evaluating the "learning outcomes". Then, evaluate (pp. 18-43). Adults may or may not operate in isolation throughout the process. Knowles, indeed, values "feedback" and uses words like "dialogue" and "co-learning". Nonetheless, he does not regard interaction with others as necessary. And his use of words like "dialogue" and "co-learning" are misnomers. Operating out of their own isolated independence and proficiency, learners are to decide whether or not to interact with "others" in the process of pursuing their learning goals. The roles explicitly available to other learners are the roles of consultants or "human resources" to be accessed as desired. While Knowles appears unaware of the difference, feedback from consultants is not the same as "dialogue" or "co-learning"; and no one *dialogues* with "human resources".

What we have are elite and indeed alienated males' values and modes of operating singularly valued and turned into method. There is a clear preference of: independence over both dependence and interdependence; isolation over relation; the individual over society; the explicit over the implicit; the straight forward and highly directional over the tentative, the groping toward, and the divergent; the cognitive over the emotional; the objective over the subjective or intersubjective; and the logical, scientific, and highly measurable over the artistic and non-numeric. Though there is no overt mention of exploitation, and many adult educators would be shocked by this identification, on a very important level, what we have is a model of exploitation. The attitudes of white dominant males are paramount. Human beings along with other aspects of the environment are largely relegated to the status of "resources" to be identified, accessed, and "used".

"Responsibility" is one of the key words in this model. Learners are continually being told that they are "responsible for their own learning". As Brookfield (1988) has observed, the type of responsibility being advocated is the type associated with the "self-made man", and "the American dream". It belies our reality as social beings with necessary connections to all other beings and our responsibility for society and the environment as a whole. Not the needs of the society or the environment but the needs of the individual are paramount and treated as relatively unrelated to societal and/or environmental needs. Given the assumed neutrality over learning needs and objectives, a learner potentially at least, could create a tight contract around learning how to rid his/her organization of Jews or Blacks and be seen as a responsible adult learner. A learner who wanted to learn how to maximize his/her profit, whether or not at the expense of others, could frame a contract around this goal; and if framed meticulously, the contract would be totally acceptable by the Knowles' standard. So, too, would a contract organized around the objective of becoming a "better" or "more obedient" wife. Indeed, I have been in classes where many affluent middle class adult learners chose the maximizing of their incomes as their objectives. And I have been in other classes where becoming a "better wife" was the underlying objective, however that objective was articulated. The facilitator and other class members treated these learners as "responsible" and their contracts as respectable.

"Freedom" is another key concept. The model is seen as promoting freedom; and indeed, to a degree, it does. There is no question but that we gain some degree of freedom by becoming better able to identify needs and to take charge of our own learning programs. Again, however, freedom is being predicated on the myth of the isolated detached human being; the image once again is of the "self-made man". The problem is that, neither freedom nor our existence is that simple. As women, as First Nations people, existentialists, environmentalists, Marxists, and many others are well aware, we are beings-in relation—indeed beings in *power* relations with each other. Our freedom is intimately connected with belonging with Others, with obstacles, limitations, power differentials, interdependence, co-naming, and mutual resistance.

"Self-direction" is a particularly key concept for Knowles and it is related to his naive understanding of freedom. Using the notion of individual freedom as a backdrop, Knowles encourages learners to be self-directed when pursuing their learning contracts; and he assures learners that as free adults, they naturally are self-directed. The simplistic understanding and assumption of self-direction belies the realities of a) the social construction of self and of meaning; b) false consciousness; and c) internalized oppression. Middle class men who internalize white masculinist notions of adulthood and learn how to "succeed in business" only *think* that they are being self-directed. Women who set their learning sights on becoming a better cook and homemaker are following the edicts of society, whether they use the language of self-direction or not. Without social critique, without consciousness-raising (and this is not a self-sufficient isolated activity) the "self" in self-direction is more fictitious than real.

Problematizing Tough

Similar deficiencies are evident in other North American adult education classics despite their subtle differences and their obvious value. The popular Tough (1979) classic is a case in point. Tough too emphasizes precision, goals, evaluation. Tough too treats human beings and the rest of the environment as resources to be used. In certain ways, Tough goes beyond Knowles in the penchant toward measurement. He specifies the exact amount of time which must elapse before a period of learning qualifies as a learning episode. Correspondingly, he specifies that at least 51% of a person's motivation must be to "gain and retain definite knowledge" (Tough, 1979, p. 7) Exactly how one is to go about such measuring is unclear. More significantly, Tough, like Knowles reflects dominant North American male norms by placing a disproportionate emphasis on highly purposeful and explicit learning.

Tough's primary rationales for focusing exclusively on highly purposeful learning include:

1) People who engage in a great deal of highly purposeful learning are more productive and efficient.
2) There is reason to believe that over half the important changes that a person makes are the result of highly purposeful learning projects. (Tough, 1979, pp. 27-28)

While these values definitely have some relevance in other contexts, it is patriarchal capitalism that gives preference to values such as productivity and efficiency. The rationale which connects purposeful learning projects with important changes is also problematic. While Tough is clear to point out that other types of learning can also be important, he is avowedly focusing on highly intentional learning because this accounts for most highly important changes. The question arises, what makes a change highly important?

Tough uses the person him/herself as evaluator. The question now arises whether or not societal construction and therefore androcentric white classist bias has played a role in the evaluation. Further problems arise with the reference which Tough uses as grounds for his operating assumption that highly intentional learning accounts for most important changes. He cites a 1966 survey in which twenty educators listed highly intentional learning as accounting for over half their important changes. He provides no reference for the survey. It is not clear that educators, at whatever level they are teaching, are the norm. It is not clear that there is any representative gender mix. What does seem likely is that those myriad women who view the general task of raising a child as the primary learning experience of their lives are either not represented in this survey or have been influenced by the researcher's questions to distort their learning experiences.

The suspicion that male and middle/upper class ways of operating have shaped the definitions and understandings is given considerable substantiation later in the book. On the basis of his research, Tough provides a breakdown of the mean time that individuals from different populations spend in "learning projects", with "learning project" defined in the manner already specified. He does not comment on the figures. The insinuation is that the numbers in question reflect a genuine difference in the amount of time spent by different populations in the most important learning of all. The breakdown, from highest to lowest, is as follows:

Professors	1491 hours
Politicians	1189 hours
Lower-white-collar men	907 hours
Factory workers	800 hours
Lower-white-collar women	430 hours
Teachers	395 hours
Mothers	331 hours

(Tough, 1979, p. 20).

From this breakdown men appear to spend way more time engaged in highly important learning than women. People from higher social classes (disproportionately white) spend more time than people from lower classes (disproportionately of colour) though the gender disparity appears to be greater than the class disparity. Teachers, I suspect mostly women, do not spend much time at all. At the absolute bottom are mothers, who, whatever their class, spend a minimal amount of time in highly important learning. Given that the primary motivation for much of mothers' learning is caring—something that does not meet Tough's motivation requirement to qualify as a learning episode or learning project—this finding is not surprising. It does however, help shed light on the construction and meaning of Tough's definitions.

What qualifies as a learning episode—the preferred mode of learning—is the type of learning in which elite white males engage disproportionately and which women, other oppressed groups, and relational people in general, are less likely to pursue. By way of insinuation everyone is being encouraged to maximize this type of learning; so again, an elitist norm is being pushed. Correspondingly, while facilitation is not focused upon, it is the type of learning most pursued by the male elite that adult educators are being encouraged to facilitate. It is frighteningly clear whose world view and values these definitions reflect and whose interests are being served.

New Feminist Directions: Some Advances, Severe Limitations

A gradual shift away from androcentric adult education is occurring in graduate adult education training, in faculty hiring, and in adult education literature. This new direction is largely at the instigation of women faculty and students; and it is primarily women faculty and students who are pursing the new direction. How strong the new directions are and how lasting they will be is hard to determine. The problem is that there are clear limitations; there is tokenism; and there are backlashes.

One direction which has been progressively stressed for years is interdependent learning using emergent designs. For decades now, adult education trainer Virginia

Griffin has employed an interdependent learning and emergent design model in her program planning courses. Books such as that of Boud and Griffin (1987) explore individual learner's (both female and male) experience with interdependent and emergent design learning. In such literature, interdependence is emphasized over independence, and emergent design over learning contracts with clear objectives. And the importance of affect, caring, intuition, creativity, metaphor, and humour are articulated. Most of what is described or advocated is not "feminist" per se. It is clear, nonetheless, that modes of operating traditionally identified with women have been integrated and are often emphasized albeit the writers themselves do not so identify them.[5] While there are some exceptions such as this example, the limitations in the adult education literature are: the adult education lack of feminist consciousness, the absence of critical consciousness and a social change perspective generally, an attitude of neutrality towards learning goals, and the extension of dialogue to formal learning partners or learning groups only.[6]

It is difficult to assess the reasons for these limitations. No doubt some of the women are in a prefeminist or early feminist stage; and some, regardless of stage, may be protecting the feelings of their mainstream male colleagues. We as woman have been socialized to protect men. More direct power dynamics, however, may well be playing the most critical role. Some obvious explanations are: a) incorporating a more overt feminist social change perspective runs the risk of one's work being marginalized and perhaps not published at all; b) the scarcity of feminist colleagues and the overwhelming power held by elite male and male-identified female faculty make it dangerous for female faculty and students to disseminate such ideas. Risks include: isolation, ridicule, denial of tenure, unfair teaching load, and unfair grades.

On the more overtly political side, an important recent development is the emergence of the type of feminist adult education writing discussed in the introduction. Feminist critiques, challenges, and suggestions are now a conspicuous if small part of North American adult education literature even as that literature is defined by those with power. More general political challenges such as those written by Brookfield (1988) are a parallel development.

The problem is while men like Brookfield who write general social critiques have gained some recognition, feminist critiques are not generally being accepted as bona fide adult education by the male elite. Much of the critique is excluded from adult education journals themselves. Much of the literature appears in books on feminist pedagogy and feminism generally, for it is part of feminist pedagogy and feminism generally—something which is not problematic in itself. What is a problem is that such pedagogy has not gained general acceptance as a part of adult education, even though most of such pedagogy is addressing adult learning. Again, it is elite males who define what is adult education, and as such do not recognize or accept what does not reflect their views and concerns and what does not serve their interests.

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[5] One notable exception is Marilyn Taylor. Years after having articulated a model of learning, which she felt addressed more her true way of learning than the popular models of Knowles and Tough, she came to realize that the difference in question pertained to gender norms. See Taylor (1987, pp. 179-196).

[6] There are some exceptions. One particularly noteworthy one is Gwyneth Griffith, who has a clear political, and indeed, Freirian perspective and emphasizes the importance of social change. See Griffith (1987, pp. 51-63).

On a different level, another valuable shift has been the advent of some collective political organizing on the part of feminists in adult education. Both nationally and internationally, women of all classes and colours have been coming together to create women's organizations and develop conferences to problematize and change adult education and women's place in it. Particularly noteworthy in this regard is the 1979 formation of the Women's Program of the International Council for Adult Education. Noteworthy also is the 1987 Montreal seminar "The Feminist Challenge to Adult Education" cosponsored by the Women's Program and Institut Canadien d'éducation des adultes. The limitation is that there is little follow-up to these conferences.

Graduate adult education training itself is also being affected by the feminist challenge. Important changes here include: the hiring of feminist faculty in graduate adult education departments and the development of curriculum which include feminist content and process. The changes in the Adult Education Department at OISE are particularly dramatic and merit recognition. Five years ago, there was one feminist on faculty. Now there are four. The curriculum was devoid of feminist content a decade ago. Now, it includes several such courses. The very fact that feminist hiring could be made and such courses developed speaks to some shift in the power dynamic and is likely to result in further shifts.

Initially, I attributed a fair number of these changes to stretching on the part of male faculty. While this may be true of some male faculty, my female colleagues have informed me that too much credit has been given to the men, rendering invisible the very hard work done by the women. The hiring of feminist faculty and the creation of feminist courses came about largely as a result of guerilla warfare on the part of feminist faculty and students. In OISE and other Canadian adult education departments, it came only after feminist faculty and students used the power which the oppressed have and pressured for changes. It came only after they organized, circulated and signed petitions demanding feminist hiring and feminist courses, and after many female students made it clear that they would leave if changes did not occur.

Albeit minimal, there is also some shift in the type of research done by some of the male faculty—Tough, for one. Note, in this regard the 1987 article co-authored by Posluns and Tough.[7] Employing the Tough method of inquiry, Posluns and Tough analyzed the deliberate efforts taken by learners to liberate themselves from sex role stereotypes. There is no question but that the article is flawed and that limited critical consciousness is a problem. Again, there are inappropriate uses of numbers, in this case resulting in such concepts as "eighty seven per cent sex role free" (Posluns

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[7] Posluns is not a male faculty member but a female student.

& Tough, 1987, p. 17). There is the same old emphasis on highly deliberate learning. People, once again, are reduced to resources to be used. What is particularly disturbing, Posluns and Tough recommend that men trying to "liberate" themselves seek ongoing feedback from their female partners, seemingly unaware that such "use" often figures in our oppression as women. These deficits notwithstanding, the focus of concern has been enlarged: Tough is now concerning himself with feminist issues. Furthermore, he no longer sees goals as neutral.

The question remains, of course, how extensive is this new interest in feminism? And what is the motivation of different male "pro-feminist" researchers? To what extent does such research reflect a consciousness shift on the part of male researchers? And to what extent is it opportunism—an attempt to "cash in" on whatever funding is now being allocated for feminist research?

Additional Limitations, the Misogynous Backlash: A Dicey Prognosis

Backlash, resistance, unawareness, and lack of integration are a major problem. And the problem may well get bigger as feminists and feminist content become more visible.

Many feminists who express their views have been meeting with hostility. Responses by North American male adult educators reported to me by my feminist colleagues include:

- You women are RUINING EVERYTHING!
- You're really all lesbians, aren't you? (Lesbian baiting and use of lesbophobia and internalized lesbophobia is an age old tactic in getting women to tone down their feminism)
- If we hire you, will you sign something promising that you won't pressure us to hire another feminist next time there is a vacancy on faculty? (I was asked this question by one male faculty member during a rest period in a hiring interview)

Some of the male faculty are making efforts to understand. Still, they are concerned that what their feminist colleagues are doing is not *really* "adult education". They check with other male colleagues, who reassure them that what their female colleagues are doing, indeed, is not adult education. It confuses male faculty why they themselves are being criticized for teaching courses the way they do. After all, they reason, they are neutral when it comes to goals; so there is nothing really stopping feminist learners from pursuing feminist objectives. The impact of literature and curriculum frame-works which leave out women, women's ways of knowing and relating, and feminist concerns generally are often difficult for male faculty to comprehend. Of course, it is in their interest to be confused, to not understand, just as it has always been in men's interest to not understand "just what it is that women want". Could it be that they are afraid of their new critically aware feminist colleagues and students who raise objections to cherished ways of operating and who threaten their power?

A final and related problem and one with which I will conclude is lack of integration. It is not simply that most male faculty have not ended up changing the contents or the processes of the courses which they teach. Whether taught by men or women, most of the traditional courses have remained relatively unchanged despite a few token inclusions. Again, the OISE department serves as an example. Feminist content exists in the new feminist courses. Except where they happen to be taught by feminists program planning and program facilitation—courses which this male-dominated field have always considered the "bread and butter" of adult education—remain as before.

An example of the androcentric pattern is the reference list provided in a program planning course in a prominent adult education departmennt as recently as the spring of 1992 (Mayer, 1992). As Brookfield (1988) has demonstrated, program planning is one of that small number of core adult education courses which is considered fundamental by the adult education elite and is found in all schools. Significantly, I did not find one of the references in the spring 1992 list to be feminist. Along the same line, the 1990 reference list for program planning included sixty-eight references (McLean, 1990). Not one I believe is feminist. Indeed, only four of the publications listed are even authored or jointly authored by women.

The creation of special feminist courses is, however, insufficient. Feminist concerns need to be integrated on a course-by-course basis. This integration is part and parcel of the feminist challenge(s) to adult education. In the absence of such integration, what adult education means and stands for will not fundamentally change. In the event of a more severe anti-feminist backlash, moreover, it would be all too easy for departments to rid themselves of the feminist courses.

Concluding Remarks

It has been argued that white middle-class male hegemony characterizes adult education despite "official" claims to equality and neutrality. The field seems skewed in ways which perpetuate the power of white middle-class males and gives preferential status to their elite modes of operating and ways of understanding the world. While important, feminist inroads made of late are limited, reversible, and have been met with an antifeminist backlash. The future of adult education—the liberatory promise, the feminist outcome—remains precarious at best.

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THE ADULT LEARNER/TEACHER RELATIONSHIP AND SEXUAL HARASSMENT: DE-MEANING TRADITIONS

Joyce Stalker
University of Waikato

Abstract

The adult learner/teacher relationship is consistently portrayed in our literature as one which has both positive processes and outcomes. When this relationship is examined as a gendered one, however, there is ample evidence to illustrate that such is not always the case. Insights into the negative aspects of the relationship are revealed by an empirical and theoretical examination of sexual harassment in a particular setting in which the education of adults occurs—the higher education setting. This examination also highlights the ways in which we can re-theorize, research and re-practice the adult learner/teacher relationship.

Résumé

La relation étudiant-e/professeur est toujours présentée dans notre littérature comme le lieu d'interactions et de résultats positifs. Lorsque nous examinons cette relation sous l'angle des relations de genres toutefois, force est de constater que ce n'est pas toujours le cas. Une étude empirique et une analyse théorique du harcèlement sexuel dans un des secteurs de l'éducation des adultes, celui des études avancées, rélèvent les aspects négatifs de cette relation. Une telle recherche nous éclaire également sur des possibilités de re-théoriser, de re-chercher et de ré-expérimenter en ce qui concerne la relation entre l'étudiant-e adulte et l'enseignant-e.

There is a dominant tradition in the adult education literature which presents the adult learner/teacher relationship as a positive interaction which is gender neutral. There is general agreement that the relationship has positive processes and is correlated with positive outcomes. Essentially, this view of the relationship has escaped being problematized or deconstructed in general ways. Further, despite the preponderance of women learners involved in adult education, it has not been subjected to a specifically feminist critique. The lack of such critical analyses inhibits our full understanding of these relationships. This, in turn, limits our ability to develop functional and effective models for adult education activities.

Given the above, the purpose of this article is to argue that the field's dominant view of the adult learner/teacher relationship as a positive, gender neutral interaction is overly simplistic and idealized. In order to accomplish this aim, the article first identifies the traditional view of the adult learner/teacher relationship. Second, it examines the female learner/male teacher relationship within one specific context within which the education of adults occurs—a higher education setting. The literature notes the complexities of the adult learner/teacher relationship and deals specifically with the occurrence of sexual harassment. Both empirical data and theoretical discourses from that literature are used to inform the dominant view promulgated within the field of adult education. Finally, this article concludes with a discussion of the implications of this critique for theory, research and practice.

The Traditional View of the Adult Learner/Teacher Relationship

Fundamentally, the adult learner/teacher relationship is portrayed as a connectedness between the adult learner and the adult teacher within the context of a learning situation. In the adult education literature the relationship is treated most frequently as a 'warm fuzzy.' The positive view of the relationship is reified through three processes. First, the terms used to describe the relationship or the interactions that accrue to it are loaded with positive connotations, regardless of the setting. Second, the processes of the relationship are portrayed in positive ways. Third, the outcomes of the relationship are represented positively.

Positive Connotations

As noted above, the terms used to describe the adult learner/teacher relationship or the interactions that accrue to it are loaded with positive connotations. The literature consistently portrays the adult learner/teacher relationship as a constructive one in which teachers are "helping" (Brookfield, 1983, p. 152), "consultants" (Knowles, 1990, p. 292) and "guide[s]" (Galbraith, 1990, p. 3).

This affirmative view of the adult learner/teacher relationship is sustained across a variety of settings. In the area of distance education, for example, the adult learner/teacher relationship is identified frequently as a key part of the support system for distance learners (Kaye & Rumble, 1981; Hodgson, Mann & Snell, 1987). As well, the literature notes that independent adult learners express a consistent desire to enter into such relationships to gain assistance in their learning (Tough, 1979). Similarly, in reference to self-directed learners, Brockett and Hiemstra (1991) label the relationship as "special", and "most often rewarding for both learner and facilitator" (Brockett & Hiemstra, 1991, p. 14). This positive view of the adult learner/teacher relationship is further reinforced in the literature through its positive portrayal of the processes and outcomes of the relationship.

Positive Processes

The processes of the ideal adult learner/teacher relationship are seen as both harmonious and spirited. In the first instance, the adult learner is in harmonious "partnership" (Darkenwald & Merriam, 1982, p. 57) with the adult teacher. The emphasis is on equality and mutuality. The relationship is "a collaborative adventure" (Galbraith, 1990, p. 16) in which the learner and teacher roles are interchangeable, in which "each participant may play both roles of teacher and learner" (Jarvis, 1987, p. 12), and in which teaching-learning transactions "become the mutual responsibilities of learners and teachers" (Brookfield, 1983, p. 151). It requires the teacher's abdication of authority and a de-emphasis on our controlling, structured behaviours. The vision is one in which learners and teachers harmoniously "negotiate" (Todd, 1990, p. 68), merging our agreements and disagreements to create an adult education activity acceptable to both.

In the second instance, the notion of harmonious partnerships is extended to the view that ideal adult learner/teacher relationships include learners who are active participants in constructing the processes, goals and evaluation methods of the adult education activity. The emphasis is on concepts of involvement, industriousness, energy and action. Learners are portrayed as "users not recipients" (Knox, 1986, p. 35) who have the right to "a degree of self-diagnosis with regard to learning needs" and to "partial responsibility for the evaluative procedures and criteria to judge successful performance" (Brookfield, 1983, p. 151). Some of the field's classic pieces of literature promulgate this view of the learner (Bergevin, 1967; Freire, 1970; Houle, 1972; Kidd, 1976; Knowles, 1978; Lindeman, 1961). As Long says, "the desirability of including learners in planning and management of education programmes for adults is one of the pervasive characteristics as reflected by the literature" (1983, p. 167).

Positive Outcomes

This positive view of the adult learner/teacher relationship is embedded not only within these ways in which the literature portrays the processes, but also within the ways in which it portrays the outcomes of the relationship. Several favourable outcomes are implied: increase in participation, facilitation of learning, and development of personal and professional competencies. As the following discussion illustrates, discussions of outcomes focus primarily on individualized outcomes.

For many decades, adult educators have linked the adult learner/teacher relationship with adult learners' continuing participation, that is, persistence, in adult education activities. Boshier (1973) suggested that the congruency of the learners' self-concepts with their concepts of professors (and also of other students) was closely associated with their decisions to drop-out or persist. This finding was supported by Davis (in Long, 1983) and extended by Lam and Wong (1974). This latter study established that the "approachability" of the instructor by the student was positively correlated to learners' attendance. Similar kinds of research projects substantiated this view of the adult learner/teacher relationship as an integral element in retaining adult learners' in adult education activities (see Long, 1983 for a comprehensive survey of this research).

Another positive view which adult educators hold about the adult learner/teacher relationship is that it is a fundamental part of the learning process which facilitates learning. Regardless of our philosophical preferences for behaviourist, cognitivist or humanist approaches, researchers consistently relate teacher-learner interactions to learning outcomes. The behaviourist may emphasize the teacher's relationship to the learner as an organizer of their learning, while the humanist may emphasize the importance of the empathetic relationship but both share the view that the relationship is an integral part of learning. Similarly, whether the teaching approach is didactic, socratic or facilitative, the teachers' relationship to learners is still related to their learning (Jarvis, 1983).

While some may envisage a learning outcome of academic achievement (Conti, 1985) and others aim for creativity (Dubin & Okum, 1973), adult educators consistently retain the view that the nature of the adult learner/teacher relationship influences the learning outcome. Others extend the notion and argue that even the motivation to learn (Knowles, 1984; Knox, 1986; Wlodkowski, 1985) is related to the adult learner/teacher relationship.

The third and final desirable outcome attributed to the ideal adult learner/teacher relationship is the learner's development of personal and professional attributes. In the first instance, some argue that the relationship develops healthy self-awareness, self-confidence, and fosters personal growth and development (see for example, Goldberg, 1980). In the second instance, some suggest that the adult learner/teacher relationship, in the form of a mentor relationship, is basic and necessary for career development and professional success (Bolton, 1980; Merriam, 1983). According to this view, such a relationship provides role modelling, professional advice and the social skills which are necessary for career advancement.

Although it is clear that the field of adult education consistently has conceptualized the adult learner/teacher relationship in positive ways and related it to positive outcomes, there are a few adult educators who have hinted that the relationship cannot be so simplistically defined. Some researchers in critiques of self-direction and autonomy, for example, imply an indirect critique of the adult learner/teacher relationship (Brookfield, 1983; Candy, 1991; Chene, 1983). Others acknowledge the role of teachers as those who have more control, power and authority relative to students (e.g., Colin III & Preciphs, 1991, Garrison, 1992; Jarvis, 1983, 1987; Knowles, 1990; Merriam & Caffarella, 1991; Tennant, 1991).

There are two basic weaknesses with existing critiques, however. First, many of the critiques have been tangential rather than focused upon the adult learner/teacher relationship. For the most part, passing comments have sufficed to acknowledge the negative processes and outcomes of the relationship.

Second, critiques of the relationship have not addressed either the nature or problematics of learner/teacher relationships in terms of gender. The gender neutral nature of the relationship is reified throughout the literature primarily by the absence of discussion on the issue. Although particular studies may treat gender as a variable in relation to learners' or teachers' specific behaviours, learner/teacher interactions are not explored in terms of the same or cross-gendered nature of the relationship. Participation or non-participation, for example, may be discussed in relation to the learner's gender, but not in relation to the learner's gender relative to the teacher's gender. This gender insensitivity is implicit, rather than explicit in the literature. Gender is not presented as an issue of concern; it is regarded as too unimportant to mention.

Together, these two weaknesses inhibit the field's conceptualization of the adult learner/teacher relationship and the research, theories and practices based on that conceptualization. Thus, the following section highlights the negative aspects of the adult learner/teacher relationship and focuses in particular on women learners in cross-gendered relationships, that is, female learner/male teacher relationships. This article focuses on women learners in recognition of their high participation levels in adult and continuing education activities. As the following discussion will demonstrate, an analysis of the female learner/male teacher relationship, although useful in and of itself, also broadens and deepens the field's conceptualization of the general adult learner/teacher relationship.

A Re-view of the Female Learner/Male Teacher Relationship

In order to examine the negative aspects of the female learner/male teacher relationship, it is essential to locate a comprehensive literature base which provides an in-depth critique of that relationship. One such literature base is located in higher education settings. That literature identifies sexual harassment as a characteristic of the female learner/male teacher relationship. Some might argue that the formal higher education setting creates a different context to the non-formal adult and continuing education contexts, and that one cannot relate harassment issues in the former setting to the latter. Although it is beyond the scope of this article to enter into this discussion fully, two points must be made. First, it is important to acknowledge that this kind of disagreement is based on the assumption that the adult learner/teacher relationship in adult and continuing education is different from other settings in terms of its more positive processes and outcomes. Given the purpose of this article to problematize those very assumptions, it is appropriate to draw parallels with a higher education setting. This is particularly apt since there is no empirical evidence which substantiates the assumption that these different settings can be equated to different adult learner/teacher relationships.

Second, this article is based on the similarities rather than differences between the higher education setting and the adult and continuing education settings. It rejects the dated, falsely tidy categories of formal and non-formal educational settings in favour of a more contemporary notion of seamless education. This notion acknowledges the simultaneous and multiple locations of adult learners within an educational framework which is interactive and interdependent.

The following discussion of the negative aspects of the female learner/male teacher relationship begins by presenting first, the processes and prevalence of sexual harassment; second, the empirical data which establish the outcomes of sexual harassment; and third, the theoretical interpretations which explicate its processes and outcomes. Each section highlights insights gained from the literature into adult learner/teacher relationships in general and the female learner/male teacher relationship in particular.

Processes and Prevalence of Sexual Harassment

Understanding the processes of sexual harassment is not easy. Definitions of sexual harassment range from the superficial to the restrictive and technical (Crocker, 1983; Fitzgerald, 1990). This lack of clarity is to be expected since the term which is both descriptive of behaviour and normative in nature has been interpreted in different ways in different settings and at different times. Methodological inconsistencies among research studies have not helped the situation. Such variables as the gender and age of those who define the term also influence the ways in which the processes are delineated (Reilly, Carpenter, Dull, & Bartlett, 1982).

The working definition of sexual harassment used in this article includes three elements that describe a range of behaviours which are generally understood to be basic to the term. First, sexual harassment has to do with behaviours which include "ogling and staring, comments and jokes about women's body or appearance, physical contact (punches and touches), passes and casual sexual remarks, explicit sexual propositions" (Schneider, 1987, p. 51). It is this level of sexual harassment which is the most problematic to identify since the line between acceptable and unacceptable comments and behaviours is a fine one. None the less, behaviours are normally judged to constitute sexual harassment if they create an atmosphere or environment which has sexual overtones and innuendo.

Second, sexual harassment has to do with coercive requests for dates and sex. In this instance, a social relationship is imposed onto an academic one. Although it is possible to label these behaviours as consensual rather than coercive, such re-labelling may be naive and disguise the severity of the problem. Schneider (1987) found that 13% of graduate women in a major eastern University dated a faculty member at least once during their graduate academic careers. However, of the graduate women reporting such experiences, 30 percent felt pressured to date and 30 percent felt pressured to be sexual with the man. In other words, acceding to a request may not indicate a choice based on one's own free will and preferences.

The third element which describes the most extreme range of the sexual harassment behaviours concerns demands for dates and sex which are linked with overt threats and/or promises. In some instances, these behaviours may also involve physical force such as grabbing, slapping or restraining.

These elements form the basis of the definition of sexual harassment. At first glance, they appear to represent a continuum of behaviours. More accurately, however, they form an interactive spiral. Thus, although adult learners may not experience coercive requests or demands for dates and sex *directly*, they may be aware that they are within an environment where it is occurring. To the extent that the environment is loaded with sexual overtones and innuendo, these learners experience sexual harassment of the first type. In this respect, those of us as learners and teachers who view ourselves as involved in consensual sexual relationships are responsible for creating an environment of sexual harassment. These interacting layers within layers of the sexual harassment processes emphasize the complexity of a gendered adult learner/teacher relationship.

It is important to note here that although the research literature focuses on the harassment of female learners by male teachers, alternate situations can occur. Male learners can be harassed by women teachers, learners of any gender can harass teachers and same gender sexual harassment can take place. What is important about these latter situations is what Hoffman refers to as their uniqueness as "isolated incident[s] at odds with conventional norms" (1986, p. 110). Since these kinds of incidents are both less likely to occur and are of a special nature, they will not be considered here.

An examination of the sexual harassment processes defined above gives insights into the adult learner/teacher relationship in general and the female learner/male teacher relationship in particular. In the first instance, an examination of these processes depicts the complexities of adult learner/teacher relationships in a more general way. First, and most importantly, it is clear that there is a strong theme which underlies the definitions. The notion of unequal power of the people involved is basic to it. Sexual harassment is about unwanted, inappropriate and unwelcome sexual attentions *within the context of an unequal power relationship.* Unlike our adult education literature, the sexual harassment literature works from the basic assumption that the adult learner/teacher relationship is inculcated with unequal power, authority and control statuses. As much of the sexual harassment literature emphasizes, it is "the difference in authority, not the intentions of the people involved" (Wilson & Kraus, 1983, p. 219) which defines the relationship. Further, the sexual harassment literature notes that the "sexualizing of situations" (Skeggs, 1991, p. 127) combined with status inequities ensures that learners' power, authority and control are diminished and maintained at a lower level than that of the teacher.

Second, the sexual harassment literature also highlights the subtle, interacting aspects of the adult learner/teacher relationship. It demonstrates the usefulness of a model which incorporates a *range* of processes and thus gives depth to our understanding of the relationship. Finally, it introduces the notion of a collectively created relationship in which adult learners form relationships with adult teachers in an environment which is influenced by the relationships of others.

In the second instance, an examination of the processes of sexual harassment highlights the unique nature of women learners' experiences and potential experiences. It is clear that women learners may undertake their studies within a context which is loaded with subtle and/or overt unwanted sexual attentions. They may experience gender harassment taken one step further—from differential treatment based on gender to differential treatment laden with sexual attention.

These insights into the adult learner/teacher relationship might be dismissed if there was no evidence to substantiate the existence of sexual harassment. This is not the case. Studies have established this clearly and consistently across time and geographic location (see Somers, 1982) despite variations in definitions and methodology.

Numerous research studies show that sexual harassment occurs in many different settings. Some of the most comprehensive and widely published studies have been conducted in the United States and focus on the higher education setting. The following studies are just a few of those which could be selected from a number of different countries to illustrate the extent of the situation:

- In 1978, at Berkley, 20% of the graduate students had been the recipients of unwanted sexual remarks, touching or propositions from their professors (in Wilson & Kraus, 1983).
- In 1982, Benson and Thomson found that 30% of women received unwanted sexual attention from at least one male instructor during their four years at college.

- In 1983, at East Carolina University, 33% of undergraduate and graduate female students reported being sexually harassed by one or more male teachers (Wilson & Kraus, 1983); at Iowa State University, 17% of female graduates and undergraduates reported that they had experienced verbal sexual advances while 2% had experienced direct sexual bribery (Adams, Kottke & Padgitt, 1983).
- In 1987, 15% of graduate women at Harvard avoided a faculty member at least once during their graduate training because of that individual's harassing behaviour (in Schneider, 1987).
- In 1990, a report by Gabriel and Smithson revealed that 60% of the women students at Cornell University reporting having been sexually harassed at the institution.

Once again, an examination of these data gives insights into the adult learner/teacher relationship in general and the female learner/male teacher relationship in particular. At the general level, these data imply that adult learner/teacher relationships are located within a wider context than its traditional individualistic, one-to-one representation. In the face of empirical data collected over decades, sexual harassment has persisted. This consistency suggests that institutional and societal norms and values foster, or at a minimum tolerate, certain kinds of unhealthy adult learner/teacher relationships.

At the more particular level of the female learner/male teacher relationship, these data emphasize the possibility for undesirable learner/teacher interactions for women learners in adult learning situations. They highlight the inconsistency between women's experiences in higher education settings and the positive representation of those relationships in the adult education literature.

Outcomes of Sexual Harassment

As noted above, sexual harassment is a tangible and continuing phenomenon in the education of adults in higher education institutions. There are those who argue that it is not an issue of consequence and that it is merely the price women must pay for equality (Paul, 1991). Many others, however, have emphasized that the price is too high, that the outcomes of such adult learner/teacher relationships are profoundly negative and far-reaching.

The outcomes of adult learner/teacher relationships are particularly problematic since, as one might predict from the discussion above, they are interwoven with issues of unequal power, authority and control. These ensure, to varying degrees, a dependent relationship of the adult student on the adult teacher for both overt and covert outcomes. In the first instance, the student is dependent upon the teacher for direct academic and economic benefits. As faculty members, teachers control to varying degrees the admission, grades, financial and research opportunities of our students. A more covert, but equally important, kind of control is exerted over recommendations, references and the mentoring process.

Embedded within these dependent relationships are the concepts of reward and punishment. Outcomes allocated by those with power can be, after all, both desirable and "unfortunate" (Jensen & Gutek, 1982, p. 125). Indeed, this distinction between the allocation of desirable outcomes and the allocation of damaging and harmful outcomes plays an important role in reinforcing the unequal power relationships within adult learner/teacher relationships. It is the notion of selective reward or punishment which clarifies the appropriateness of these allocations. It is in the context of "credit for potential sexual exchange" (Benson & Thomson, 1982. p. 243) that, for example, offers of extra help/refusal to help or flexibility/rigidity in deadlines, become the currency of sexual harassment.

It is within the boundaries of dependent relationships that the personal implications of sexual harassment are realized. Research has shown that although the outcomes of sexual harassment may vary among women most women experience generalized negative responses.

Paludi and Barickman identify five negative stress responses as "sexual harassment trauma syndrome" (1991, p. 29). Their work usefully classifies studies done earlier (Adams, Kottke & Padgitt, 1983; Benson & Thomson, 1982; Koss, 1990; Reilly, Carpenter, Dull & Bartlett, 1982). The responses they identify include emotional reactions of anxiety, denial, embarrassment, confusion and guilt. Physical reactions include headaches, lethargy, weight fluctuations, nightmares, panic reactions and gastrointestinal distress. Changes in self-perception include negative self-concept, lack of competency, isolation and hopelessness. Social, interpersonal relatedness and sexual effects include withdrawal, fear of new people, lack of trust, changes in social network patterns, and negative attitudes and behaviour in sexual relationships. Career effects include changes in study and work habits, loss of job or promotion, drop in academic performance, absenteeism, withdrawal from school, and change in career goals. According to Quina (1990), outcomes which result from sexual harassment surface in the longer term as well as the shorter term.

Once again, the sexual harassment literature provides us with a good model for critiquing the adult learner/teacher relationship as it is depicted in the literature. Unlike much of the adult education literature, the higher education literature explores at depth the potential for exploitation and abuse embedded within adult learner/teacher relationships. Indeed, it emphasizes the *lack* of mutuality and reciprocity in these relationships. It notes the subtle, complex interplay amongst reward, punishment, and relationship.

The sexual harassment literature also provides a variety of ways of examining the outcomes of the adult learner/teacher relationship. It illustrates the usefulness of exploring the relationship in terms of its emotional, physical, personal, interpersonal, and sexual outcomes. As well, it suggests the importance of investigating the relationship in temporal terms. Both the long and short term effects of the relationship could be usefully explored.

Finally, the literature not only provides us with a good model for critiquing the adult learner/teacher relationship as it is depicted in the literature. It also emphasizes the importance of exploring the relationship in terms of gender related issues. Sexual harassment and its subsequent negative outcomes may be only one of a plethora of issues which affect female learners more acutely than male learners.

As we have seen, the notion of differential power is interwoven into the processes and outcomes of sexual harassment. To this point, this has been explored primarily as a descriptive concept. In the discussion which follows, the concept of power will be explored theoretically. This will continue to give insights into the ways in which the adult learner/teacher relationship might be approached more critically by adult educators as a gendered rather than neutral interaction.

Theoretical Interpretations of Sexual Harassment

In terms of sexual harassment, power relations are acted out in three dimensions: sexual objectification, gender stratification and organizational structures. These three dimensions when applied to the adult learner/teacher relationship give insights into the nature of gendered learner/teacher relationships.

Sexual objectification.

Sexual objectification has a biodeterministic base, that is, there is said to be a 'natural' sexuality which identifies men and which is different to that which identifies women. On the one hand, men are portrayed as aggressors and conquerors with biologically insatiable sexual appetites. Dworkin (1981) extends this notion to make an innate link between male sexuality and violence. On the other hand, women are portrayed, for the most part as passive, detached recipients of sexual attentions. For non-white women sexual objectification may create a different kind of labelling, in which they are viewed as foreign, exotic, erotic and sexually adventurous (DeFour, 1990). In all instances, these portrayals are seen as the base of the 'natural order' of sexual relations between men and women.

This perspective on power directly addresses the gendered nature of the adult learner/teacher relationship. It has several implications. First, it supports the view that men are entitled to engage in sexual flirtation. Even if that behaviour is identified as symbolic violence against women, it is seen to be consistent with the 'natural order' of sexual relations. Second, sexual objectification suggests that women would normally be complimented by such evidence of male sexual arousal. Third, it portrays the sexual objectification of women as a basic, underlying assumption of male/female interactions within our culture. This portrayal, some argue, explains why there is a reluctance to prosecute sexual harassers. It is, after all, the natural order of male/female relations.

Finally, this perspective reinforces the idea that women differ from men in capabilities, interests, and abilities. In the educational setting, this may be interpreted to mean that some educational offerings are more suited to women than to men. This segregation by sex converges with the second dimension of power relationships, gender stratification.

Gender stratification.

Gender stratification is based on the definitions of women and men socially constructed over time. It is about sexual inequalities embedded within a patriarchal culture which perpetuates and reinforces men as privileged and women as disadvantaged. Gender stratification ensures that women's access to resources, power, and authority is less, relative to men's access. Further, it defines what is acceptable masculinity and femininity. It places women in a 'private' sphere of familial, domestic and apolitical concerns and men in a more highly valued 'public' sphere of patriarchy, politics and full-time paid work (Collard & Stalker, 1991). Within the woman's sphere fall the nurturing and caring roles; roles which Frye (1983) identifies as the servicing of men. These roles include personal, sexual and ego service. In the first instance, women provide the clerical and secretarial support to men as the men perform their masculine roles. In the second instance, women not only provide for men's sexual needs, but also strive to be "nice" and attractive for them. In the final instance, women encourage, support, praise and give attention to the male.

These gender stratified roles are problematic for adult learner/teacher relationships in two ways. First, like sexual objectification, they foster acceptance of sexual relationships as part of the natural and normal order of relationships between the male and female spheres. Thus, the woman student who provides personal and ego service may be viewed as willing to provide sexual service as well. Second, the more strongly delineated these roles, the more possibility there is for misinterpretation if a woman student does not conform to the definitions of her sphere. Thus, the friendliness and academic enthusiasm of a woman student may be misinterpreted as an invitation for sexual advances (Benson & Thomson, 1982). This may be particularly problematic for women of different class, colour or ethnicity who do not live according to the roles of the dominant culture within which they live.

Clearly, sexual objectification and gender stratification foster sexual harassment of the adult learner. For the adult learner and teacher, however, these elements occur within organizational structures which mirror and reproduce the patriarchal society. The cultural interpretations given to private and public spheres are intertwined with asymmetrical organizational activities which reinforce gender asymmetry.

Organizational structures.

Organizational structures foster asymmetrical relationships of power, control and authority through their administrative and academic practices. These organizational structures provide asymmetrical relationships of power. Administrative decisions are made along lines which indicate the importance of vertical stratification and hierarchical power. As well, it is clear that men make most of those decisions. They dominate the organizational world, its ownership and control, its positions of status and authority and its cultural values (Burrell & Hearn, 1989). Most men thus have authority and opportunities to use it which most women do not.

Academic processes also reflect this asymmetry. Curricula and discourses, based within patriarchal patterns of non-participatory, non-democratic and hierarchical power, emphasize the place of male knowledge and ways of knowing over those of women (Lewis & Simon, 1986). Together administrative and academic processes within educational organizations create an asymmetry which ensures that the adult teacher negotiates from a position of more power and the adult learner from a position of less.

This means that sexual relationships within such structures are *always* open to prosecutions as sexual harassment and are *never* truly consensual.

It is important to note that women are not necessarily passive victims to these three inter-related expressions of power. Indeed, in the past some of women's responses to harassment have been notable for their creativity. For example, women at the University of British Columbia created a ledger of the names and departmental affiliations of campus harassers in the women's washroom in the main library. Increasingly, these kinds of covert, individualized responses to sexual harassment may be becoming outdated as explicit institutional and legal strategies counter sexual harassment. To the extent that these new strategies ensure effective policies and procedures for prosecution they will encourage women to express their resistance and seek redress in open forums.

Summary

It should be clear that a theoretical approach to power relations, such as that used in the sexual harassment literature, gives us a potentially rich tool with which to study adult learner/teacher relationships in general and female learner/male teacher relationships in particular. First, it suggests that there are negative elements within an adult learner/teacher relationship which are so culturally based that they are embedded in every adult learner/teacher relationship within that culture. Those culturally accepted behaviours and norms may in fact play a major role in oppressing the adult learner, particularly if that learner is a woman.

This re-view of the learner/teacher relationship bears little resemblance to its representation in the adult education literature. In that literature, positive links are made between the adult learner/teacher relationship and the professional, personal and intellectual development of the learner.

Second, a theoretical examination of sexual harassment demonstrates that destructive elements are possible, perhaps inevitable, in relationships within asymmetrically organized educational organizations. This literature thus critiques the notion of harmonious and spirited relationships presumed in much of the adult learner/teacher literature. It treats as problematic, rather than ignores, the complexities of female learner/male teacher relationships within the context of asymmetrical power relations.

Implications for Theory, Research and Practice

The above critique has attempted to demonstrate that the adult learner/teacher relationship is not likely to be as positive and gender neutral an interaction as it is portrayed by the adult education literature. This critique has implications for theory, research and practice in the field of adult education.

In relation to theorizing, this critique suggests several new directions. First, it should be clear to the reader that the discussion of the learner/teacher relationship would be well informed by specific theories such as the feminist theories. Although this study has hinted at the richness of those theories, much in-depth work which focuses specifically and exclusively on gender in relation to learner/teacher interactions remains to be done. Such work could examine the relationship in terms of issues such as patriarchy, misogyny and marginality. It could detail the ways in which women learners form unique partnerships in the learner/teacher relationship. It could explore the limitations and potentials of learner/teacher relationships in new ways and thus enrich the development of relevant models and theories in this area.

Second, and similarly, theorists who address the specific experiences of class, colour, ethnicity and sexual orientation would provide new insights into the interactions. Bourdieu (1988), for example, has detailed the theoretical and empirical complexity of learner/teacher relationships cross cut by class within higher education institutions. His work thus provides a useful starting place for theorizing the adult learner/teacher relationship in terms of class concerns. The relationship could be explored and developed at the theoretical level by locating it within a socio-cultural milieu. Such a study could situate the norms and values which guide the learner/teacher interaction within a wider context. The interaction could be re-viewed as a responsive activity which is played out between individuals as they respond to institutional, economic, political and societal structures. The link between macro and micro forces could be explored.

Finally, it is clear that the learner/teacher relationship could be more fully theorized by incorporating negative perspectives on the interaction. An exploration of the destructive elements of the relationship could restructure our understandings of the positive elements of the relationship. These perspectives could be explored by a sociological analysis of issues of power, authority and control, cross-cut by concerns for gender, class, colour, ethnicity and sexual orientation. This analysis would more accurately represent the complexity of the relationship.

This study also suggests new directions for research. First, it seems likely that women learners in adult and continuing education settings experience sexual harassment. Indeed, given the prevalence and intensity of sexual harassment in higher education settings, it would be astonishing if sexual harassment did not occur within adult and continuing education settings. It would be easy to assume that learners in those settings experience less sexual harassment than in higher education settings where power differentials are more clearly articulated. This would be congruent with the dominant view of the positive processes of the adult learner/teacher relationship. The point for researchers is, however, that we do not know if this is so. Nor do we know if there are some settings in which such negative interactions are most likely to occur. We have no data about harassment in residential, school-based, university continuing education, workers' education, staff development and training or community development locations. Until such data are collected, our expectations for the female learner/male teacher relationship are based on naive assumptions about the sanctity of adult and continuing education settings.

It is also evident that the field of adult education has dismissed and ignored negative kinds of experiences and their consequences when researching the general adult learner/teacher relationship. At both the theoretical and empirical levels, the negative processes and outcomes have not been explored. In the process, the field has created a tradition which demeans the experience of many learners. As long as the nature and intensity of those negative experiences remain invisible, our understanding of the relationship is restricted.

Finally, this study suggests new practices. Clearly, adult educators must acknowledge the power differentials between ourselves and learners. The dominant view that adult and continuing education is based in processes of harmonious partnerships must be more thoroughly problematized and examined. We must take the responsibility for monitoring our own and our peer's behaviour within learner/teacher relationships. We must act collectively to change individuals' behaviours, and organizational and societal structures in order to remediate negative elements within learner/teacher relationships.

The new directions for research, theory and practice noted above challenge the field of adult education at a very fundamental level. They question our longstanding acceptance of the tenets of andragogy. The notion that the learner is in a gender neutral partnership with the teacher corresponds with the tenet that adults have a reservoir of knowledge which is a resource in the harmonious learning situation. Similarly, the view of the learner as an active, involved, industrious participant fits with the premise that adults move toward self-direction in the learning situation. Since these views dovetail neatly into the pedagogy-andragogy debate (see Beder & Darkenwald, 1982; Gorham, 1985; Rosenblum & Darkenwald, 1983; Yonge, 1985), they help to substantiate the argument that the education of adults is somehow different to the education of children. They support the unique nature of adult education as a field of study and research. A serious critique and examination of these issues thus poses a threat to the field. It is an interesting dilemma for us.

Conclusion

This article argued that the field's traditional view of the adult learner/teacher relationship as a positive interaction which is gender neutral is overly simplistic. It suggested that the view currently held may demean the experiences of many adult learners and in particular, women learners. This possibility requires that we extend the current research, theorizing and practice in new directions. We must go beyond acknowledging the complexities of the relationship and explore in-depth its dark side. At both the empirical and theoretical levels, such investigations may force the rethinking of some dearly held traditions. This is both a challenge and an opportunity for the future of the field.

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CRITICAL PHILOSOPHY-IN-ACTION: POWER AND PRAXIS

Sue M. Scott and Donna M. Chovanec
University of Alberta

Abstract

Hermeneutical analysis of interview texts from six feminist and critical pedagogues suggests that these educators engage in a pedagogical process that includes a (1) critical worldview, (2) a process of transformation, and (3) a transformative intent. For them, an analysis of power is the crux of a philosophy-in-action.

Résumé

Une analyse herméneutique des textes d'entrevues de six feministes et critiques pedagogiques suggère que ces educatrices sont engagées dans un processus pédagogique comprenant: (1) une critique d'une perspective universelle, (2) un processus de transformation, et (3) un dessein de transformation. Pour elles, l'analyse du pouvoir est l'essence même d'une philosophie active.

Introduction

> Praxis...is, in my favourite part of the exegesis, the central concept of a philosophy that did not want to remain a philosophy, philosophy becoming practical (Lather, 1991, p. 11).

The relationship of philosophy to practice of teaching in higher education is the focus of this article. Six university instructors who identify themselves as feminist or critical pedagogues are drawn from a larger research study which begins with the assumption that one's philosophy drives one's teaching practice or, put another way, teaching constitutes "philosophy-in-action".[1] Studying the interplay of espoused philosophy and philosophy-in-use allows us to illuminate the complexities of teaching in higher education and provides opportunities for critical reflection about practice.

Although many of the issues raised and strategies used by this group are shared by other concerned and committed professors, this group is unique in their over-riding concern with the power dynamics in our society. Starting from a philosophical perspective grounded in critical theory which interrogates systems of power and domination, the analysis of power, both within and outside the classroom, permeates classroom process, content and structure, while empowerment or transformation is the ultimate aim. In a recent article, Briskin and Coulter (1992) also note that "dynamics of power and empowerment are intricately intertwined. Student empowerment, therefore, will depend upon negotiating, not avoiding, the power dynamics..." (p. 259). The essential strategy of a critical teaching practice is, therefore, one of critique. "Critique calls for a special and suspicious interpretation of those ideologies and institutions which support and maintain ruling power structures" (Gallagher, 1992, p. 240). In these classrooms, students don't *get* information, they challenge it!

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[1] This is an adoption and adaptation of Christopher Hodgkinson's 1991 treatment of educational leadership as philosophy/values-in-action.

These comments are not intended to imply that feminist and critical pedagogues are a homogeneous group devoid of differences. On the contrary, while the similarities are striking, the pedagogical differences within this group reflect the importance of diversity even within the margins. Some of these instructors are studying the intersection between postmodernism and feminism or critical theory; others focus on more liberal orientations to equal opportunity and rights. Their classroom practices differ with more or less inclusion of traditional methods and the way they experience their relationship to the university community varies. While we acknowledge these differences, in this article, we wish to elucidate the shared practices of a critical philosophy-in-action, whether based on feminism or critical social theory. By highlighting these particular participants, we hope to give voice to those whose "very existence creates a space" for alternative theoretical discourses and pedagogical approaches, i.e., praxis, within our academic institutions.

It seems that the feminist and critical educators in this study understand the essence of pedagogy to be "the transformation of consciousness that takes place in the intersection of three agencies—the teacher, the learner and the knowledge they together produce" (Lusted, cited in Lather, 1991, p. 15).

Research Design

Two critical and four feminist participants are part of a group of fourteen instructors in a large university in western Canada who were selected in purposive sampling to represent a cross-section of espoused philosophies as well as some diversity of disciplines and faculties. Invitational letters were sent to a list generated by reputation and from Women's Studies networks and two ads soliciting volunteers were placed in the campus faculty newspaper. The six participants who espouse a critical or feminist perspective are the focus of this paper.

The five women and one man in this group teach in the following university departments: English, Sociology, Physical Education, Canadian Studies, Family Studies and Educational Foundations. Additionally, the four feminists are or have been involved in the University's Women's Studies program. Three are new professors with less than four years experience at the university and three have been teaching at the university for 10 - 20 years. They teach both graduate and undergraduate classes which range in size from 20 to 200 students. None of these professors are members of minority groups.

Participants were each interviewed twice in one hour interviews before and after a classroom observation. The semi-structured, conversational interviews included dialogue on the meaning each participant attempted to give to his/her practice. The purpose of the first interview was to gather general information about the instructor's pedagogy. The instructors provided information about what they did in the classroom, why they did it and whether it produced the effects they desired. The second interview drew on the class observation and the first interview to verify, embellish, and probe more deeply into their pedagogy. Interview transcripts and observation field notes became the texts used for interpretation.

Hermeneutical Analysis

In an attempt to understand what the professors told us about their practice, we revisited the assumptions, beliefs, and theories that constitute their philosophy of teaching. During the process of interpreting philosophical categories, we recognized that these six educators were decidedly different from the other professors in the study in terms of their espoused philosophy. Starting from the assumption that the philosophical orientation influences teaching practice, we began asking a series of questions of the data. For instance, how are their particular assumptions about society and about teaching and learning acted upon? If transformation is so crucial to these instructors, how do they promote it? What do they actually *do* in the classroom that is different from other professors? What are their concerns? Through repeated interrogation of the transcripts, pieces of text emerged that were common across the six participants. Several themes developed as we attempted to make sense of these commonalities. Each textual unit was then reviewed again in the context of the original sentence and paragraph in order to interpret if the intended meaning contributed accurately to the emerging whole. The analysis process could be described in this way:

> The meaning of the part is only understood within the context of the whole; but the whole is never given unless through an understanding of the parts. Understanding therefore requires a circular movement from parts to whole and from whole to parts (Gallagher, 1992, p. 59).

We found ourselves in a hermeneutical circle! As each new part was compared to a growing whole, the whole became something new. Through intuitive hunches and dialogue, we constantly revised the emerging themes and every interpretation involved a recasting of meaning. Embedded within the themes, a description of a pedagogical process seemed to emerge.

Findings: The Pedagogical Process

The rich information shared by these participants could be presented in a variety of ways. For this paper, we have chosen to highlight an interpretation which suggests that these professors engage in a pedagogical process which has three major, interrelated elements: (1) a critical worldview, (2) a process of transformation, and (3) a transformative intent.

A Critical Worldview

Starting from a personally and theoretically based worldview, feminist and critical pedagogues clearly articulate their assumptions about the world and about education. Their espoused philosophy drives their choices regarding process, content and classroom structure and orients them to emancipatory action. Influenced by the critical social sciences, critical pedagogy examines and challenges existing power structures. Critical pedagogues assume that there is a link between knowledge, language and power and ascribe to the belief that knowledge is a social construction rather than a universal "truth". They believe that the dominant culture constructs hegemonic views which become taken-for-granted. Once these views are assimilated, people become deluded about the nature of their own realities (Grundy, 1987; McLaren, 1989; Shor & Freire, 1987). One of the two critical instructors in this study assumes that we live in an "inequitable society" in which the distribution of power is based on class, race and gender; the other believes that "students have been socialized to absorb unquestioned oppressive notions" and to "resist critique". Both of these instructors provide a forum for students in the classroom to examine their taken-for-granted assumptions and "critically reflect on society's messages". Critical educators assert that education cannot be neutral but rather is always a political act. Teaching and learning should be a catalyst for fundamental social change and personal/social transformation (Grundy, 1987; McLaren, 1989; Shor & Freire, 1987). The study's adult education instructor feels that the political nature of education is epitomized within his own profession where the "classroom is the site of the struggle". The family studies professor envisions that a change in parent's, teacher's and child care worker's ways of interacting with children will contribute to social change.

Feminist pedagogy draws on critical pedagogy as well as concepts from the women's movement. While an analysis of power also characterizes feminist teaching, feminists are unique in their attention to gender as an historical basis for inequality and oppression (Briskin, 1990). Feminist professors in this study are concerned about changing "structures of thought" and "existing beliefs". They are keenly aware of the resistance that is engendered by introducing "risky" content covering such areas as racism, sexism and homophobia. For them, it is important that this material in their own words, be "negotiated" to challenge "received wisdom" and promote critique. They aim for "awareness" or "consciousness-raising" that has future effects in thought and action. True to the action orientation of the women's movement, these participants report a political perspective both within and beyond the classroom which is integral to their pedagogy. They believe it is the "responsibility of feminists" that "political commitment is built into intellectual practice and the pursuit of knowledge". For example, one professor has been a visible and vocal advocate regarding sexual harassment on campus while another uses writing and presenting as tools to promote awareness and critique. These forms of "political work" are intended to "disrupt the power dynamics" within the institution.

Particularly integral to their mode of teaching are the feminist and critical educators' assumptions about the roles of teacher and learner. Knowing that the teacher/student relationship is imbued with the same power dynamics which are observable in the rest of society, these teachers recognize their institutionalized authority. In the words of one professor: "I take authority for granted; I am the teacher". While they recognize these authoritative influences, they also challenge them. There is a profound respect for the student's experience and ability. One professor flatly stated "I am not the expert", while another views "the learner as the authority on their life". Simultaneously holding a belief in students as "active agents" and a recognition of their own knowledge, skill and experience, the professors reject the traditional notion of teacher as expert and instead view themselves as "co-learners" with additional resources and search for "various ways to break down the barriers between students and teachers without abdicating the responsibility of the professor".

A Process of Transformation

Pedagogical choices made by these instructors reflect both commitment and constraint: (a) a commitment to challenge traditional teaching practices and (b) the constraints imposed by the traditional system within which they must practice their alternative pedagogies. Commitment is exemplified through the methods and strategies employed by these professors which include: (1) a consciousness-raising process, (2) power issues as content, and (3) the structuring of a critical classroom. Institutional constraints are identified throughout.

A consciousness-raising process. Professors repeatedly identify a number of interactive *process* elements which seem vital to the educational endeavour as they envision it. Dialogue is actively encouraged in various forms including argument or debate, although the instructors caution that they must be ready to intercede or moderate when needed. Promoting dialogue requires conscious attempts to "equalize the power" in the classroom and provide small group experiences. Instructors who teach large classes particularly lament the lack of opportunity for dialogue between students. Dialogue, journal writing and reflective papers are used to promote critical reflection. The words of one instructor echo the view of others: "I teach them throughout the class to identify values, beliefs and assumptions and...they analyze and critique those values, beliefs and assumptions". Part of this process includes the strategy of problematization. Students are asked to "pause and rethink" or "interrogate their experience" while professors "raise problems...[in] received wisdom", "yank at their assumptions", and "ask the tough questions". This "uncomfortable kind of questioning" is explicitly intended to "destabilize people's perspectives". There is an underlying belief that "conflict and struggle" are important in the process of transformation. During this process, students may become "bothered", overwhelmed or angry. One Women's Studies professor challenges the traditional "feel good" notion of learning and believes that "...at least certain kinds of learning may happen more readily if you *don't* feel good". This implies an engagement with the learning process that "moves beyond academic analysis" to "connect the emotional and the intellectual". The whole process is intended to "get them down to the next layer underneath that, to peel back that next layer".

Predictably, students often display resistance to the non-traditional, critical approach as well as to the content. Based on her experience, the feminist literature professor believes that conflict and resistance is an expected phase of the consciousness-raising process and that a full year is required to "synthesize" the feelings and information generated.

Such a process clearly cannot be negotiated without institutional support such as the full year course just mentioned, small class size (or adjunct seminars) and an optimum amount of scheduled class time. This type of structural support is often lacking and contributes to the frustration felt by these pedagogues. For example, one professor believes that three hour sessions are needed in order to engage in transformative critique. Yet, she is constrained by timetabling issues which force her to compress important concepts into 50 minute blocks of time. While she firmly states that "if the structure interferes with learning, then, to me, the structure ought to be challenged", at the same time, she is aware that "...I can only fight so many battles at once".

Power issues as content. In both the feminist and critical classrooms, *content* centres on a critical analysis of the power relations of race, gender and sexuality. "One of the things I try to do is make power a theme". The literature or course texts are chosen to present the information and generate the emotion that will bring theory to life. Students "read literature about oppression" in a family studies class, such as *Killers of the Dream* (by Lillian Smith), fiction that "doesn't let you off the hook" in a women's writing course, such as *Jane Eyre* (by Charlotte Bronte), or autobiography, such as *Beloved* (a slave woman narrative by Toni Morrison). The adult education instructor who provides opportunities to sample "multiple perspectives" hopes that his students will "leave with a sense that these different pedagogical styles are always implicated with power". The professor of a large introductory sociology course hopes that her lectures which introduce a feminist or "critical perspective" to the work of the traditional theorists will reveal the hidden assumptions behind the theories. To aid in processing such content, these instructors sometimes "take more time with a smaller amount of material", offer choice regarding the issues that will be covered and supplement with seminars whenever possible.

Societal power dynamics are specifically exemplified through the conscious "thematization", analysis and critique of the power and authority implicit in the relationship between professor and student. Seating arrangements and discussion methods are problematized and reflect a decentering of authority or an attempt to "lessen the power differences between us". For example, one instructor often avoids sitting at the end of the table in a seminar classroom. Another places the desks in a complete circle and invites a quick "gut response" to the text from everyone in turn before proceeding to general discussion.

From this perspective, evaluation and grading are viewed as particularly problematic and, again, thematized as power issues. While conscious of the undeniable authority invested in the evaluative process, instructors use many and varied means to cope with this contradiction. In general, they attempt to decrease competition and enhance choice-making. Most involve the students in generating exam questions or offer choices in essay topics. The instructor's evaluation is sometimes "tempered" with self and/or peer evaluation. Most attempt to stimulate critical thinking and personal engagement through both graded and non-graded assignments. One professor encourages the students to write repeated drafts for supportive feedback before grading. Journals are encouraged but usually not graded or not read. One professor includes an expectation of "passion, voice and commitment" in the written work and another assigns a "personal reflections paper" to encourage analysis of the student's past, present and future experience. The professor who is required to use multiple choice exams in a class of 200 expresses her scepticism and hopes to evaluate in more depth those students who move on to smaller, senior classes.

One critical pedagogue describes the three forms of knowledge (i.e., technical, interpretive and critical) identified by Jurgen Habermas in *Knowledge and Human Interests* (1987) and uses strategies which attempt to evaluate each of these legitimate domains of knowledge. For instance, mid-term and final exams test technical knowledge, while student journals reveal meaning interpretations and the personal reflections paper requires more critical thought.

Structuring a critical classroom. A combination of traditional and alternative *structures* characterizes the critical and feminist classroom environment. Most of these instructors are aware that students have been socialized to expect the teacher to provide the structure and authority in the classroom. When the teacher does not assume this role, students are often distressed or annoyed. One instructor poignantly asks: "How uncomfortable are you allowed to make people?" Therefore, all provide some structure and initiation but "ease them into" tolerating less structure and include "time to grope". Consistent with their assumption that education is a political process, these instructors feel that it is important to state their own views clearly, rather than assuming a neutral stance in the classroom. One of the instructors senses her students' relief when she openly identifies herself as a feminist.

The feminist and critical pedagogues in this study tend to "have a fundamental belief in risk" as an essential element in the transformative process. Therefore, they structure their classrooms in ways that promote risk-taking. The most profound example of this is their own willingness to "be brave", to model vulnerability through their choice of "risky material" that explores "contentious issues", their engagement with confrontation, conflict and resistance, and their openly self-reflective approach. They comment: "Teaching is a means for clarifying my own thoughts; I try to make that transparent to students" and "I ask questions but I don't just ask them of them...they're my own questions as well". While all of these instructors are "always reflective" about their pedagogy, some admit to "flying by the seat of my pants" and another reveals that "I trust in intuition...I work with my heart".

But professors pay a price for structuring their classrooms in this manner. They must continually "negotiate the resistance" even in classrooms with "like-minded" students. They understand that angry, attacking behaviour must not be personalized but "named". The constant confrontation of contradictions and open "self-consciousness" may result in fatigue or isolation. One states, "It is quite daunting, in many ways, to try and deal with this kind of material in a reflective way when dealing with it may imply that you actually are caught in a contradiction all the time". Yet, their commitment "creates its own energy" and makes "the system change". One instructor discusses the influence of self-doubt. In response to a respected colleague's feedback, she presented information in class more "neutrally", avoiding the so-called negativity of critical reflection. She believes that this delayed or curtailed the insight usually gained by students as they study family dynamics. Hence, this experience re-confirmed her commitment to a critical pedagogical approach.

Although they clearly value and promote a certain level of discomfort, these professors are also aware that "students have to feel safe to be candid". They are all committed to "find ethical ways of dealing with each other around issues that are really highly contentious sometimes". Like many other caring professors, they speak of trust, respect, validation, empathy and safety. Their "comments are...supportive and affirming", they "remain sensitive to individual students" and ensure that "no one *has* to speak". Likewise, they wish to promote a "sense of groupness", a "shared experience" and relationships between students and professor as well as among students themselves.

Transformative Intent

Critical and feminist educators are concerned about both personal and social change. Constrained by the university setting, they focus more directly on transformation of individual consciousness. They hope to "facilitate critical enlightenment" or "enable...transformation within the group". For them, this means that students "will see the way that structures of thought and exclusion work" and "make those applications to their own histories". They realize that "ideological change" reflects integration and synthesis of information and insight. Some professors also articulate their intention that students act upon this transformation in the social world. They anticipate an effect on self and family and a desire for "moving on" and "social change". One instructor senses that critique leads to enlightenment which provides hope and energy for future action.

But these instructors are critically aware that a concrete action component is missing in their classroom work. "Unfortunately, I think, the limitation of a classroom setting is that we *don't* go from there to do any kind of political change". They attempt to mitigate this somewhat through reflection, discussion, assignments and textual material which focus on "strategies for social change", hopefully to be applied in the future.

However, some instructors admit that they "don't know how that will translate in [the students'] personal lives". Most understand that they cannot control the student's process of change; "every student has their own answers, their own timing...everybody's gonna see things differently, in a different time, in a different way and I can't predict when that will be". Another concedes: "It's naive to think that all people are transformed; some people are not going to change".

Summary and Conclusions

For the feminist and critical educators in this study, power is the crux of a philosophy-in-action. That is, while they espouse philosophical views about the unequal distribution of power in society, these professors simultaneously act upon this through their awareness, problematization and critique of the power structures within the educational institution. They hold assumptions about the interplay between knowledge and power which challenge traditional views about the teacher/student relationship. While recognizing the explicit authority bestowed by the institution and the implicit authority granted by virtue of their knowledge and experience, they also value the expertness and autonomy of learners. They view their pedagogical methods as similarly power-laden. They use their classroom authority to establish process, content and structural elements which promote disequilibrium so that students begin to challenge their existing hegemonic belief systems. The transformative intent is ultimately political.

These instructors are keenly aware of the perilousness of their position within the classroom and the institution due to their risky approaches. They face consequences for the practice of their pedagogy such as isolation, labelling, resistance and personal fatigue. One professor reminds us of the poignant contradictions facing these instructors on a daily basis: "When we're stuck in institutions doing some of this stuff, ...we're [at] the same time complicit while we're doing the critique". Yet their commitment sustains them in the struggle. They feel a responsibility to practice their philosophy and pursue emancipatory ideals within the academy. This is the power of their praxis.

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AUTOFORMATION FÉMINISTE

Claudie Solar
Université d'Ottawa

Résumé

L'autoformation féministe réfère ici à la démarche féministe, c'est-à-dire la démarche éducative autonome de femmes en vue d'acquérir une compréhension du monde dans une perspective féministe. Les parcours de dix militantes féministes illustrent cette démarche modélisée en trois temps: celui de la prise de conscience, celui de l'acquisition de connaissances et celui de l'action ou de la réinsertion sociale. Ces parcours d'autoformation se vivent à l'âge adulte car les savoirs sur les femmes sont occultés dans les parcours scolaires. Il peut toutefois en être autrement. Dans cet article, les données de la recherche sur la démarche féministe de militantes sont d'abord décrites. Elles sont ensuite interprétées et mises en perspective dans le champ de l'éducation des adultes et de l'enseignement.

Abstract

Feminist self-directed learning refers to the feminist transformation; that is, the autonomous educational path followed by women in order to gain a feminist frame of reference and knowledge. The feminist transformation of ten feminist activists provides an illustration of this process which includes three stages: consciousness raising, acquisition of knowledge, and social action or reintegration. This transformation occurs during adulthood since feminist knowledge is not included in the schooling process. However, it could be otherwise. In this article, the data provided by the study of feminist activists' transformations is first presented. It is followed by an interpretation of the data in the field of adult education and its use in teaching.

Alors que les mouvements féministes ont largement influencé certains champs disciplinaires tels la sociologie ou les sciences de la santé, ce n'est que récemment qu'ils ont commencé à marquer le registre officiel de l'éducation des adultes. Il est bien question ici de «registre officiel» car les femmes ont toujours été présentes dans les activités d'éducation permanente ou d'éducation populaire mais, comme le relève si bien Edith Smith pour le Canada (1992), l'institutionnalisation de l'éducation des adultes n'a pas retenu les pratiques éducatives des femmes adultes. Il s'agit là encore de l'éternelle redite de l'omission des femmes et de leur exclusion de la mémoire collective (Smith, 1978). Aussi les féministes en éducation des adultes se retrouvent avec la même tâche que leurs consoeurs dans d'autres disciplines, c'est-à-dire réécrire l'histoire, la philosophie et l'épistémologie de ce vaste champ que couvre l'expression «éducation des adultes». L'éducation des adultes, comme champ disciplinaire, tout comme l'éducation en général (Martin, 1982), n'inclut pas les femmes.

Dans les années 1950, Simone de Beauvoir a relancé la lutte des femmes en désamorçant la notion d'une «nature féminine» (de Beauvoir, 1949), et, depuis, l'analyse féministe de l'éducation s'est faite de plus en plus précise et systémique (Belotti, 1973; Forman, O'Brien, Haddad, Hallman, & Masters, 1990; Gaskell & McLaren, 1987; Lempen-Ricci & Moreau, 1987; Solar, 1992; Spender, 1980). Parallèlement, le système éducatif occidental se développait, se démocratisait et se formalisait en s'appuyant sur les paradigmes classiques du savoir et de la recherche dans lesquels la sous-représentation ou l'omission des femmes est de mise, la référence à l'homme blanc est la norme, et les activités et préoccupations des femmes sont dévalorisées quand elles ne sont pas oubliées. La situation actuelle en ce qui concerne l'éducation des femmes a relativement peu changé en ce qui a trait aux contenus de formation et, ce, même si les femmes ont investi massivement les lieux de l'éducation tout au moins comme étudiantes.

Or, la pratique de l'éducation des adultes et de l'intervention dans des groupes de femmes permet de prendre acte de la soif des femmes de savoirs qui les concernent. Pour avoir accès à ces savoirs, elles vont courir les rencontres et les séminaires, visionner les derniers films et vidéos, acheter et lire les derniers livres sur les femmes, faits par des femmes, pour les femmes. Elles établissent des dialogues, partagent leurs analyses pour les valider avec une curiosité insatiable, à l'affût de nouvelles perspectives plus inclusives. C'est ainsi qu'est né l'intérêt de l'étude du parcours des femmes dans leur apprentissage du féminisme afin de mieux saisir ce parcours, d'une part, et cerner, d'autre part, les connaissances sur lesquelles les femmes s'appuient pour construire leur nouvelle compréhension du monde (Solar, 1988). Dans cette étude, la démarche féministe a été définie comme suit:

> le pas fait dans la doctrine qui sous-tend l'action des femmes dans leurs luttes pour la transformation des rapports hommes-femmes et de l'ordre établi (Solar, 1988, p. 9).

Le cadre conceptuel prenait pour postulat de départ que les femmes devenaient féministes à l'âge adulte seulement. Ce postulat était issu d'une lecture de l'éducation des femmes dans laquelle les savoirs relatifs aux femmes ne font pas partie des programmes d'études de la scolarité obligatoire (Solar, 1993) et qu'encore aujourd'hui ces savoirs n'ont que peu atteint les lieux de haut savoir si ce n'est dans les programmes d'études sur les femmes et d'études féministes qui demeurent «le secret le mieux gardé des universités canadiennes» (Vandelac, 1990). Aussi, d'après cette perspective, les femmes s'inscrivent dans un processus d'autoformation pour acquérir leurs savoirs féministes.

Dans les pages qui suivent, il sera question des parcours d'autoformation des dix militantes féministes[1] interviewées pour la recherche sur la démarche féministe (Solar, 1988). Un résumé-synthèse des dix parcours suivra une description des caractéristiques des femmes interviewées. Puis, viendront une synthèse et une interprétation des données pour terminer par une mise en perspective dans le champ de l'éducation des adultes. Vue sous cet angle, la recherche sur la démarche féministe offre des éléments de réponse à la question suivante: comment des féministes ont-elles appris le féminisme?

Les Caractéristiques des Femmes Interviewées

Quand on regarde le profil des dix femmes interviewées (voir tableau 1) dans le cadre de cette recherche on obtient le portrait suivant. Premièrement, ce sont évidemment toutes des militantes[2] actives dans des groupes de femmes de la région de Montréal, puisque tel était le lieu de la recherche. Elles sont nées entre 1925 et 1958; elles ont entre 30 et 62 ans au moment des entrevues. Elles se distribuent approximativement en trois groupes: il y a celles qui sont près de la cinquantaine ou dans la soixantaine et qui sont nées avant que les femmes du Québec n'aient obtenu le droit de vote au niveau provincial. Il y a celles qui sont nées dans les années 40 et qui naviguent autour des quarante ans au moment de l'entrevue. Enfin, il y a les plus jeunes, celles qui sont nées à la fin des années 50 et qui ont pu bénéficier de la réforme du système d'éducation québécois qui, suite au Rapport Parent, instaure l'accessibilité, la gratuité et la mixité de l'école primaire et secondaire. L'échantillon des femmes interviewées même s'il est limité laisse voir une répartition équitable entre jeunes et moins jeunes. On pourrait presque dire qu'il illustre l'existence d'une relève dans le mouvement des femmes.

En ce qui a trait au milieu socio-économique d'origine, trois femmes proviennent du milieu ouvrier, cinq d'un milieu économique moyen, et deux seulement d'un milieu aisé ou bourgeois. Cette répartition étonne un peu car elle ne correspond pas à l'image généralement colportée sur les féministes, c'est-à-dire une image de femmes provenant majoritairement de milieu bourgeois, bien éduquées, défendant leurs intérêts personnels.[3] Il y a peut-être ici un autre mythe sur les féministes à déconstruire car les révolutions et les revendications ouvrières ont toujours été gagné avec l'implication des femmes mais l'histoire n'a pas gardé la mémoire de leurs revendications spécifiques.

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[1] Les militantes interviewées ont été choisi dans un processus boule de neige. Des personnes qui sont en lien avec des groupes de femmes ont été sollicitées pour suggérer des noms de femmes susceptibles de parler de leur démarche féministe. Puis, la même question était posée aux femmes interviewées au fur et à mesure des entrevues. Parmi les noms suggérés, celles qui avaient été nommées par deux personnes ou plus étaient contactées pour une entrevue.

[2] Des militantes féministes ont été choisies comme sujets de la recherche car, d'une part, elles étaient reconnues féministes dans leurs actions par le monde extérieur, ce qui évitait l'auto-définition, et, d'autre part, elles n'étaient pas connus du grand public ce qui permettait de préserver l'anonymat des personnes.

[3] L'image de bourgeoise est très souvent imposée aux femmes en éducation des adultes (Gaskell & McLaren, 1987, p. 306).

Tableau 1

Caractéristiques et Thèmes d'Études des Femmes Interviewées sur leur Démarche Féministe

Noms	Année de naissance	Milieu socio-économi que d'origine	Formation initiale	Retour aux études	Thèmes d'études et de réflexion
Andrée	1952	moyen	secrétariat juridique	bacc en psycho-sociologie de la communication formation en gestalt	l'avortement; la violence faite aux femmes; le viol; la vie dans un contexte de domination les enfants
Barbara	1925	ouvrier	un an de cours commercial		l'autonomie financière et l'autonomie personnelle; l'éducation; l'accès à l'égalité; l'accréditation multipatronale
Colette	1957	moyen défavorisé	BA animation		la violence physique et psychologique; la pauvreté; la solitude; l'érotisme
Diane	1953	aisé	DES		les ghettos d'emploi; l'accès à l'égalité; la syndicalisation des femmes; les congés de maternité et parentaux; les rapports de force des femmes dans les groupes mixtes
Evelyne	1948	moyen	BA animation		le travail ménager; le privé et le politique; le temps; le rapport des femmes au temps
France	1951	ouvrier	DEC; un an univ.		le travail en termes d'inégalité et de discrimination; la violence
Guylaine	1939	ouvrier	Brevet d'enseignement	2 certificats 3ᵉ en cours	l'autonomie personnelle et l'autonomie financière
Isabelle	1946	bourgeoise	BA travail social	1 certificat	l'identité
Jeanne	1958	moyen	BA	MA littérature en cours	la violence; l'autonomie; l'éducation; l'instruction et l'alphabétisation; l'appareil gouvernemental
Laure	1938	moyen	Brevet d'enseignement	1 mineur 1 certificat	l'autonomie financière

Au niveau de l'éducation, il faut distinguer entre formation initiale et formation continue. Pour ce qui est de la formation initiale, six ont une formation relativement traditionnelle: cours commercial, secrétariat, brevet d'enseignement, études secondaires ou collégiales. Quatre ont un baccalauréat universitaire. Par contre cinq des femmes interviewées sont retournées aux études ou les ont poursuivies, dont trois spécifiquement sur les bancs de l'éducation des adultes par le biais des certificats. Une seule femme parmi les dix poursuivait une maîtrise au moment de l'entrevue. Si l'on prend le portrait actuel, cinq ont un baccalauréat et deux autres l'ont complété au deux tiers. Au niveau de la formation donc, les femmes qui ont participé à cette recherche n'avaient pas au départ une formation poussée, au contraire. C'est souvent à l'éducation des adultes qu'elles l'ont parfaite. Dans tous les cas, seules les plus jeunes ont pu bénéficier d'une certaine formation aux analyses féministes dans le réseau post-secondaire. C'est déjà dire que dans l'ensemble, en ce qui a trait au féminisme, les femmes de la recherche se sont formées elles-mêmes par elles-mêmes et entre elles.

Quelques autres précisions peuvent être encore ajoutées en ce qui concerne les caractéristiques socio-démographiques des femmes qui ont participé à cette recherche. L'une d'entre elle est de race noire, les autres de race blanche. L'une est anglophone, les autres francophones. L'une est immigrante, une autre est originaire d'une autre province canadienne, les autres sont québécoises. L'une est homosexuelle, les autres hétérosexuelles.[4] Cinq sont mariées et ont un ou des enfants. Une est divorcée et vit seule; deux sont en relation de couple et deux vivent seules. Ici aussi, l'image des féministes colportés par les stéréotypes sociaux n'est pas de mise.

Dix Femmes, Dix Parcours de Vie

Il est difficile de faire une synthèse des parcours de vie des dix femmes interviewées. Chacune a le sien dont certaines parties ressemblent à celles des autres. Mais, il n'y a pas de parcours-robot. Les parcours de vies ressemblent à la multiplicité des vies de femmes qui s'insèrent à une époque donnée. Ainsi, Barbara, la doyenne des femmes interviewées, se verra refuser ce qu'elle souhaitait si ardemment jeune fille: l'éducation. Une éducation classique que ces parents auraient pu lui offrir mais qui contrevenait aux moeurs de l'époque où une jeune fille recevait au mieux une formation secrétariale en attente du mariage. C'est donc ce qu'elle fera et sa démarche se poursuivra comme femme mariée dans l'action communautaire au sein des écoles et de son milieu. Guylaine et Laure aussi se marieront et interrompront leur carrière d'enseignantes pour s'occuper des enfants. Et c'est par le biais d'intervention avec le milieu qu'elles s'intègrent dans des parcours qui les conduisent à des questionnements en ce qui concerne la situation des femmes et éventuellement à participer à des actions pour modifier la situation. Andrée, Diane, Evelyne et Isabelle aussi se marieront mais avec un parcours tout au moins intérieur si ce n'est social un peu moins classique, un peu plus contestataire, davantage revendicateur. Colette et Jeanne prendront très vite le parti pris de travailler dans des groupes de femmes dans lesquels l'une développe au fil des actions sa compréhension de la situation des femmes et l'autre développe des habiletés de stratégies d'intervention politique. Toutes les deux ainsi que France suivent un parcours qui les amènent aux études universitaires avec peu d'interruption mais France coupera cette formation qui omet les femmes. Jeanne choisit délibérément des champs d'études autres que celui des femmes tandis que Colette s'y forge une identité personnelle et professionnelle.

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[4] Dans cette recherche, aucune des femmes interviewées n'a changé d'orientation sexuelle en raison de sa démarche féministe. Ceci rompt aussi avec les stéréotypes classiques à l'égard des féministes.

Le point où les femmes de la recherche se ressemblent le plus, et cela n'a rien d'étonnant compte tenu du but de la recherche, est celui d'un parcours d'acquisition de connaissances sur les femmes. Mais les lieux et les modes d'acquisition varient. Andrée se forme d'abord dans une implication en milieu de travail qui l'amène à la condition féminine; Barbara essentiellement dans son action communautaire qui inclut éventuellement des actions dans des groupes de femmes; Colette par le biais de ses études et de son travail au sein de groupes de femmes; Diane au travers des contraintes sociales sur les femmes et de l'exploitation des femmes dans les ghettos d'emploi féminin; Evelyne dans la contestation étudiante des années 1960 et dans l'éducation populaire; France par le biais de la discrimination au travail et par une remise en question existentielle; Isabelle par le biais de son questionnement personnel et le besoin de maintenir son identité; Jeanne au fil de son action militante qui met en pratique ce qu'elle connaît déjà de la vie des femmes; Guylaine et Laure enfin par une implication communautaire et une analyse de la précarité du travail à temps partiel.

Démarches Féministes: Autoformation et Savoir

Le cadre théorique développé pour cette recherche sur la démarche féministe repose essentiellement sur quatre auteurs, trois femmes et un homme. Marion Colby (1978) apporte une image d'une transformation féministe en trois temps: la prise de conscience, l'acquisition de connaissances et l'action. Alice Home (1978) contribue à la connaissance des changements vécus par des femmes ayant participé à des groupes de croissance. Elaine Posluns (1981) décrit des processus de changement vécus par des femmes qui rompent avec les rôles stéréotypés. Enfin, Jack Mezirow (1978a, 1978b) met en relief le changement de cadre de référence de femmes effectuant un retour aux études. Tout comme Marion Colby, il marque la démarche vécue par ces femmes en trois temps qu'il nomme à l'aide d'une nomenclature moins militante. Il parle d'aliénation, de restructuration et de réinsertion sociale.

De ces quatre auteurs, Colby, Posluns et Mezirow mentionnent explicitement l'acquisition de connaissances comme un élément de la transformation; Home y réfère implicitement. L'image de la démarche féministe ainsi fournie est celle d'un changement de cadre de référence qui comporte un temps majeur de changement qui peut se vivre sous un mode modéré ou sous un mode relativement intensif. La mise en place du nouveau cadre de référence passe nécessairement par l'acquisition de connaissances.

Phase de Prise de Conscience

Cette modélisation de la démarche féministe s'avère être relativement juste. Toutes les femmes de la recherche ont un parcours qui s'inscrit dans ce modèle. Toutes sauf une: Jeanne. Nous reviendrons à Jeanne plus loin. Pour ce qui est des autres, elles ont toutes connu une période majeure de changement. Andrée parle de crise, Colette de remise en question, Evelyne de prise de conscience, France d'introspection et Isabelle de rejet. Pour ces cinq femmes ainsi que pour Diane, le changement est fait de ruptures et la période de changement est marquée d'une intensité émotive forte. Pour ces six femmes, les périodes de prise de conscience et d'acquisition de connaissances de la démarche féministe sont ici très marquées, intenses.

Les trois autres, quant à elles, ont vécu des démarches moins bouleversantes, plus modérées. Barbara, Guylaine et Laure parlent d'une démarche progressive, plus graduelle même si Barbara et Laure ont connu des temps forts, de lectures notamment. Or il est intéressant de relever que Barbara, Guylaine et Laure sont les aînées de la recherche. Elles sont nées et ont grandi dans un contexte historique où les femmes n'avaient que peu de droits et les femmes mariées encore moins, tout au moins au Québec. Elles ont connu un contexte social légalement discriminatoire et leur démarche semble se dérouler en synchronie avec l'histoire: elles prenaient conscience de la discrimination à l'égard des femmes en même temps que le mouvement des femmes des années 60-70 prenait de l'ampleur.

Mais, que la démarche féministe se vive sur un mode bouleversant ou modéré, c'est une démarche qui s'inscrit dans la démarche de vie des femmes interviewées, en lien avec leurs expériences. Ce n'est pas une situation particulière ou un événement particulier qui provoque cette démarche. Il n'y a pas d'éléments déclencheurs précis comme tels de la démarche féministe. Le déclencheur, si déclencheur il y a, c'est un contexte global de discrimination à l'égard des femmes et c'est ce contexte global qui provoque la prise de conscience. Il est global car il incorpore généralement tant la vie personnelle, dans les rapports de couple notamment, que la vie publique et professionnelle, dont le monde du travail. Quand il y a des événements particuliers, tels un mariage, une séparation ou une mise à pied, ils s'inscrivent dans la démarche; ils ne la provoquent pas. Aussi, la démarche des femmes interviewées fait davantage suite à une réflexion personnelle qu'à des événements extérieurs. Ce résultat diffère d'une tendance largement répandue en éducation des adultes à trouver l'origine d'une démarche dans un problème ou un dilemme (approche de résolution de problèmes/ problem-solving approach; par exemple Knowles, 1973 et Tough, 1978).

Phase d'Acquisition de Connaissances

La deuxième phase de la démarche en est une d'acquisition de connaissances. Ici, aucun doute, les femmes interviewées ont eu une activité intense de formation autodirigée qui se traduit souvent en termes de lectures et de discussions. L'importance des connaissances féministes, des analyses féministes, des théories qui amènent une compréhension de leur situation personnelle et de la situation collective des femmes est une des données fortes de la recherche. Cela ressort clairement du discours des femmes interviewées. Les connaissances ici sont jugées vitales et permettent aux femmes de se reconstruire. Cette reconstruction passe par la compréhension de la situation, la sienne et celles des autres femmes. Cette phase est une phase personnelle dans la mesure où c'est dans cette période que l'on essaie de se situer personnellement dans le contexte de la situation des femmes et de définir clairement ses choix, pour ensuite passer à la phase de la réinsertion sociale ou de l'action. Il y a ici un lien très étroit entre l'individu et la société, le personnel et le social, le privé et le politique, en plus d'un mode d'apprentissage qui passe beaucoup par les autres. Les grands thèmes sur lesquels les femmes de la recherche se sont concentrés sont présentés dans le tableau 1. On y retrouve des thèmes majeurs: l'autonomie (personnelle et financière), le travail (ménager et rémunéré), la violence, le politique (rapports de force, accès à l'égalité, appareil gouvernemental) et l'identité. Ce sont les portes d'entrée principale que les femmes de la recherche ont emprunté pour développer de façon exponentielle leurs connaissances sur la situation des femmes, connaissances qui se déploient sur une multitude de dimensions.[5] Ce déploiement témoigne d'ailleurs de l'aspect systémique de la discrimination à l'égard des femmes. C'est un ensemble de connaissances qu'il faut acquérir pour comprendre la dimension collective de la situation des femmes. Cette dimension collective de la situation des femmes équivaut à l'aspect systémique de la discrimination. C'est la dimension collective de la situation des femmes qui constitue le savoir qui résulte de la démarche féministe.

Phase de Réinsertion Sociale ou d'Action

Pour toutes les femmes de la recherche la phase de réinsertion sociale ou d'action en est une de militantisme féministe. Ceci n'a rien d'étonnant puisqu'elles ont été choisies en raison de ce militantisme. Pourtant, il est important de relever que pour presque toutes le militantisme est la résultante du cheminement et non le cheminement la résultante du militantisme. Autrement dit, les femmes de la recherche se sont impliquées dans des groupes où elles conduisent des actions féministes à partir du moment où elles ont décidé de travailler au changement de la situation des femmes. Cette étape se fait naturellement. Elle n'est pas difficile.[6] Dans cette recherche, la réinsertion sociale est très spécifique. Ici, ce qui frappe, c'est la détermination des femmes interviewées à traduire leurs connaissances dans l'action. Leurs actions sont maintenant guidées par une volonté clairement politique de transformer certaines situations à l'avantage des femmes. Les femmes de la recherche parlent du féminisme en tant que mouvement social. Il a un sens tant personnel que social. Le militantisme féministe leur permet de réinvestir dans l'action sociale les connaissances acquises dans leur démarche personnelle.

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[5] Pour avoir accès aux aspects de la recherche liés aux connaissances et au savoir, la lectrice ou le lecteur intéressé peuvent se référer au rapport de recherche principal (Solar, 1988).

[6] Ceci diffère des résultats d'Elaine Posluns (1981) qui avait trouvé une réelle difficulté dans le passage des femmes à l'action. Ceci pourrait être lié au fait qu'il faut passer par une phase d'acquisition de connaissances avant de passer à l'action. L'action ne suit pas la prise de conscience; il y a une phase intermédiaire.

Jeanne. Mais revenons maintenant à Jeanne qui se démarque des autres dans sa démarche féministe. Elle se démarque parce que sa démarche ne s'est pas déroulée à l'âge adulte. Elle ne parle pas de temps majeur de changement même si elle fait partie du groupe des plus jeunes de la recherche et que ce sont elles qui ont vécu les démarches les plus bouleversantes. Bien que la cadette des femmes interviewées, Jeanne a vécu une démarche qui s'est construite au fur et à mesure que sa mère parvenait à sortir d'une situation de violence conjugale. Jeanne a ainsi acquis ses connaissances féministes pendant sa période de socialisation avant d'entrer dans l'âge adulte. Pour elle, il n'y a pas de rupture de cadre de référence. Son cadre de référence a toujours été teinté de connaissances féministes. Elle n'a pas eu, une fois adulte, à remplacer celui qu'elle avait acquis dans son enfance.

En cela, Jeanne fait la différence. Elle fait la différence car sa présence même témoigne d'un parcours de formation qui peut être autre. Il peut être autre en autant que le parcours de socialisation inclut des connaissances sur les femmes, leur situation, leurs contributions et leurs aspirations. Il peut être autre avec des modèles de femmes «gagnantes» pour reprendre une expression d'Isabelle, des modèles de femmes dont les rôles ne sont plus confins à des limites étroites, des modèles de femmes qui connaissent leur potentiel et leurs capacités d'agir.

Si l'on regarde maintenant l'ensemble de ces parcours, on note qu'il s'agit d'une véritable quête. Une quête pour comprendre le monde dans lequel ces femmes vivent et comprendre ce qu'elles sont dans ce monde. Les démarches féministes illustrées par les femmes interviewées ont nécessité beaucoup d'apprentissages. Ils ont été faits dans des groupes de pression et des groupes politiques, dans un processus de démarche autonome, par des lectures individuelles et des interactions avec d'autres femmes. Les femmes de la recherche ont entièrement contrôlé leur processus de formation sans toutefois l'avoir planifié. Il y a ici des exemples d'autoformation inductive qui diffère des parcours d'autoformation déductif (Knowles, 1979; Tough, 1982).

Mise en Perspective

Un des premiers éléments sans doute à faire ressortir, c'est la richesse des données qu'apportent l'étude des trajectoires de vie, de travail, de formation et d'apprentissage de femmes féministes. Ces aspects n'ont été en fait que peu ou pas étudiés. La recension des écrits pour construire le cadre conceptuel de la recherche sur la démarche féministe en témoigne. Peu d'écrits en éducation des adultes ont été répertoriés sur les femmes, le féminisme et le mouvement des femmes. Pourtant, 1975, Année internationale des femmes, avait été une année importante en termes d'activités de sensibilisation et de formation sous toutes sortes de formes et avait favorisé la publication et la diffusion de nombreux écrits. L'aspect moteur de l'Année internationale des femmes qui inaugurait la Décennie des femmes a d'ailleurs joué un rôle important dans les parcours de formation des femmes de la recherche. Elles sont plusieurs à avoir connu une période majeure de changement dans cette période maintenant historique. Mais au niveau des écrits en éducation des adultes, rien ou presque; c'est ce que note aussi Jane Thompson:

> And yet the evidence of radical initiatives on behalf of women, which seriously challenge patriarchal knowledge and control actually being seen to flourish and beginning to transform oppressive structures are extremely rare (Thompson, 1988, p. 184).

Si l'on utilise des grilles d'analyses féministes, il est difficile de ne pas interpréter cette absence d'études ou d'intérêt en éducation des adultes autrement que comme une omission des femmes, comme une dévalorisation de leurs activités, ou encore comme une démonstration de l'absence de femmes dans la définition du champ d'études de l'éducation des adultes. C'est pourquoi, dans un premier temps, toutes les contributions utilisant analyses et théories féministes deviennent importantes. Le champ de l'éducation des adultes commence d'ailleurs à être investi depuis peu par les analyses féministes. En témoignent des écrits comme ceux de Martine Chaponnière (1988, 1992), de Jane Gaskell et d'Arlene Tigar McLaren (1987: section sur l'éducation des adultes), d'Angela Miles (1989), d'Edith Smith (1992) ou de Jane Thompson (1983, 1988).

L'étude des trajectoires de femmes et de féministes est source de données innovatrices. Si l'on considère le mouvement des femmes comme un vaste mouvement d'éducation populaire, alors une recherche comme celle sur la démarche féministe montre le lien étroit entre les femmes, leurs réflexions-formations et le mouvement des femmes. D'après le construit théorique de Thomas Luckmann (1983) sur le sens commun et la science, chaque personne possède son propre bagage subjectif de connaissances, celui qu'elle a fait sien. Or, dans la démarche féministe:

> Les connaissances spéciales sur les femmes générées par les femmes et le mouvement des femmes sont intégrées dans le bagage subjectif des femmes qui à leur tour en créent et les diffusent auprès d'autres femmes (Solar, 1988, p. 251).

On voit ici l'interrelation dans le mouvement des femmes entre les femmes qui se nourrissent intellectuellement au sein du mouvement et le mouvement des femmes lui-même qui est nourri par ces femmes. Ce phénomène ne se termine pas avec le changement majeur de la démarche féministe. Il se poursuit ensuite car les féministes ont toujours besoin de produire de nouveaux savoirs pour parvenir à développer et renouveler leurs actions qui évoluent dans le temps. Relevons comme pratique féministe, toutes ces retraites, séminaires, rencontres où des femmes se retrouvent pour aller de l'avant dans leurs analyses. Prenons pour exemple les rencontres des groupes féministes dans les universités ou encore le travail sur les analyses féministes de l'éducation mathématique du groupe MOIFEM.[7] Il y a dans toute cette activité de formation autonome des analyses à tirer pour construire une connaissance des apprentissages adultes qui tiennent compte des pratiques. Dans le mouvement des femmes, que ce soit dans un groupe féministe d'action communautaire ou dans un groupe féministe universitaire, une part du développement du savoir et de sa construction se fait par le biais d'un «marrainage» de femmes avec d'autres femmes où les unes communiquent des connaissances à d'autres et où, d'autre fois, les femmes construisent ensemble les analyses qui leur manquent. Ce mode d'apprentissage ressemble à s'y méprendre au mode d'apprentissage en vigueur dans le monde des femmes en ce qui a trait aux savoirs traditionnels des femmes, ces savoirs qui ne font pas partie de la pensée éducative (Martin, 1982, 1985). En effet, les savoirs relatifs aux rôles traditionnels des femmes (maternage et soins des enfants notamment) ne font pas partie des savoirs transmis par l'institution éducative. Ils en ont été évacués à partir du moment où l'éducation a cessé d'être différenciée selon le sexe (Spender, 1982). Les femmes l'apprennent de façon autonome, notamment dans un marrainage où une femme plus expérimentée explique à une moins expérimentée comment il faut s'y prendre. Pour ce type de contenu, les femmes qui marrainent sont en général des femmes de la famille ou des amies. Dans la démarche féministe, le marrainage se fait par le biais du mouvement des femmes. Ce n'est plus la famille, ce sont d'autres femmes auparavant inconnues qui jouent le rôle d'accompagnement.

La recherche sur la démarche féministe ouvre sur une perspective systémique de l'apprentissage et inscrit le savoir et l'apprentissage dans un contexte social.

> Dans cette transformation, la dimension collective [des femmes] prend de l'importance car elle permet de saisir la non-unicité du vécu. Du sentiment d'incompétence qui les isolait, [les femmes de la recherche] passent à la connaissance d'un phénomène social et de leur appartenance à ce phénomène. L'éclatement du personnel permet de passer au social et au politique (Solar, 1988, p. 240).

Ceci diffère des approches de l'apprentissage qui ont tendance à considérer la personne comme une entité isolée.

Par ailleurs, ce que cette recherche sur la démarche féministe met en relief c'est d'une part l'importance de l'acquisition des connaissances, et non pas celle d'habiletés. La démarche féministe est une démarche éducative dont le but principal en est un de compréhension. La recherche met en relief, d'autre part, le processus d'autoformation que se sont données ces femmes pour assurer leur formation. Les connaissances que les femmes de la recherche ont acquises,

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[7] L'auteure est présidente du Mouvement International pour les femmes et l'enseignement des mathématiques depuis 1992. MOIFEM est la section canadienne-française de l'«International Organisation for Women and Mathematics Education».

> ...elles les ont acquises de façon autonome, par elles-mêmes ou avec d'autres femmes, en dehors des institutions scolaires, sauf pour une. [...] elles ont consacré beaucoup de temps et d'énergie pour découvrir leur existence en tant qu'être social ainsi que la condition de vie des femmes. Or, il peut en être autrement: Jeanne en est le témoignage (Solar, 1988, p. 244).

La démarche féministe des femmes interviewées procure une illustration de l'autoformation vue sous l'angle de l'appropriation de son pouvoir de formation (Pineau et Marie Michèle, 1983). Les femmes de la recherche se sont «appropriés leur formation. Elles se sont moulées elles-mêmes au fil des livres, conférences, colloques, films et discussions avec d'autres femmes, au gré du temps et des questions du moment» (Solar, 1988, p. 247). Mais qui dit appropriation de son pouvoir de formation dit aussi autonomie de la personne. Une grande majorité des auteures et auteurs en éducation des adultes prennent l'autonomie comme une donne.[8] Or, les thèmes d'études et de réflexion présentés dans le tableau 1 montrent que l'autonomie est un thème majeur pour les femmes de la recherche.[9] Aussi, tout comme Carole Gilligan (1982) a remis en question la notion d'autonomie dans la conception de l'adulte, il conviendrait de revoir cette notion d'autonomie dans l'apprentissage. Autonomie qui s'acquiert, qui se travaille, qui se développe mais qui n'est pas innée, qui ne va pas sans poser de problèmes et qui n'est pas nécessairement l'objectif principal de la formation. Carole Gilligan, dans son travail sur le développement moral a pris pour sujet d'études des femmes ayant à prendre une décision quant à un avortement. Le champ de l'éducation des adultes pourrait se trouver enrichi par l'étude d'autres situations de vie de femmes. Dans la présente recherche, le thème à l'étude est celui de la démarche féministe mais il y a nombre d'autres thèmes comme l'implication des femmes dans les écoles de leurs enfants ou encore le cheminement des féministes issues de milieu ouvrier. Par ailleurs, on a rarement étudié les connaissances sur lesquelles s'appuient les changements ni les changements qui donnent suite aux connaissances acquises.

Ce qui est en jeu ici c'est la construction des savoirs sur les femmes et la construction de savoirs inclusifs. La recherche a montré comment dans la démarche féministe l'acquisition des savoirs se fait notamment par des activités intenses de lectures. Elaine Posluns (1981) avait également noté ce phénomène quand il s'agit du changement d'attitudes à l'égard des femmes. Allen Tough (1978, 1982) l'avait relevé quand il s'agissait d'apprentissage relié à la compréhension. On peut se demander aussi si cette activité de lecture est un mode d'apprentissage plus spécifique aux femmes puisque, semble-t-il, les femmes lisent davantage que les hommes, sans doute un relent d'une réalité scolaire (Baudelot et Establet, 1992).

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[8] L'article de Douglas Joblin (1988) qui traite des postulats sous-jacents au concept d'autoformation est intéressant à cet égard.

[9] Kathleen Martindale dans son analyse autobiographique qui décrit sa démarche féministe en parle également: «As my understanding of the relationship between gender, race, and class deepened, I came to see that 'autonomy' and 'nurturing' are profoundly class- and race- as well as gender-loaded terms» (1992, p. 331).

Toujours est-il que la recherche sur la démarche féministe montre qu'il y a un lien étroit entre changement et connaissances. Or les connaissances dont il est question ici sont liées à des savoirs féministes, savoirs qui ont longtemps été tenus en dehors des lieux de transmission et de création du savoir. Ils n'étaient pas accessibles et il fallait aller les chercher par soi-même. D'où les processus d'autoformation empruntés. Même si pour nombre de féministes les changements ne se produisent pas aussi vite que souhaité, la situation a toutefois changé. Il existe tout au moins des programmes en études féministes dans les universités (voir le numéro spécial d'Atlantis).

La recherche sur la démarche féministe offre des balises à celles qui enseignent dans les programmes d'Études sur les femmes ou d'Études féministes. En effet, un groupe-classe en études féministes est composé de différents sous-groupes de femmes avec leurs caractéristiques propres. Il y a celles qui sont pré-démarche féministe, c'est-à-dire pré-prise de conscience. Pour elles, et cela peut dépendre du sujet à l'étude, le savoir féministe transmis n'a pas encore pris un sens personnel. Il peut être catégoriquement rejeté ou nié. Ces étudiantes ne sont pas toutes enclines à revendiquer des interactions innovatrices en classe et des approches critiques quant aux savoirs. En cela, l'analyse de Homa Hoodfar qui conteste les sous-entendus implicites en enseignement des pédagogies critiques ou/et féministes est révélatrice (Hoodfar, 1992, p. 309).

Le deuxième sous-groupe est composé de femmes en démarche féministe, c'est-à-dire en démarche de changement. Ici, on retrouve les trois étapes de la démarche féministe. Celle de prise de conscience en est une de découverte, de révélations. Les femmes qui se situent dans cette phase notent, au fil des cours, les points de domination, d'oppression. Elles vont de découvertes en découvertes. Ces découvertes peuvent être éprouvantes et générer de la colère, de la révolte. Les liens entre la situation collective des femmes et la sienne s'établissent jusqu'au moment où la femme qui fait cette démarche ne devient plus qu'un membre du groupe social des femmes. Elle y perd en partie son identité qui se confond avec celle des autres femmes. On entre ici dans un période un peu dogmatique qui rend le travail de la professeure relativement ardu car la pensée dans cette période est sans nuance, souvent radicale. C'est vers la fin de cette étape de prise de conscience que commence, en la superposant, la deuxième étape. L'étudiante qui s'inscrit dans la période d'acquisition de connaissances cherche maintenant à comprendre. Elle devient avide de savoirs. Elle écoute avec avidité et lit avec insatiabilité. Elle questionne. Elle interroge. Le savoir prend tranquillement sa place et elle aussi. Elle redécouvre petit à petit son identité personnelle et commence à savoir établir les liens entre elle et le groupe social des femmes qui, lui, perd de son monolithisme et commence à prendre une couleur différenciée. C'est sans doute dans cette période que des femmes peuvent poser aux professeures des questions personnelles pour mieux cerner les contradictions qu'elles perçoivent et trouver une façon de les résoudre. Ces questions souvent provocatrices sont pour elles la seule façon d'obtenir des éléments d'information au regard de leur questionnement. Après ces deux périodes, suit celle de l'action ou de la réinsertion sociale. En ce qui concernent les étudiantes des études féministes, certaines sont déjà impliquées ou veulent s'impliquer dans des groupes de femmes sur le campus ou dans le milieu. D'autres étudiantes souhaitent une action moins militante. Le changement est alors surtout interne, moins observable, et leur action se manifeste dans leur vie quotidienne, personnelle et professionnelle. L'action et la réinsertion sociale varient grandement d'une femme à l'autre. Mais quel que soit le choix d'action fait par les femmes, à cette étape-ci, elles poursuivent leur quête intellectuelle dans la structuration d'une pensée qui devient plus personnalisée. Il y a ici intégration du savoir et les femmes commencent à vouloir et pouvoir utiliser des approches de pensée critique. Ici, les femmes ont leur identité propre, un sentiment d'appartenance au groupe social des femmes et un sentiment de fierté d'être femme.

Le dernier sous-groupe dans la classe est celui des femmes dont la démarche féministe de changement est complétée dans la mesure où il n'y a plus de changement majeur de cadre de référence et qu'elles ont redéfini leur identité. C'est aussi le sous-groupe des femmes dont la démarche a toujours été féministe comme Jeanne en témoigne. Elles ont un vaste bagage de connaissances et veulent aller plus avant dans leurs connaissances qui commencent à prendre la perspective d'un champ d'études.

Dans une pratique d'enseignement et de formation en éducation des adultes, que ce soit dans des cours sur les femmes et l'éducation des adultes, des activités de formation au sein des groupes de femmes ou dans des interventions de changement au sein des organisations, cette grille d'analyse peut s'avérer des plus utiles. Elle facilite la tâche d'enseignement et d'intervention car elle donne des pistes d'interaction. Avec certaines personnes, il convient de se taire, d'écouter et au besoin d'ouvrir d'autres portes de la «subjectivité» pour favoriser la saisie des oppressions multiples propres à chacune (Currie, 1992). Avec d'autres, il est préférable d'expliquer ses positions personnelles et de parler de son parcours de vie; c'est le partage du vécu caractéristique des «pédagogies féministes» telles que décrites par les auteures en Études sur les femmes et Études féministes (Solar, 1992). Avec d'autres personnes encore, on peut participer à la construction de leur savoir en argumentant et en les aiguillant sur des écrits en lien avec leurs préoccupations; ceci leur permet d'établir un lien personnalisé avec le contenu des formations (Litner, Rossiter, Taylor, 1992, p. 299) et de les faire leurs.

Mais le modèle de la démarche féministe peut aussi s'appliquer aux professeures elles-mêmes. En effet, les écrits en pédagogie féministe traitent en général des dimensions pédagogiques de l'interaction en classe mais tous ou presque prennent pour acquis que les professeures sont féministes et qu'elles ont intégré les théories féministes. Il en est autrement dans la réalité. Les professeures et professeurs en études sur les femmes ne sont ni tous féministes ni ne partagent la même vision du féminisme et des cours en études sur les femmes (Eichler, 1990). Le modèle de la démarche féministe offre une grille d'auto-lecture de sa propre démarche ainsi qu'une grille pour comprendre où se situent les autres professeures et professeurs.

Notons ici que la démarche féministe n'est pas une démarche linéaire et que, une fois la démarche féministe enclenchée, les trois étapes peuvent être parfois concomitantes car, dans cette démarche, on n'aborde pas tous les thèmes en même temps même si le questionnement est relativement global au départ. Ainsi, la place et le rôle des femmes sont sans doute dans les premiers éléments de démarche par contre la réflexion sur la sexualité ou la religion peut ne survenir que beaucoup plus tard.

Conclusion

La démarche féministe, telle qu'étudiée dans cette recherche, met en lumière le parcours de femmes dans leur quête d'une compréhension du monde dans lequel les femmes sont visibles. Dans cette perspective, la recherche témoigne de l'importance d'un savoir dans la définition d'une identité valorisante. C'est un antidote à l'identité négative dont parle Erik Erikson (1982). Pour les femmes et en particulier pour les femmes ayant vécu une démarche féministe, la recherche procure des éléments de connaissances qui font écho à une réalité et qui met des mots sur un vécu qui les a transformées.

À partir du moment où l'on se met à étudier des aspects de la vie des femmes, on se rend compte que certaines notions sont marquées par des valeurs et des attentes sociales. Comme cela a été noté, c'est le cas pour la notion d'autonomie. On découvre également des perspectives différentes. Ainsi, la démarche féministe ajoute aux savoirs sur l'autoformation. Elle témoigne d'un parcours particulier de femmes et il ne faudrait pas en minimiser la portée même si l'échantillon de cette recherche est restreint. Les femmes qui ont vécu des démarches féministes sont nombreuses et de nombreuses autres femmes risquent d'en vivre une car l'éducation n'a pas encore su suffisamment intégrer les connaissances sur les femmes pour qu'il y ait actuellement équité intellectuelle.

La recherche sur la démarche féministe est unique en termes de parcours d'autoformation. La recherche de Pierre Grenier (1980) sur les projets éducatifs de femmes âgées est une des rares à avoir porté exclusivement sur des femmes. La démarche féministe met en évidence des parcours d'autoformation authentique dont l'objectif premier n'est ni un projet professionnel (Tough, 1978, 1982) ni un projet sur la vie de famille (Levinson, 1978; Shakelford, 1983, cité par Caffarella et O'Donnell, 1987) ni un projet d'acquisition de compétences ou d'autonomie (Knowles, 1975). Son objectif premier est de comprendre. Il ne s'agit pas d'un problème technique ou pragmatique à résoudre et la démarche n'est pas planifiée. Son objectif est existentiel. C'est une démarche de vie.

Ainsi, la recherche sur la démarche féministe propose une méthodologie qui permet de mettre en lumière un certain type de données, ce qui vient donc compléter d'autres connaissances issues d'autres démarches de recherche. De plus, en jumelant les analyses féministes de Colby, Home et Posluns à l'approche de Mezirow tout en utilisant celles de Freire et de Memmi, la recherche sur la démarche féministe propose un modèle de transformation du cadre de référence qui associe la dimension émancipatoire à l'oppression d'un groupe social étudié, ici les femmes, et l'occultation du savoir concernant ce groupe.

Les savoirs féministes en éducation des adultes apportent des dimensions différentes et innovatrices, rendant le champ de l'éducation des adultes plus inclusif. Mais le champ de l'éducation des adultes ici est étroit; il réfère à une discipline universitaire où effectivement les femmes sont peu présentes dans les contenus de ce savoir. Toutefois, l'éducation des adultes comme champ de pratique et comme multiplicité de lieux de formation est de beaucoup plus large et, dans celui-là, les femmes y ont toujours été des plus présentes. Il suffit de puiser des connaissances dans ce dernier pour enrichir le premier et ainsi faire que les deux ne soient plus mutuellement exclusifs.

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Table of Contents/Table des Matières

Articles

A Comparative Analysis of the Ideas of Gramsci and Freire from an Adult Education Perspective
Peter Mayo 1

Tele-Distance Education in Women's Studies: Issues for Feminist Pedagogy
Edith Smith and Valerie S. Norlen 29

Educating Union Canada
Bruce Spencer 45

Perspectives

Literacy as Agricultural Development Strategy: The Tanzanian Experience
Philemon A.K. Mushi 65

Book Reviews/Recensions

l'Andragogie: Champ d'études et profession, une histoire à suivre
Madeleine Blais, Estelle Chamberland, Mohamed Hrimech et André Thibault
Benoît Charbonneau 73

Adult Education, Experiential Learning and Social Change: The Postmodern Challenge
Danny Wildemeersch and Theo Janssen (Eds.)
Patti Gouthro 75

Fashioning Farmers: Ideology, Agricultural Knowledge and the Manitoba Farm Movement, 1980-1925
Jeffery M. Taylor
Bruce Spencer 79

The Third Contract: Theory and Practice in Trade Union Training
Michael Newman
Bruce Spencer 81

Graduate Degrees in Canada—Adult Education and Cognate Subjects/Diplôme d'études supérieures au Canada—éducation des adultes et sujets connexes 1993 85

Guidelines for Contributors/Directives pour les collaboratrices et collaborateurs 91

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ARTICLES

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE IDEAS OF GRAMSCI AND FREIRE FROM AN ADULT EDUCATION PERSPECTIVE

Peter Mayo
The University of Malta

Abstract

This article deals with ideas expressed by Antonio Gramsci (1891 - 1937) and Paulo Freire (b. 1927), which are of relevance to adult education. Both are widely regarded as key figures who can provide some of the underpinnings for a theory of radical adult education. The article therefore consists of a comparative analysis of these ideas to suggest a framework for a possible future synthesis of their work.

Résumé

Cet article rend compte des idées exprimées par Antonio Gramsci (1891 - 1937) et Paulo Freire (1927 -) lesquelles sont particulierement pertinentes en éducation des adultes. Ces deux auteurs sont largement considérés dans la mesure ou ils proposent quelques éléments fondamentaux pour une théorie radicale en éducation des adultes. En conséquence, cet article offre une analyse comparative de ces idées pouvant conduire a un grille d'analyse propre a une synthese ultérieure de leurs travaux.

Antonio Gramsci and Paulo Freire are widely regarded as two key figures who can provide some of the underpinnings for a theory of radical adult education. It is often argued that there exist affinities between the two (cf., Allman 1988, 1994; Connelly 1992; Leonard 1993; Ransome 1992). In this article,[1] I attempt a "side by side" comparative analysis of their ideas relevant to adult education, to suggest a framework for a synthesis of their work. The article will limit itself to a contextualization of the two writers' works and to a critical exposition of their ideas, bringing out the convergences and contrasts.

BIOGRAPHICAL AND CONTEXTUAL COMPARISONS

BIOGRAPHICAL

Prior to engaging in a comparative analysis of the two writers' ideas relevant to adult education, one would do well to locate them biographically and contextually. Over twenty years separate the work of Gramsci from that of Freire. Gramsci delivered his first public addresses in 1916 and was still at work on the *Prison Notebooks (Quaderni del Carcere)* in 1936, the penultimate year of his life (Hoare and Nowell Smith 1971; Festa 1976). Freire, for his part, is believed to have first expressed his thoughts on the philosophy of education in 1959 (Shaull 1970). Despite the gap in time, there seem to be biographical similarities. Both are not of humble origin. Fiori, quoting Gramsci's brother, Gennaro, indicates that their father's family "was typical of the better-off southern class that supplies the state bureaucracy with its middle-rank officials" (1970, 10). As for his mother's family, they are described as having been "middling folk, quite nicely off by the standards of our villages" (ibid.). Freire, the son of a French immigrant, claims to have come from a bourgeois family (Shaull 1970). Both, however, fell on hard times during their childhood, Gramsci's father having been arrested on charges of petty embezzlement and the Freire family having suffered from the effects of The Great Depression. This had an adverse effect on their initial schooling and exposed them, at an early stage in their life, to the concrete, material realities of poverty and, in Gramsci's case, work (Shaull 1970; Fiori 1970). Furthermore, the formative experiences to which both writers were exposed occurred in areas characterized by a general impoverishment and industrial underdevelopment, namely Sardinia and Recife. Both eventually became socially and politically active in industrial metropolitan centers (Turin and Sao Paulo), although at different stages in their lives. Gramsci left Sardinia for Turin during his youth while Freire became engaged as Education Secretary in Sao Paulo well into his sixties (regarding this experience, see Freire 1991, 1993; Torres 1993, 1994; Torres and Freire, 1994).

These biographical parallels having been underlined (for good biographical accounts, see Taylor 1993; Gerhardt 1994), it would be interesting to explore whether Gramsci's ideas contributed to Freire's formation as political pedagogue and theorist. Does Gramsci figure in Freire's intellectual biography? Freire is on record as having acknowledged Gramsci as a writer who influenced him profoundly "with his keen insights into other cultures" (Freire 1985, 182). The ideas of Antonio Gramsci figure prominently in his conversational books (cf., Freire and Faundez 1989; Horton and Freire 1990). Furthermore, when discussing his formative years, Freire (Horton and Freire 1990) mentions Gramsci, together with Fanon, Memmi, and Vygotsky as an important source of influence on him. Freire was introduced to Gramsci's writings by Marcela Gajardo in 1968. He was in Chile at the time.

Having mentioned this important piece of biographical data, communicated to Carlos Torres by Freire himself,[2] one ought to underline that Freire's work is very much part of the tradition of popular education in Latin America which, according to LaBelle, "draws primarily from alternative Humanist Marxist interpretations offered by individuals like Antonio Gramsci" (1986, 47). One should also bear in mind the great reception which Gramsci's work had in Latin America and its influence on the New Left there, a point stressed by Faundez (Freire and Faundez 1989). The foregoing provides ample evidence of a direct influence by Gramsci on Freire.

HISTORICAL

Both Gramsci and Freire were politically and/or pedagogically active in situations characterized by an intense class struggle and the mobilization of popular forces. Turin, the city where Gramsci was active, was "the Italian Petrograd" (Adamson 1980, 50). Its highly militant proletariat was involved in a series of insurrections. Galvanized by the news of the October Revolution in Russia, many working class leaders believed that a similar event was about to take place in Turin.

The same applies to the situation in Latin America, where the staging of a successful revolution in the region (the Cuban Revolution) must have generated enthusiasm which served as a catalyst for the advancement of popular forces (Torres 1993). This is true of Brazil in the late fifties and early sixties. Trade unions, peasant leagues and worker organizations, besides radical religious movements (DeKadt 1970; Jarvis 1987; Elias 1994), asserted their presence when the country was governed by the populist administration of Joao Goulart who partly sought to create his power base among the peasants. Goulart sought to empower the latter by sponsoring a literacy program in the impoverished *Nord-este*, coordinated by Freire, which would have enabled them to vote (Ireland 1987; Torres 1990).

In both instances, however, the entire process of mass popular mobilization was brought to an abrupt end by right wing takeovers. In Italy's case, it was Mussolini's "march" on Rome in 1922 which led to the fascist seizure of power and Gramsci's eventual arrest. In the case of Brazil, it was the military coup which toppled the Goulart government and eventually led to Freire's banishment from his homeland.

CONTEXTUAL FOCUS

These biographical experiences may serve to explain some of the respective choices of focus in Gramsci's and Freire's writings. Gramsci focused his attention, for the most part, on Western capitalist society which he regarded as being characterized by the presence of an advanced proletariat and a well developed *Burgerliche Gesellschaft* (civil society).[3] This is the situation he encountered in Turin, where he became active as both journalist and political activist, after having been attracted to the city by means of a university scholarship. Perhaps one reason why he focused, for revolutionary purposes, primarily on the urban industrial proletariat is that, "the Turin proletariat, by a whole series of actions, had shown that they had reached a high level of maturity and capacity" (Gramsci 1957, 40). It was very militant and enjoyed a tradition of organization. It made its presence strongly felt in a situation which led many to believe that a revolution was imminent. In contrast, Gramsci regarded southern Italy as "an area of extreme social disintegration" (1957, 42). He must have seen less revolutionary potential in the peasants since he argues that they had "no cohesion among themselves" (ibid.).

Freire devoted his attention, at least in his better known works, to areas inhabited by peasants who were either landless or were experiencing the first stages of their country's post-revolutionary or post-independence period, and marginal urban dwellers, with a recent peasant past, living on the periphery of the cities (Torres 1993). Once again, this focus is no doubt influenced by the particular context in which he worked. Freire worked in northeastern Brazil and, following his banishment and a short stay in Bolivia, he went to Chile where he worked with peasants in the context of the Agrarian Reform. This presents an interesting contextual contrast with Gramsci's work, although, in his later "talking books" (cf., Shor and Freire 1987; Horton and Freire 1990), Freire, perhaps drawing on his later experiences in the U.S. and Europe, focuses on a much larger context, including industrially developed areas. This renders the comparison with Gramsci more direct.

What seems to be common to the context in which Gramsci worked and, at least, one of the contexts for Freire's literacy activities, namely the Chilean context, is that the initiatives were being carried out in situations characterized by economic and social transformation. Piedmont was going through a process of rapid industrialization. A change in the mode of production was taking place. In Chile, under the Christian Democrat government of Eduardo Frei, an attempt was being made to change the social relations of Agrarian production. Luria (1976) proposed, through his research in Central Asia, that consciousness changes when there is a transformation in the basic forms of social life (cf., Youngman 1986). The consideration which emerges and seems to be pertinent also to Gramsci's context is that, perhaps, radical adult education initiatives intended to alter the level of consciousness and aimed towards social transformation are most likely to prove effective in a situation characterized by a change in the mode of production. It would also be relevant to point out that, in Freire's case, we are dealing with the context of an adult literacy program and Luria considers literacy acquisition, apart from a change in the mode of production, as capable of effecting changes in the people's consciousness (ibid.).

It would be amiss to distinguish between the respective contexts in terms of such "neat" and problematic categories as "First" and "Third" world or "Developed" and "Underdeveloped" countries. With the exception of the former Portuguese colonies in Africa, the contexts of Gramsci's and Freire's writings are much more complex than any of these divisions would suggest. The biographical parallels, drawn earlier, indicate the coexistence of industrially developed regions alongside industrially underdeveloped ones, a situation which is, after all, pervasive in the Capitalist mode of production.

Gramsci's Italy and Freire's Brazil are characterized by a state of internal dependency or, to use Gramsci's term, "internal colonialism." In Brazil, a national indigenous bourgeoisie, located in the southeast area, is engaged in an alliance with the rural landowning oligarchy in the northeast. As a result of the alliance, the bourgeoisie established its control over the rest of the country and "the expansion of industry in the southeast of Brazil was premised both politically and economically, upon the stagnation of the northeast" (Ireland 1987, 12). As Ireland (1987) explains, the pact which constituted the basis of the alliance guaranteed the perpetuation of preestablished forms of landownership. Land, therefore, remained in the possession of the rural oligarchies, thus reinforcing the semifeudal relations which peasants had to accept in order to gain access to it. Southern Brazil had no interest in the industrial development of the northeast and sought to stave off any competition from that region. "It was interested, however, in securing a domestic 'colonial' consumer market for its manufactured goods" (ibid., 13). Likewise, by virtue of an alliance with the landowners in the rural Italian south, a situation for which Gramsci held the southern intelligentsia to be partly responsible (Nairn 1982), the industrial bourgeoisie in the north exercised economic and political control over the rest of the Italian peninsula (Ireland 1987). In Gramsci's words, "the north concretely was an 'octopus' which enriched itself at the expense of the south, and that its economic-industrial increment was in direct proportion to the impoverishment of the economy and agriculture of the south" (Gramsci in Ireland 1987, 11).

PARALLELS

THE POLITICS OF EDUCATION

Having contextualized Gramsci's and Freire's work, I now set about comparing their ideas, starting with an exposition of what I regard as parallel views. Both stress the political nature of adult education. For Gramsci, every relationship of hegemony is essentially an educational relationship (Torres 1985). Hegemony is the key concept in Gramsci's social theory, a concept he employed with a view to describing how the domination of one class over another is achieved by a combination of political and ideological means (Abercrombie et al. 1984). For Freire, educating is an eminently political act: "it is impossible to deny, except intentionally or by innocence the political aspect of education" (Freire 1976, 70).

Because of his political involvement and leadership, Gramsci's writings reflect a concern with tactics and strategies intended to enable the proletariat to gain access to power. They are supported by a revolutionary theory which is, for the most part, explicit, though at times cryptic (e.g., *Quaderni del Carcere*). Despite the fact that a lot of his writings are scattered and some are fragmentary, a Gramscian theory of revolutionary strategy can be put together.

It has often been argued (e.g., Youngman 1986), that Freire's ideas are not supported by an explicit revolutionary theory. I would argue, however, that Freire's writings are underpinned by the coexistence of Christian and Marxist ideals (cf., Elias 1994), very much the kind of coexistence that informs Liberation Theology which constitutes the basis of a very important politico-religious social movement. This movement played a very important role in the Nicaraguan revolution and can spread itself not only across but also beyond the Latin American context. Its vision is a revolutionary one which emphasizes an ongoing struggle against all forms of oppression and social injustice with a view to realizing the Kingdom of God on earth (Giroux 1988). The respective ideas of the two writers are therefore informed by an overarching vision of social transformation–a transformation of society into one devoid of all forms of structural and symbolic violence.

CIVIL SOCIETY

The institutions which, for Gramsci, play an important part in exercising this educational, hegemonic relationship are those that constitute "civil society." It is these institutions which, for Gramsci, provide the terrain wherein the contest for power takes place. They are conceived of as an outer ditch that helps prop up the State which, in Gramsci's view, cannot be conquered by a frontal attack, what he calls a "war of manoeuvre." On the contrary, one has to engage, according to Gramsci, in a "war of position," an ideological war waged in and across the entire complex of "civil society" (Hoare and Nowell Smith 1971, 238). Adult education constitutes an important sphere of "civil society" and is therefore a site of struggle. It can serve to consolidate as well as challenge the existing hegemony, in the latter case serving as a site of counter-hegemonic struggle. It can serve as one of the means whereby, in Gramsci's view, a revolutionary group aspiring to power must convince, both directly and indirectly, other groups and social sectors that it possesses a "weltanschauung" which provides a viable and better proposition when compared with the prevailing one. It has to forge an alliance with these other groups and social sectors in the form of an ***historic bloc***:

> Every revolution has been preceded by an intense labor of criticism, by the diffusion of culture and the spread of ideas among masses of men [*sic*] who are at first resistant and think only of solving their own immediate economic and political problems for themselves who have no ties of solidarity with others in the same condition (Hoare and Matthews 1977, 12).

Using a theoretically less expansive mode of analysis, but one which focuses directly on pedagogy, Freire also sees action within the complex of "civil society" as serving either to consolidate existing power relations or to transform them. In his view, traditional pedagogical methods, characterized by a "top to bottom" communicative approach, a case of what he calls "banking education," constitute an example of those "prescriptive" social practices. He regards these practices as a hallmark of the relationship between oppressor and oppressed (Mayo 199[illegible]):

> One of the basic elements of the relationship between oppressor and oppressed is prescription (Freire 1970a, 31).

Banking education, therefore, fosters undemocratic social relations and the inculcation of what one may regard as hegemonic ideas that support prevailing structures of power and processes of domination. For Freire, however, the transformative "cultural action" of non-formal adult education agencies, notably popular education groups/cultural circles, constitute some of the means whereby the climate for social transformation is created.

In sum, both Gramsci and Freire see educational activity, in the area of "civil society," as essential to transforming existing power relations. In Gramsci's terms, it serves to undermine the existing hegemony.

AGENCY

The foregoing indicates that both Gramsci and Freire accord an important role to agency in the context of revolutionary activity for social transformation. The two explicitly repudiate evolutionary economic determinist theories of social change. Freire sees them as being conducive to a "liberating fatalism" (Freire 1985, 179), while Gramsci regards them as theories of "grace and predestination" (Gramsci 1957, 75). In an early article, entitled "La Rivoluzione *Contro il Capitale*" ("The Revolution against *Das Kapital*"), Gramsci had argued that the Bolshevik Revolution proved Karl Marx wrong (cf., Lojacono 1977; Clark 1977; Adamson 1980).[4] He called into question what he then had seen as the rigid canons of historical materialism. Angelo Broccoli (1972) argues that one of the reasons why the young Gramsci was attracted to the works of Benedetto Croce was simply because the Neapolitan philosopher affirmed human values in the face of the sense of acquiescence and passivity conveyed by positivism. Gramsci associated this positivism with the mechanistic and deterministic theories of the Second International and of such people as Plekhanov.

> For Croce, man [*sic*] was the unique protagonist of history. His [*sic*] thought stimulates action–concrete "ethical-political" action–which is the creation of new history" (Fiori 1970a, 239).

The emphasis on voluntarism and on the cultural and spiritual basis of revolutionary activity is very strong in the writings of the young Gramsci (Morrow 1987). This emphasis is also to be found in Freire's early writings (Youngman 1986). This particular aspect of the two writers" work is generally regarded to have been the product of Hegelian influences. In Gramsci's case, however, it would be more appropriate to speak in terms of "neo-Hegelianism," the kind of idealist philosophy derived from Croce (Broccoli 1972; Morrow 1987). In Freire's case, the Hegelianism may have partly been derived via the writings of such Christian authors as Chardin, Mounier and Neibuhr (Youngman 1986). In later writings, however, this idealist position becomes somewhat modified as both Gramsci and Freire begin to place greater emphasis on the role of economic conditions in processes of social change. In the former's case, this may be evidenced by the development of the Factory Council Theory and Gramsci's advocacy of the councils" role in the education of workers (Morrow 1987). In Freire's case, this can be seen from the 1978 book, *Pedagogy in Process*, in which popular education is analyzed against the background of the social relations of production (Youngman 1986).[5]

INTELLECTUALS

The importance of the role of human agency, within the context of social transformation, is rendered more pronounced in Gramsci's theory concerning intellectuals. Gramsci's "organic" intellectuals are the thinking and organizing functionaries of either a dominant class attempting to maintain its hegemony. Alternatively, they could be the thinking and organizing functionaries of a "subaltern" class striving to create an alternative hegemony. For Gramsci believes that intellectuals are not "free floating," or "socially unattached," in the Mannheimian sense of the terms, but are very much tied to a social group:

> Every social group, coming into existence on the original terrain of an essential function in the world of economic production, creates together with itself, organically, one or more strata of intellectuals which give it homogeneity and an awareness of its own function, not only in the economic but also in the social and political fields (Hoare and Nowell Smith 1971, 5).

Gramsci's study on intellectuals was, of course, motivated by his concern for the proletariat, the class to which he was committed as activist and ideologue, and its ability to develop its own organizing and thinking functionaries. Adult educators, who help empower members of this class, would fit the category of "organic" intellectuals in the Gramscian sense.[6] After all, Gramsci considered the task of these intellectuals, with respect to the masses, to be an "educative" one (Merrington 1977). Gramsci believed that, in so far as the working class is concerned, it would be possible to assimilate traditional intellectuals but it would be more desirable for this class to produce its own organic intellectuals. Regarding adult education, one has to refer to the popular universities, regarded by Hoare and Nowell Smith (1971) to be similar to institutes of the Workers' Educational Association. One of the reasons why Gramsci considered the Italian popular universities as not operating in the interest of the working class was that the intellectuals involved were not organic to it and were not therefore in a position to elaborate on and render concrete the problems and principles associated with the masses in the course of their everyday life (Broccoli 1972). Gramsci, therefore, must have pinned great hopes on those proletarian workers who functioned as adult educators in the factories. These were, for Gramsci, the true organic intellectuals. They included both educators in the area of technical education and educators in the area of sociopolitical subjects (cf., Entwistle 1979). Moreover, he constantly emphasized, in his journalistic and other early writings (cf., *Scritti Giovanili*), the need for the proletariat to establish adult education centers very much on the lines of the group surrounding the journal *Clarté*, associated with such people as Romain Rolland and Henri Barbusse, and the *Proletkult* movement in Russia (Broccoli 1972). They were regarded as groups or movements which enable working class people to come into contact with intellectuals whose economic interests were not different from theirs (Broccoli 1972).

There are indirect connections between Gramsci and Freire also in so far as the issue of the intellectuals is concerned. First, a lot of facilitators operating in Christian Base Communities in Brazil, where the pedagogical influence of Freire is so strong, refer to themselves as "organic intellectuals." This should not be surprising since, according to Thomas LaBelle, Gramsci is "probably the most frequently cited Marxist associated with popular education" (1986, 185), the kind of non-formal education, one may hasten to add, of which Freire is the foremost representative.

Second, Freire appears to draw on Gramsci's theory concerning intellectuals when offering advice to the revolutionary leaders of Guinea Bissau regarding adult basic education for the masses.[7] Drawing also on Amilcar Cabral, Freire writes about the need to create a "new type of intellectual" and ponders the possibility of some of these intellectuals experiencing "their easter" and of committing "class suicide" to integrate themselves with the peasant masses (Freire 1978, 104). Despite the change in terminology, the views expressed by Freire, with respect to the development of a "new type of intellectual" in Guinea Bissau, appear to be a direct borrowing from Gramsci (ibid., 143). I would submit that Freire's advice is in line with the idea of forming intellectuals in such a way that they become organic to the class they serve. He suggests that students from the Lyceé, and therefore the country's potential intellectuals, be encouraged to participate fully in programs of popular education designed for the rural masses. He advocates a process whereby these students would teach and work with the peasants, in a manner which was reminiscent of the *Brigadistas* in the Cuban Literacy Campaign (Bhola 1984; Leiner 1986) and which anticipated the literacy workers, also called Brigadistas, of the Nicaraguan "Cruzada" (Arnove 1986).

One may argue that Freire regarded all facilitators engaged in his kind of pedagogy as organic intellectuals. He stressed, throughout his writings, the bond that should exist between them and the Oppressed on whose behalf they carry out their activities and with whom they teach and learn. Freire underlines the organic nature of the relationship between facilitators and the class of people they deal with when using such words as "commitment" to (1970a, 78), and "growing" with, the group (1971, 61).

Gramsci no doubt emphasized the strong relationship which had to exist between the "organic intellectuals" of the working/peasant classes and the masses. He regarded it as incumbent on these intellectuals to ***direct*** the masses, tutoring that which is "positive" about their "***common sense***" with a view to transforming it into "***good sense***." Common sense is, according to Gramsci, "a conception which, even in the brain of one individual, is fragmentary, incoherent and inconsequential" (Hoare and Nowell Smith 1971, 419). As Hoare and Nowell Smith put it, it constitutes "the incoherent set of generally held assumptions and beliefs common to any given society" (ibid., 323). Good sense is "practical empirical common sense" (ibid., 323); that is to say, common sense devoid of its contradictory, wayward elements and rendered into a systematic and coherent view.

Gramsci acknowledges a certain superiority, on the part of the intellectuals, in their educational role with respect to the masses. This could easily have led to accusations of ***vanguardism***. In my view, however, the Italian theorist attempts to provide a theoretical solution to the problem by advocating a reciprocal relationship between intellectual and masses:

> The process of development is tied to a dialectic between the intellectuals and the masses. The intellectual stratum develops both quantitatively and qualitatively, but every leap forward towards a new breadth and complexity of the intellectual stratum is tied to an analogous movement on the part of the mass of the "simple," who raise themselves to higher levels of culture and at the same time extend their circle of influence toward the stratum of the specialized intellectuals, producing outstanding individuals and groups of greater or lesser importance. (Hoare and Nowell Smith 1971, 334-335)

This relationship had to be "active and reciprocal," through which "every teacher is always a pupil and every pupil a teacher" (Gramsci in Merrington 1977, 169). I take this to mean that Gramsci favored a relationship between intellectuals and masses wherein the former act in a ***directive*** capacity with the latter, on the basis of their superior theory. At the same time, they engage with them in a reciprocal communicative manner, learning from them in the process. The issue of reciprocity is also to be found in Freire's work in which the emphasis is, for the most part, on the creation of horizontal social relations between educator and educatees. These relations are characterized by dialogue through which mutual learning between educator and educatees takes place (Freire 1970a). In his early work, the directive relationship between facilitators and learners is not stressed. The emphasis on directiveness is, however, evident in a later work, precisely the conversational book with Ira Shor, in which Freire states unequivocally that, when the educator begins the dialogue, "he or she knows a great deal, first in terms of knowledge and second in terms of the horizon that she or he wants to get to" (Shor and Freire 1987, 103). Admittedly, the concept of what the teacher knows is much more diffuse in Freire than in Gramsci, the latter writing from a Marxist perspective. As in Gramsci, Freire argues that the adult educator and learners are not on equal terms, as far as knowledge is concerned.

What is common is that there exists a recognition that it is possible, if not indispensable, for intellectuals/educators to possess a theoretical understanding which is "superior" to that of the learners.[8] Freire argues that this directiveness should not be brought about at the expense of a reciprocal, dialogical relationship between facilitator and learners. This point calls to mind Gramsci's insistence on the existence of a reciprocal relationship between intellectual and masses.

FROM *OBJECT* TO *SUBJECT*

The insistence by both authors on the development of such a relationship is in keeping with the image of human beings that they project. It is the image of ***subject***. This role is to be fulfilled in several spheres of life including the cultural circle and the workplace. One area in which Gramsci projects the image of human beings as subject is undoubtedly that of workers' education. Gramsci's Factory Council Theory should, in my view, be recognized as constituting a very significant contribution to the ongoing debate on adult education for industrial democracy. In these writings, which relate to the "Red years" in the history of Turin, Gramsci argued vehemently that the trade union, traditionally an important agent of adult education, could not organize the proletariat. He argued that it is a form of capitalist society and not a potential successor to it. It appeared to Gramsci to be a reformist institution whose leaders believe "in the perpetuity and fundamental perfections of the institutions of the democratic state [which could be modified here and there] but in fundamentals must be respected" (Hoare and Matthews 1977, 76).

Such reformist institutions could not, in Gramsci's view, promote the image of human beings as ***subject***. In his view, the working class needed a vehicle which would enable workers to transcend their interests as wage earners since these interests are determined by the Capitalist wage relation. This vehicle was to be a social movement intended to engender worker control. It was the Factory Council Movement which was to provide the means whereby the proletariat could "educate itself, gather experience and acquire a responsible awareness of the duties incumbent upon classes that hold the power of the state" (Gramsci in Merrington 1977, 158). This movement was therefore intended to transform the workplace, an important site of social practice, into a site of adult learning.

The councils were to serve as the agency whereby workers experience "the unity of the industrial process [which entails] collaboration of manual workers, skilled workers, administrative employees, engineers and technical directors" (Hoare and Matthews 1977, 110). In a process inspired by Marx's notion of a "polytechnical education," knowledge of the entire production process was imparted. This knowledge was to be combined with other knowledge, provided by organic intellectuals, acting as adult educators, in the areas of economics, administration and social skills. Such an all-encompassing knowledge was meant to give workers the kind of mental control necessary to "replace management's power in the factory" (Gramsci in Mancini 1973, 5). In a later piece, written and published in *L'Ordine Nuovo*, in 1921, Gramsci argued for the transformation of trade unions through a fusion with the factory councils: "...fusion must take place naturally, spontaneously, and the unions must base themselves firmly upon the councils, becoming the means for their centralization" (Hoare 1978, 21). A new trade organization would thus come into being which would strengthen the means whereby, from ***object***, selling the commodity labor, the worker would become ***subject***, controlling the entire workplace in a radically democratic manner. The issue of ***control*** is a crucial one in Gramsci as in Freire.

The transformation of human beings from ***object*** to ***subject*** is of central concern to Paulo Freire. In his proposed process of cultural action, the learners participate in the unveiling of their own reality, in the creation of their own knowledge. The horizontal social relations of education, which are encouraged, are intended to project the image of the learners as both educatees and educators. They "teach" the facilitators who relearn their knowledge through dialogical interaction with the learners and their fellow circle members. Ideally, both educators and educatees modify their views through the constant group interactions taking place. When taped, their conversations often become the subject of their reading texts (Freire 1973), a situation which renders them ***subject*** in that it confirms them as authors of their own knowledge. Furthermore, instead of being passive recipients of knowledge, they are allowed to reclaim a voice which an entire prescriptive social system appears to have denied them. Furthermore, the pedagogy of which they partake is one based on ***the question*** (Freire in Bruss and Macedo 1985), a pedagogical process which Freire considers indispensable for the kind of problem posing education that he advocates.

This approach would, ideally, enable the learner to acquire the decision making skills necessary for her or him to become an active participant, a "critically conscious" agent (Allman 1988), in the life of the community. The sense of participation, on which any theory of the subject is contingent, is emphasized by Freire in those sections of his publications, in the English language, in which he writes about the application of his methods in the context of agricultural production:

> "When all this land belonged to one latifundio," said another man in the same conversation, "there was no reason to read and write. We weren't responsible for anything. The boss gave the orders and we obeyed. Why read and write? Now it's a different story." (Freire 1970b, 22-23)

The passage relates to Freire's experience in the literacy program which was carried out in the context of the Chilean Agrarian Reform, a case of carrying out transformative adult education activities in the context of a change in the mode of production–the sort of situation which Luria studied empirically. With the latifundium system having been done away with, it did become "a different story" for the peasants. These words were spoken during the "Asentamiento," the period of settlement intended to precede the one in which lands were to be assigned to peasants. Freire's process of a participatory adult literacy education was being used as a vehicle so that the peasants could acquire the skills to eventually run their own lands. In Gramsci, we discover a theory of the ***subject*** in a proposed process of adult education for a participatory industrial democracy. In Freire, one discovers a similar theory of the ***subject*** in a proposed process of adult education for a participatory agrarian democracy. The concern in both contexts is with the struggle for popular power and therefore a radical democracy in the field of work.

PRAXIS

Central to the process of learning advocated by the two authors, in both contexts, is the concept of ***praxis***. I would submit that it is the key concept in their writings which are of relevance to adult education. The concept is central to Gramsci's thought. The term "philosophy of praxis" appears in the *Quaderni* both as a euphemism for Marxism, to circumvent the prison censor, and as a term which refers to what he regards as the central tenet of Marxism. This is the forging of a strong relationship between theory and practice, consciousness and action (Hoare and Nowell Smith 1971).

Praxis lies at the heart of Freire's "Method," which entails a process of codification and decodification whereby elements related to the social reality of the adult learner are objectified in such a way that they can be perceived in a partly detached and more critical manner. For Freire, ***praxis*** entails transformative action and reflection:

> But men's [*sic*] activity consists of action and reflection: it is praxis, it is transformation of the world. (Freire 1970a, 119)

The concept is a recurring one in Freire's writings. The discussion on exile in Freire's 1989 conversational book with Antonio Faundez deals with this issue. Having been forcibly and temporarily detached from the world of their daily practical activity, the two writers claim to have reflected more critically upon it. They claim to have developed insights which, they felt, made them view their respective country and culture in a different light (cf., Freire and Faundez 1989).

With Freire, however, the concept of ***praxis*** is used differently in different works. In his early works, it is used in a manner reminiscent of the early Marx. The area of practical activity, on which the learner reflects, is her or his cultural and social surroundings. In *Pedagogy in Process*, however, the concept is used in a manner which recalls *Capital* (Youngman 1986). The area of reflection is the area of one's labor activity, the area of production. It is a process of ***praxis*** characterized by an absolute fusion between education and production (cf., Letter 11 in Freire 1978). It is this version of adult education through ***praxis*** which is similar to that provided by Gramsci in some of his journalistic writings and, most notably, in his Factory Council theory. The search for a strong relationship between education and production is an ongoing one in Gramsci. We can see this in his fascination with forms of art that stress the relationship between human beings and industry (he engages in a correspondence with Trotsky on Futurism). The sense of ***praxis***, entailing a strong link between theory and practice, learning and productive work, is conveyed, somewhat idealistically, in the following piece:

> The worker studies and works; his [*sic*] labor is study and his [*sic*] study is labor. In order to be a specialist in his [*sic*] work, the worker on average puts in the same number of years that it takes to get a specialized degree. The worker, however, carries out his [*sic*] studies in the very act of doing immediately productive work.... Having become dominant, the working class

wants manual labor and intellectual labor to be joined in the schools and thus creates a new educational tradition (Forgacs and Nowell Smith 1985, 43).

It is often argued that ***praxis***, on its own, does not bring about social change. It has been a standard critique of Freire that the kind of ***praxis*** he advocates, at least in his earlier and most popular work, is "intellectual praxis." This is a kind of ***praxis*** which is capable of transforming the learners' consciousness but would not, however, lead them to engage in social action to transform their situation of oppression (LaBelle 1986). If linked with social action, however, the educational process would involve "revolutionary praxis" which is akin to what Marx calls, in the third of his *Theses on Feuerbach*, "revolutionizing practice" (Marx in Tucker 1978, 144). It is the kind of ***praxis*** which not only changes the people's consciousness but, being carried out in relation to a strong social movement, contributes to social and political action (LaBelle 1986). This was very much the case with the consciousness raising activities, inspired by Freire's educational thought (Arnove 1986), which took place in Nicaragua prior to Somoza's overthrow.

ADULT EDUCATION AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Gramsci's bitter final experiences with the Factory Council Movement must have led him to appreciate the importance of carrying out counter hegemonic activities not in isolation but in relation to a strong movement or alliance of movements. Reflecting, in his prison years, on the demise of the Movement, Gramsci formulated the concept of the ***historic bloc*** which implies a concerted counter hegemonic effort engaged in on all fronts. It is an effort which entails the support of numerous other social groups or movements fighting for similar social justice. He advocated efforts, and I would add here, adult education initiatives, which had to be carried out in the context of an alliance between the industrial proletariat and the peasants.[9] This alliance was to be created in a spirit of "national popular" unity. *L'Unitá*, the name of the PCI's (now PDS) newspaper, which he himself chose, was meant to reflect this view–a unity of all popular forces in a new ***historic bloc*** (Amendola 1978).

Freire too argues in favor of carrying out transformative action not in isolation but in relation to strong social movements or an alliance of movements. In his later writings, Freire has been maintaining that adult education cannot "transform society by itself" (Shor and Freire 1987, 37). He argues for a process of counter-hegemonic education carried out with the support of social movements. It is for this reason that he urges educators to "expose themselves to the greater dynamism, the greater mobility [found] inside social movements" (ibid., 39).

His ideas and work are often seen against the background of radical religious movements in Latin America (e.g., Acao Popular), most particularly the Liberation Theology Movement which, in the case of Nicaragua, played an important role, as part of a convergence of forces, in the process of political change (cf., Mayo 1993). As Education Secretary in Sao Paulo, he has recently administered educational programs, including popular education ones, in concert with mass organizations/movements.[10] Furthermore, the party to which he belongs, the *Partido* *dos Trabalhadores* (PT) has a history of links with grassroots movements and trade unions (Ireland 1987). It is possibly in this respect that one of Freire's greatest contributions to adult education, not only in industrially developing but also in industrially developed countries, could be found. While we do come across centers and groups who engage in progressive adult education (e.g., Highlander, the Jesuit Centre in Toronto) we must not overlook the fact that a number of progressive educators operate within settings and organizations in which the prevailing ideology is diametrically opposed to theirs (Mayo 1994b). A case in point would be that of an adult educator employed by a training agency. Social movements would, in the circumstances, provide support for people working for change in different sites of social practice, including sites of adult education practice. A lot of adult education in Europe, for instance, is of the vocational type. And it would not be amiss to state that a lot of adult learning in the US constitutes a type of technical training (ibid.).[11] Educators inspired by Gramsci, Freire, Horton and so forth, who engage in a "war of position," being, in Freire's own terms, tactically inside and strategically outside the system, need a movement which would sustain them in their work–a movement which would provide them with space wherein they can share ideas and engage in solidarity. Isolation could otherwise result in burn out, cynicism and, ultimately, loss of hope.

These movements would also have to sustain groups and organizations which have to modify their agendas because of their dependence for funding on different sorts of agencies. It is imperative, from the social movement's point of view, that, in their quest for funding, these organizations do not lose sight of their original goals.

Furthermore, if movements, and the organizations related to them, are to prove effective as a force for social change in the Western world, they need to explore openings in all sectors of society. This entails the creation of autonomous learning programs on the lines of the many experiences which constitute the repressed tradition of independent working class education in Britain, the US, Germany and Australia, to name but a few countries (Sharp et al. 1989). To these, I would add Italy. In fact, the *Vita Morale* clubs (working class cultural centers) of Gramsci's period in Turin, are part of this tradition. Of course, in this day and age, when it is increasingly being recognized that social class is not the only source of oppression, the foci of these independent adult learning programs will be various. In such programs, it would be useful to draw on Gramsci's concept of conjunctural analysis, involving the distinction between movements and situations which are "organic" and therefore relatively permanent and others which are "conjunctural" and therefore occasional, immediate and almost accidental (Gramsci in Hoare and Nowell Smith 1971, 177-178). Equally useful would be Freire's consciousness raising learning processes. Such programs for change would, of course, focus on an exploration of the contradictions that are concealed by dominant ideologies (Mayo 1993) such as those of meritocracy, the free market, competitivity, patriarchy, eurocentrism and so forth. The advocacy by Gramsci and Freire of the need to carry out transformative initiatives, within the context of a movement or alliance of movements, also marks a point of similarity between their ideas, relevant to adult education. Another point of similarity concerns the issue of language. It is to a discussion of this issue that I now turn.

LANGUAGE

There is a belief, in Freire, in the virtues of dialects, their "unwritten grammar" and their "unrecognized beauty" (Shor and Freire 1987, 72). This notwithstanding, he stresses the importance of a language which serves as a source of unity and organization for the oppressed. He advocates the use of"national popular" languages, or media of expression, in literacy campaigns. Writing about Guinea Bissau, he states that the use of the colonizer's language, Portuguese, instead of the more popular Creole, was the main reason for the disastrous outcome of the literacy program in the former Portuguese colony. Nevertheless, he underlines the importance of the Oppressed learning the standard language, as a means of survival in the struggle for power:

> Finally, teachers have to say to students. Look, in spite of being beautiful, this way you speak also includes the question of power. Because of the political problem of power, you need to learn how to command the dominant language, in order for you to survive in the struggle to transform society. (ibid., 73)

So, Freire argues that teachers committed to the working class should teach this language, however with one proviso, namely that the language's political ingredients be discussed in the process. In short, the language ought to be problematized by the radical adult educator–certainly no mean task.

Like Freire, Gramsci stressed the use of language for "national popular" unity in Italy where several different dialects are spoken. He expressed such views at a time when 80 percent of Italians still spoke dialect for most purposes (Forgacs and Nowell Smith 1985). Unlike Freire, he suggests little in the way of problematization. Like Freire, however, he feels that mastery of the common standard version of the national language was necessary for the working class not to remain at the periphery of political life. Furthermore, also like Freire, he does this without underplaying the need for teachers to understand peasant speech (Entwistle 1979).

Having outlined what I consider to be points of similarity between Gramsci and Freire with respect to adult education, I shall now move on to a consideration of what I regard as crucial differences between the two.

DIFFERENCES

POLITICAL AFFILIATION

Political affiliation is probably one of the major features that renders Gramsci's biographical context different from that of Freire. This must have had some effect on the nature of their respective writings. Freire's active engagement with party politics occurred at a late stage in his life, precisely soon after his return form exile, when he joined the Workers' Party (PT). This was one of the three parties constituting Brazil's political left (daSilva and McLaren 1993, 38). His pedagogical ideas, therefore, cannot be seen against a backdrop of years of intense activity on behalf of a party or organization embracing a specific ideology. In contrast, Gramsci's involvement in party politics started during his university years in Turin. Gramsci was involved with the Italian Socialist Party (PSI) between the years 1913-1921 and the Italian

Communist Party (PCI), of which he was General Secretary from the year when it was launched 1921, till 1926, the year of his arrest.

RANGE OF ANALYSIS

Gramsci's analysis is all embracing and covers a very wide variety of areas including history, economics, education, industrial relations, art, and social and political theory. This list is by no means exhaustive. In his most popular work, Freire does not reveal a similar breadth of analysis,though this changes somewhat in his later conversational books. On the other hand, a sustained analysis of the pedagogical dynamics involved in educational situations is one of the major features of Freire's work. One finds, however, very little of it in Gramsci. There is nothing in Gramsci's writings which approximates the elaborate process, devised by Freire, whereby the central concept of ***praxis*** is translated into a pedagogical, consciousness raising method. Such differences are indicative of the fact that Gramsci writes from the vantage point of political analyst cum strategist while Freire writes, for the most part, from the perspectives of pedagogue and educationist.

LITERACY

In Freire's case, the processes involved relate mainly to adult basic education. One may argue, however, that there emerges from his writing around this subject a theory of knowledge and of a transformative educational practice which may be applicable to a variety of educational contexts. The focus on adult literacy, in his better known work, however, reflects, once again, Freire's involvement with the oppressed masses of Latin America. Nevertheless, it ought to be stressed that, for Freire, literacy education was merely a vehicle for a process of political conscientization and therefore not an end in itself (Mayo 1991, 1993). Freire mainly focuses on literacy education in his English language publications, prior to 1985, while Gramsci almost completely neglects this aspect of adult education in his writings. There seem to be few if any references to literacy in his scattered writings, except for those pieces in which he talks about standard languages and dialect. This is understandable, considering that his focus was on Piedmont where, according to Forgacs (1988), the illiteracy rate, in 1911, stood at eleven percent. Gramsci, however, regarded the *Southern Question* of "primordial" importance in the struggle for the creation of a workers' state characterized by "*National-Popular*" unity. Furthermore, he himself was a southerner. Given such considerations, it is quite surprising that he should overlook the issue of illiteracy, in view of the fact that the rate of illiteracy in the southern Italian regions was very high.

One explanation may be that Gramsci intended to address the issue in *The Southern Question* (cf., Ferrara and Gallo 1964) which was left incomplete because of his arrest. Another may well be that Gramsci viewed the issue of the emancipation of the southern peasants within the framework of an alliance of classes, an ***historic bloc***, under the leadership of the industrial proletariat:

> We favored a very realistic and not at all "magic" formula of the land for the peasants; but we wanted it to be realized inside the framework of the general revolutionary action of the two allied classes, under the leadership of the

industrial proletariat (Gramsci 1957, 30; cf., Gramsci in Ferrara and Gallo 1964, 799).

Given the primary role which he assigned to the proletariat, Gramsci must have regarded of immediate importance an adult education process capable of instilling in its members the essential qualities of sound organization, good leadership and cultural awareness. This could explain why he focused almost exclusively on a process of adult education for the northern industrial proletariat, rather than on one related to the peasants' needs. In Gramsci's view, the onus of preparation for leadership fell on this class.

In contrast, Freire's focus, in his better known English language works, is on the peasant class. Walker (1981) states that, like Mao, Freire finds greater potential for social transformation in the peasantry than in the urban proletariat. He does this, one must add, without idealizing the former as some kind of "universal class" with an historic mission to accomplish. He quotes Freire as having said:

> Large sections of the oppressed form an urban proletariat, especially in the more industrialized centers of the country. Although these sectors are occasionally restive they lack revolutionary consciousness and consider themselves privileged. Manipulation with its series of deceits and fertile promises, usually finds fertile soil here. (Freire in Walker, 1981, 137-138)

"UNIVERSAL CLASS" OR POLYPHONY OF VOICES?

Gramsci's theory of social transformation gravitates around the conception of a "universal class," the proletariat. His is an essentialist view which was considered problematic by a number of writers, notably Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe. Though centering their theory of radical democracy on Gramsci's concept of hegemony, these two advocators of a "post-Marxist" position stress the open, unsutured nature of the social. In their view, social conflict is decentred and there is not a single group that is predestined to subsume the varying struggles, the "polyphony of voices," under a unified discourse (Laclau and Mouffe 1985, 192). This explains their rejection of the idea that the working class is predestined to exercise a role of leadership. As Mouffe argues:

> What is specific to the present situation is the proliferation of democratic struggles. The struggle for equality is no longer limited to the political and economic arenas. Many new rights are being defined and demanded: those of women, of homosexuals, of various regional and ethnic minorities" (1988, 100)

There are authors, however, who affirm the primacy of class in the struggle for social transformation. Norman Geras is one of them. There are many points, in Laclau and Mouffe's work, which Geras refutes. These include the notion of the decentred nature of the social, and the related sense of social indeterminacy which, according to Geras, can "support any kind of politics" (1987, 77). He also takes up issue with them for their denial of "the abolition of capitalist relations of production" (ibid., 44) as the most important target for the purposes of bringing about an emancipatory social transformation. Ellen Meiksins Wood (1986) scathingly critiques their tendency, as well as that of other adherents to "New True Socialism," not to accord priority, in the quest for socialism, to the economic sphere and therefore to the working class. One of the points that she makes in her critique of their position is that it is precisely in the economic sphere, and against the working class, that the New Right, one of the dominant hegemonic forces in Western society, is staging its offensive.[12] A similar critique of the kind of position taken by writers like Laclau and Mouffe is forthcoming from Michael Apple who argues: "we can multiply forms of domination to such an extent that there are no meaningful organizations to combat oppression left." He adds that in moving beyond class reductionism, to demonstrate how racial/gender/sexual and other forms of domination operate, we tend to forget "the massive structuring forces that do exist" (1991, 28-29).

In my view, Freire's frequent passing references to diverse social movements, in his "talking books," can be taken as a recognition, on his part, of the diversity of the struggles occurring in various parts of the world. There seems to be no universal class in Freire's theory. The term "oppressed," as used by Freire, is not group specific and critics like Frank Youngman (1986) have criticized his work on these grounds, arguing that the term is used vaguely and loosely. In so doing, they fail to recognize the diversity of the groups of persons struggling under oppressive conditions, each one of whom would be termed "oppressed." In effect, Freire's "oppressed" vary from context to context. They range from the campesinos or African peasant class to the many underprivileged groups in industrialized Western societies, including women, gays/lesbians, blacks and ethnic minorities referred to in the "talking books." I would submit, therefore, that, in contrast to Gramsci, Freire provides a notion of oppression that recognizes the existence of a "polyphony of voices," to repeat Laclau and Mouffe's term.

Unlike Gramsci, therefore, Freire provides us with a theory of social change that is non-essentialist. This is a view which he reaffirmed at the 1991 AERA Conference, stating words to the effect that one cannot relegate everything to the class struggle. This is not to say that he does not acknowledge the importance of class when dealing with social differentiation. In fact, he is on record as having asserted that perestroika did not have the power to suppress the issue of class.[13] Economic restructuring in what is fashionably being regarded as the "post-Fordist" era has led to an ever burgeoning peripheral labor market sector, consisting primarily of women (doing part-time work in the home), ethnic minorities and blacks, all of these suffering from unstable conditions of work. We are witnessing a situation in which the labor market continues to be segmented on an international scale by an increasingly mobile capital, a process which exacerbates racism and renders it the means of weakening working class solidarity. This scenario should be one out of several other reasons why class politics should not, in my view, be regarded as passé. It still remains an important arena of struggle. For all their shortcomings and often myopic visions,working class organizations, like trade unions, still have a role to play, provided they undergo a process of rethinking and the kind of reinvigoration which Gramsci called for when he argued that these organizations must be transformed by the Factory Council Movement.

Part of this rethinking consists of an analysis of the way class constantly intersects with the issues of race, gender and ethnicity, as well as other forms of oppression. These organizations also have to undergo a process of transformation so that they could "reconnect with the general interest," to reproduce John McIlroy's words written in relation to Raymond Williams (McIlroy 1993, 277). In recognizing multiple forms of oppression, they will have to open themselves up to the pressures and ideas emanating from the various social movements fighting for different forms of social justice. This will involve the broadening of their agendas to confront issues relating to racism, eurocentrism, patriarchy, ageism, and homophobia which continue to fragment a potentially strong popular force. It would also entail major organizational restructuring to ensure greater social representation in these organizations" upper echelons and throughout their rank and file. And adult education programs carried out within and across such organizations should reflect this. These programs would ensure greater social representation in terms of project planners, teaching personnel, and adult learners. Furthermore, the curriculum devised, preferably through a process of negotiation, should incorporate as broad a range of social agendas as is possible. Moreover, the analyses of issues encouraged should be an integrated one, which reflects the intersections of class, race, age, gender, sexuality, and ethnicity. These programs would, in my view, play their part in forging links between different struggles and render these reinvigorated class organizations important key players in a process of coalition building–effective members of a new ***historic bloc***.

CULTURE

There is also a difference between Gramsci and Freire in so far as cultural analysis is concerned. One notices an almost exclusive concentration, in Freire's better known works, in English, on elements of "popular culture." He regarded these elements as the basis for a transformative process of adult education. Like Gramsci, however, he is wary of not over-romanticizing such culture and acknowledges the presence, within it, of such disempowering elements as superstition, magic and traditional religious beliefs. Nonetheless, there seems to be no attempt, in Freire, to extend his range of analysis beyond that of "popular culture" to develop a systematic critique of "highbrow culture." Perhaps, being essentially a pedagogue rather than a committed and influential political ideologue, he was primarily concerned, in his writings, with that specific area of which he had direct vocational experience.

The situation with Gramsci was different. Unlike Freire, he operated in a city which had all the makings of a typically Western European metropolis, including a well developed "civil society" and a tradition of industrial organization. Besides, his working life was also different from that of Freire. Gramsci worked as a journalist dealing, among other things, with cultural affairs. A lot of his writings on theater, literature, and the figurative arts are, in fact, reviews for newspapers. This particular occupation placed him in an ideal position from which to observe, at close quarters, the many cultural productions which characterized the Italian artistic scene. Gramsci focuses on both aspects of the "high" and "low" divide. He does this as part of a constant search for a synthesis between the potentially emancipatory aspects of both with a view to establishing the basis for a proletarian culture. It is this search which led him to express an interest in, for instance, works like Dostoevski's novels which draw on serial fiction and, in so doing, reveal the interplay between the "popular" and the "artistic."

For Gramsci, a critical appropriation of the dominant, established culture is central to the emergence of a new "subaltern" and, in his case, proletarian culture. When writing on "Problems of Marxism," Gramsci argues that:

> The philosophy of praxis presupposes all this cultural past: Renaissance and Reformation, German philosophy and the French Revolution, Calvinism and English classical economics, secular liberalism and this historicism which is the root of the whole modern conception of life. The philosophy of praxis is the crowning point of this entire movement of intellectual and moral reformation, made dialectical in the contrast between popular culture and high culture. (Hoare and Nowell Smith 1971, 395)

This quote is central to Entwistle's (1979) representation of Gramsci's view of the development of proletarian culture. As Broccoli (1972) and Entwistle (1979) indicate, this view was shared by Lenin. In a polemic with Lunacarskij and the *Proletkult* movement, which movement he criticized for its negation of existing cultural ties with the past, Lenin argued:

> Proletarian culture is not something that has sprung from nowhere, it is not an invention of those who call themselves experts in proletarian culture. That is all nonsense. Proletarian culture must be the result of the natural development of the stores of knowledge which mankind has accumulated under the yoke of capitalist society, landlord society and bureaucratic society (Lenin in Entwistle 1979, 44; cf., Lenin in Broccoli 1972, 65-66).

Gramsci's position, in this respect, is quite interesting in view of the "Canon wars" which dominate a lot of debate in the US concerning educational curricula, with the works of Bloom and Hirsch being given prominence and the subject of critiques by various critical pedagogues, notably such important exponents of ***critical pedagogy*** as Henry Giroux, Ira Shor, and Peter McLaren. All three ***critical pedagogy*** exponents, but most notably the first mentioned, draw on Gramsci in their works. They also draw heavily on Freire. The "great books," Gramsci seems to be saying, need to be learned but through a process of critical appropriation, which might also involve reading them against the grain. Furthermore, central to Gramsci's conception of culture and education, is the notion that the popular also matters and contains emancipatory potential which constitutes that part of its "common sense" which is worth developing. It is partly for this reason that he enjoys a wide influence in the areas of cultural studies, ***critical pedagogy***, and more generally, in post-modern writings on culture in which local narratives, a feature of the popular, are given prominence. And yet, as I argue elsewhere (Mayo 1994a, 1994b), Gramsci, for all his interest in popular culture, fails to provide sustained analysis of the different forms of such culture other than those of the written word.

A SENSE OF HISTORY

The idea of appropriating that which emerges from the past is reinforced when one considers the importance Gramsci attached to the conveyance, among the proletariat, of a sense of history. Gramsci considered history to be of crucial importance for the education of the working class, since it enabled members of this class to "be themselves and know themselves consciously" (Hoare and Nowell Smith 1971, 37). He is on record as having written (cf., *Scritti Giovanili*):

> If it is true that universal history is a chain made up of the efforts man [*sic*] has exerted to free himself [*sic*] from privilege, prejudice and idolatry, then it is hard to understand why the proletariat, which seeks to add another link to that chain, should not know how and why and by whom it was preceded or what advantage it might derive from this knowledge (Gramsci in Entwistle 1979, 41; cf., Gramsci in Broccoli 1972, 32).

It is a linear and evolutionary conception of history which is in keeping with the Marxist tradition that recognizes progress throughout the ages. This view is at odds with certain current post-modern positions in which the emphasis is placed on discontinuity and it is argued that, rather than bringing about progress, the enlightenment tradition has led to the perpetration of the Holocaust and the setting up of the Gulag.

A similar stress on the importance of History, with respect to the education of the oppressed, is nowhere to be found in Freire's English language publications. Gramsci must have felt that the information to be derived from such a subject would render the discourses and opinions of adult learners informed ones. Such information also includes "facts":

> Previously, the pupils at least acquired a certain "baggage" or equipment (according to taste) of concrete facts. Now that the teacher must be specifically a philosopher and aesthete, the pupil does not bother with concrete facts and fills his [*sic*] head with formulae and words which mean nothing to him which are forgotten at once (Hoare and Nowell Smith 1971, 36).

BANKING EDUCATION

The foregoing quote deals with the education of children. However, what Gramsci says there appears relevant also to adult education. The idea of acquiring a "baggage" is relevant not only to the area of workers' cultural preparation but also to that of technical education. For Gramsci, this constituted an essential component of workers' education which the trade union and factory council, together, had to provide (Entwistle 1979). Freire would regard the transfer of such facts as an essential feature of the process of "banking education." It is a process whereby the pupil is regarded, in Goulet's words, "as a passive recipient of knowledge" (1973, 11), or, in a metaphor used by Freire, "as an empty receptacle to be filled" (1970a, 58). In a much cited piece from *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire delineates, somewhat mechanistically, the roles of teacher and student under conditions of "banking education" (ibid., 59).

Gramsci, for his part, provides a less mechanistic account, though not a developed one, of learning under such conditions. In a position which strikes me as being opposed to that conventionally associated with Freire, Gramsci argues that there cannot be a passive learner, a "mechanical" recipient of abstract knowledge. Gramsci argues that knowledge is assimilated according to the learner's consciousness which "reflects the sector of civil society in which the child participates" and the social and cultural relations to which the learner is exposed (Hoare and Nowell Smith 1971, 35). At issue here is the manner in which meaning is circulated, mediated and assimilated. I would argue that this can be taken to apply not only to children but also to adults who can perform the task of assimilation even better, given that, because of their greater life experience, their consciousness reflects a much broader set of cultural and social relations.

CONCLUSION: TOWARDS A SYNTHESIS

The foregoing exposition of what I regard as some of the differences between Gramsci's and Freire's ideas relevant to adult education leads me to argue that each of the two theorists stresses some aspects which the other either overlooks or underplays. One can therefore write in terms of their providing complementary views. Earlier in the article, I have indicated that there are indeed similarities between the two authors on a number of issues relevant to adult education. Among these similarities, one discovers an emphasis on the political.nature of educational activity and on the role which institutions of Civil Society play in processes of social transformation.

I have also emphasized the sense of agency to be found in their works, coupled with their advocacy of the need to project educational programs in which human beings are transformed from "object" to "subject." This is a binary opposition, strongly emphasized in Freire, which is being refuted by certain post-modernist writers and often overlooked by others who are quick to give the Brazilian's work a post-modernist coating. There is also a focus on committed adult educators who themselves have to undergo a transformation to work with subaltern social groups, becoming organic intellectuals in the Gramscian sense or "experiencing their easter" in the sense advocated by Freire. There is also the stress on ***praxis*** as the heart of liberating education and on the need to carry out such pedagogical work in the context of a larger movement or alliance of movements striving for social change. I have shown that there are also differences. I have indicated that Gramsci's focus is on the requirements of a particular social group which plays a leadership role in the process of social transformation, as opposed to Freire's non-reductionist view of the struggle for democracy and the creation of a socially just society. In this respect, it is Freire, and understandably the later Freire, rather than Gramsci, who comes closer to certain post-modernist and post-marxist positions regarding oppression.

There are also differences in the range of social analysis provided, with Gramsci presenting us with a much wider spectrum, given that his project was all encompassing. The dynamics involved in teacher-learner encounters are accorded much wider treatment in Freire's work, than in Gramsci's, and this is understandable given that the Brazilian's main focus is, after all, on teaching. Gramsci provides a complex, though undeveloped, view of how ideas are taken up in settings where learning takes place. This view is almost in line with certain post-structuralist theories regarding the multiplicity of readings of texts (cf., Apple 1992). Gramsci's view stands in contrast to Freire's originally somewhat mechanistic description of what goes on in a situation of "banking education." And yet though the distinction between oppressor and oppressed is clear cut in this situation–another binary opposition–one must not forget Freire's early exposition of the concept of "oppressor consciousness" (Freire 1970a) which indicates that people can easily be perpetrators as well as victims of oppression. Weiler (1991) raises this point as a critique of Freire's ideas in general, arguing that the dichotomy between oppressor and oppressed is a false one. The notion of oppressor consciousness and the light that it sheds on the way an apparently subordinated group is implicated in oppression relates to the process of contradictory consciousness that characterize relations of hegemony/counterhegemony, in the Gramscian sense. It is a situation which invites parallels with Foucault's dictum that, in resisting power, one is not external to it. We are all implicated in relations of power. In fact, one of the major contributions of Gramsci's Hegemony theory is that it places emphasis on the way power is ubiquitous and manifests itself even in the most intimate social relations (Holub 1992). It is a position which underlines the diffuse nature of power, a notion which, once again, brings to mind Foucault. Existing hegemonic arrangements are said to be supported by a number of beliefs and practices in a variety of settings, ranging from the home to adult education settings. All individuals are thus conceived of as "sites of power" but not all individuals possess the same amount of power (Holub 1992).

Furthermore, in Gramsci as well as in the early Freire (the Freire of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*), in which social class is given prominence, one obtains the sense that, though members of the industrial or peasant/campesino classes do exert power in terms of, say, patriarchy, race, etc., this power stands in the way of their overcoming that larger powerlessness of which they are victim. This powerlessness is, of course, related to economic conditions. I would be wary of making a similar statement in relation to Freire's later work, in which he is possibly influenced by earlier feminist critiques of his own work. Yet, for all its limitations, including the race and gender oppressions overlooked (hooks 1993), *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* still remains an important, if not the most cited, source of reference regarding Freire's work. Even at this late stage in the article, therefore, I would tentatively posit possible elements of convergence in Freire, albeit the early Freire, and Gramsci. It would be interesting to see to what extent his position regarding power differs in his "revisiting" of his most celebrated work in a book entitled *Pedagogy of Hope. Reliving "Pedagogy of the Oppressed,"* the English version of which was not in print at the time of my submission of the manuscript. It would also be interesting to see to what extent he incorporates, in this work, insights from his later conversations.

I feel, however, that for the most part, the relationship between the two strikes me as being more one of complementarity rather than one of convergence. There are similarities, as I have shown, but we also come across instances in which one provides insightful material which the other overlooks. Both the similarities and complementary aspects could provide the foundation for a possible synthesis of their ideas which are relevant to adult education. This synthesis would, however, constitute the subject of a separate study.

Gramsci and Freire are two of the most cited writers in the literature on radical adult education. Their connections with the theory and practice of radical adult education in North America are great, given that their ideas have influenced such educators as Myles Horton and feature prominently in that corpus of radical literature that falls under the rubric of ***critical pedagogy***. ***Critical pedagogy***, as developed in North American circles (there are several educators throughout the world whose documented work would easily fall under this rubric, the Italians Don Lorenzo Milani and Danilo Dolci being two of them) is partly inspired by the work of Freire and some of its major exponents, including Giroux, McLaren, and Shor, engage Freire's ideas.With its emphasis on a commitment to subaltern groups and on the conception of a radically democratic approach to adult education, both rooted in a vision of society as it "should and can be," ***critical pedagogy*** provides a useful theoretical basis for cultural workers, including school teachers and adult educators, committed to social change. In this particular approach to teaching, educational activity is conceived of as being intimately tied to the power structures in society. Gramsci and Freire provide useful theoretical frameworks in this regard, the former for the purpose of situating radical adult education initiatives in a broader politics of social transformation and the latter for providing insights regarding the power dynamics involved in the teaching-learning process itself.

NOTES

[1] I am indebted to Professor David W. Livingstone for his comments on earlier drafts of this article from which I benefitted enormously. I should also like to thank the three anonymous reviewers for their suggestions to improve the article. The basis for this article is provided by the final chapter of my Master's degree thesis which I wrote in 1987/1988 when on a Commonwealth Scholarship at the University of Alberta. For this reason, I should like to thank the four members of my M.Ed. thesis committee for their input. These are: Professors Kazim Bacchus, Carlos Alberto Torres, Raymond A. Morrow, and Derek Sayer. Any remaining shortcomings in the article are entirely my responsibility. Earlier versions of the article were presented at the February 1988 Annual Meeting of the Western Association of Sociology and Anthropology (Edmonton, Alberta) and at the 16th Annual Convention of the Association for Humanist Sociology (Ottawa, Ontario, October 1991).

[2] This information was given to me by Professor Carlos Alberto Torres himself. I reproduce it with his kind permission. For interesting parallels between Gramsci and Freire on education, see Morrow and Torres 1995.

[3] The term "Civil Society" is not being used here in the sense intended by Marx; i.e., the realm of economic relations (Bobbio 1987), but in Gramsci's sense of the entire complex of ideological institutions.

[4] The reference to Karl Marx in the relevant passage, wherein Gramsci hits out apparently at what he must have regarded as the rigid economism of the canons of historical materialism, is somewhat disconcerting. Was the young Gramsci really attributing such rigidity to Marx himself? Adamson argues that, for Gramsci, the real enemy in this respect, "was not Karl Marx, not even the Karl Marx of *Das Capital*. His real enemy was the vulgarized Marxism which had become prominent in the Second International" (1980, 45). In her discussion of the same piece, Anne

Showstack Sassoon (1980, 1987) regards the Second International's interpretation of Marx as the target of his attack. One ought to bear in mind, however, that Marx's early manuscripts, wherein he appears less rigid, attaching great importance to the interplay between agency and structure, were not accessible to Gramsci.

[5] Gramsci progressed from this particular phase to elaborate a theory of revolution within the context of party strategy. His involvement as Secretary General of the PCI must have been a determining factor in this regard. As for Freire, one wonders whether his recent involvement with the Workers' Party (PT), which led to his becoming Education Secretary in the Municipal Government of Sao Paulo (cf., Freire 1993; Torres 1993, 1994), will have a similar effect on his writings and on the development of his future pedagogical and social theory. In recent years, his political party and administrative involvement appears to have caused his early sense of voluntarism to have mellowed further than may have been the case earlier. One may gather this from his various emphases, made at the 1991 AERA Conference, on the difficulties involved in bringing about social change (cf., Freire, Paulo. *Educational Policy and Social Change in Brazil: The Work of Paulo Freire as Secretary of Education in Sao Paulo*, April 4, 1991. Chicago: Teach 'em Inc. Cassette).

[6] For a sustained analysis of the relevance of Gramsci's concept of organic intellectualism to adult education, see Hommen's (1986) thesis. One comes across a burgeoning literature regarding Gramsci's theory of intellectuals which he conceived as an important component of the study embarked on in prison. For a recently published discussion wherein Gramsci's ideas are taken up within the context of a larger debate concerning the role of intellectuals in contemporary society, see Barney (1994).

[7] This point confirms Gramsci's influence on Freire.

[8] I am here referring to Frank Youngman's critique of Freire's pedagogy. Youngman's critique appeared a year in advance of the Shor, Freire (1987) conversational book and until then, Freire did not emphasize the directiveness referred to in the text. As such, I consider justified Youngman's critique that Freire is "ambivalent about saying outright that educators can have a theoretical understanding superior to that of the learners..." (Youngman 1986, 179).

[9] Gramsci favored an encounter (incontro) between the workers' movement and the Catholic masses (Amendola 1978), arguing that some kind of ***modus vivendi*** with the Catholic Church has to be found (Lojacono 1977). The Communist faction at the Livorno (Leghorn) Congress accused the Socialists for failing to reach an agreement with the Catholic inspired Partito Popolare of Don Luigi Sturzo which would have stemmed the tide of Fascism (Lojacono 1977).

[10] Cf., Torres, Carlos Alberto. Presentation at the AERA Conference, Session on *Educational Policy and Social Change in Brazil: The Work of Paulo Freire as Secretary of Education in Sao Paulo*, April 4, 1991. Chicago: Teach 'em, Inc. Cassette.

[11] I am indebted to Dion Dennis, Visiting Professor at Texas A & M University, for this point, made in a review of another article of mine (Mayo 1994), in which I make the same point.

[12] This section on Norman Geras and Ellen Wood has been reproduced from a footnote in Mayo (1994a).

[13] Freire, Paulo. *Educational Policy and Social Change in Brazil: The Work of Paulo Freire as Secretary of Education in Sao Paulo*, April 4, 1991. Chicago: Teach 'em Inc. Cassette.

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CJSAE/RCÉÉA 8,2 (November/novembre 1994) 29

TELE-DISTANCE EDUCATION IN WOMEN'S STUDIES: ISSUES FOR FEMINIST PEDAGOGY[1]

Edith Smith
University of Ottawa

Valerie S. Norlen[2]
Carleton University

Abstract

Despite distance education's long history in Canada, Women's Studies courses taught in this mode are a fairly recent phenomena. This article explores the pedagogical and administrative issues which arise when trying to team-teach Women's Studies through distance education, as well as the experiential components of this process. The links between these issues and the context within which they are occurring are also addressed. The case study the authors report on follows, from beginning to end, the intersecting challenges of planning and implementing a feminist pedagogy, through an audio mode of instruction, during the first tele-conferenced "Introduction to Women's Studies" course offered in the Ottawa area.

Résumé

Malgré l'histoire prolongée de la formation à distance au Canada, l'enseignement des cours des "Etudes de femmes" dans cette manière est un phénomène récent. Cet article traitera des questions pédagogiques et administratives, qui se présentent grace aux tentatives d'enseignement de l'équipe de formation à distance, ainsi que le processus composé d'expérience. Les liens entre ces questions et le contexte dans lequel ils se produisent seront aussi traités. L'étude de cas qui est rapportée par les auteurs suivra du debut à la fin les défis entrecroisés de la planification et l'exécution de la pédagogie feministe enseignée de façon audiologique, qui se sont présentés au cours de la première téléconference "Introduction to Women's Studies" offert dans la region d'Ottawa.

Introduction

In her 1938 book, *Three Guineas*, English feminist Virginia Woolf asserted the validity of a woman's perception of the world, and argued that women's access to education was essential for economic independence and intellectual autonomy (Burge, 1988). Forty years later, Dorothy Smith articulated the problem as follows:

> ...women have been largely excluded from the work of producing the forms of thought and the images and symbols in which thought is expressed and ordered. We can imagine women's exclusion organized by the formation of a

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[2] Just as the Women's Studies course we taught was a team effort, this article is a collaborative venture–the order of names does not indicate senior or junior authorship.

> circle among men who attend to and treat as significant only what men say. The circle of men whose writing and talk was significant to each other extends backward as far as our records reach. What men were doing was relevant to men, was written by men about men for men. Men listened and listen to what one another said. (1978, p. 282)

Over the years, Woolf's assertions have been reflected in the actions of those who use feminist pedagogy to challenge this "circle effect." As both a product of earlier struggles and as part of contemporary initiatives, Women's Studies is fundamentally concerned with revamping the educational enterprise by "finding new words and creating new methods" (Woolf, 1986, p. 164).

Distance education within either Women's Studies or from a feminist perspective has just begun to be explored. A review of the literature revealed only one anthology in the area (Faith, 1988), as well as a handful of articles (e.g., Burge & Lenskyj, 1990; Smith, 1992) and a special issue on women by the Canadian *Journal of Distance Education* (Spronk, 1990). We are aware of only one edited Canadian collection about the policies and practices of postsecondary distance education in which there is any attempt to develop a feminist or woman-centered understanding of distance learning (Coulter, 1989). Clearly, there is a need to report on women's experiences as learners and educators in distance education, and to develop strong links between theory and practice relating to the design of adult learning for women. This need is reinforced by women's proportionately higher enrolment in distance learning (Burge & Lenskyj, 1990).

In our initial experience as distance educators, we interpreted distance in its literal sense, as a spatial separation between instructor and student. It was only during our tele-conferenced course that we became vividly aware of symbolic distances based on knowledge, experience, class, race/ethnicity, and other axes of differentiation, and a distance based on the power differential between instructor and student. Feminist pedagogy, in its "re-imaging" of the classroom and of education, has as one of its ideals the crossing of both geographic and symbolic distances.[3] Evaluating whether we were able to "cross the distance" between ourselves and our students involved assessing the distance between our ideal feminist classroom and our feminist pedagogy in practice.

Our experience as team-teachers of the first tele-conferenced Women's Studies course offered by the University of Ottawa will be used as a case study. Given that feminism is not a unified ideology or practice, that distance educators are strikingly varied in terms of their social and cultural backgrounds, and that distance education settings and technologies are tremendously variable, universal prescriptions for appropriate pedagogies or technologies in distance education are not our goal. Instead, we wish to contribute to the literature by exploring some of the unique challenges that arose when trying to implement a feminist pedagogy from a distance.

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[3] "Re-imaging" is a term developed by Shrewsbury (1987) to denote the feminist revisioning of education.

> Too often...the new popularity of distance education is based on less than thorough analyses of the sorts of challenges faced on a daily basis by its practitioners. (Paul, 1989, p. 1)

Then and Now

Distance education can be interpreted broadly as teaching at a distance. It often tends to be defined more in terms of what it is not than what it is. Distance education seldom involves face-to-face classroom instruction; it always involves the use of either print, audio, video, or interactive components. While much of distance education remains print-based only, it can also be supplemented with audio or other means. Interaction may be via television, tele-conferencing, mail, fax, E-mail, or may even include one-on-one telephone interaction between learner and teacher.[4]

The multiple technologies used in this mode of education are but one of the contributors to the conceptual confusion in the literature. Others include: (a) various terms that are subsumed within distance education though not synonymous with it (e.g., extension education, continuing education, lifelong learning); (b) different suppliers of distance education (e.g., universities and colleges, business and industry, and proprietary schools); (c) variations in the target client; (d) differences in the policies and practices of distance education and their theoretical and pedagogical underpinnings; and (e) differences over time and between places, from the regional to the international level. Though consensus has yet to be achieved in defining distance education, the common denominators today include: the separation of teacher and learner and the replacement of interpersonal communication with a technological medium, both of which are influenced by their institutional context.[5]

In 1938, the same year that *Three Guineas* was published, British Columbia hosted the first international meeting of distance educators, the International Council for Distance Education (ICDE).[6] This unprecedented coming together from around the globe followed upon more than five decades of "out-of-school" learning in Canada.

> It was only natural–and to be expected–that as the large number of immigrants came to Canada...they would bring with them a knowledge of certain educational programs and institutions with which they had been familiar in their former homes. (Selman & Dampier, 1991, p. 36)

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[4] We wish to thank one of the anonymous reviewers for bringing these various interactive modes to our attention.

[5] For further information on definitions and debates concerning distance education, see the Canadian Association for University Continuing Education (CAUCE), 1991; Canadian Studies Directorate, 1989; Keegan, 1990; Nunan, 1993; and Rumble & Harry, 1982.

[6] In 1938 the ICDE was the International Council for Correspondence Education (ICCE), but in 1982, partly at the behest of the newly formed ICCE's Women's International Network (WIN), the name was changed to the International Council for Distance Education. The renaming was a reflection of both the expansion of this field and the development of new, innovative methods by distance educators (Faith, 1988).

For example, those from Great Britain established the first Mechanics' Institutes in the early 1830s in order to provide technical information to skilled workers or "mechanics" (Corbett, 1950). In 1853 British immigrants established a YMCA in Toronto to offer evening classes and other educational activities (Selman & Dampier, 1991). As the availability of educational forums increased in urban centres, distance education became the way to reach the country's population which was widely dispersed over a large geographic area.

Canada's agrarian economy in the nineteenth century meant that distance education had a pioneer history rooted first in the provision of agricultural training. "The Grange (the first in 1872), Farmers' Institutes (the first in 1894) and other agricultural societies flourished" (Selman & Dampier, 1991, p. 65). In 1897 Adelaide Hoodless founded the first Women's Institute, as a counterpart to organizations established by men for men, dedicated to the extension of home economics education from the city to rural areas (Chapman, 1950). Rural women also relied on homestudy to educate their children. Correspondence education often depended upon the labour of wives and mothers to supervise and teach, to receive and dispatch correspondence materials, to oversee students, to create lesson plans, and to monitor students' progress (Faith, 1988).

A second focus of Canadian distance education in the late 1800s addressed the literacy needs of increasing numbers of immigrant labourers (Blackburn & Flaherty, 1994).

> From the modest early objective of bringing a civilizing presence to the rough railroad, lumbering and mining camps through the provision of suitable literature in rustic reading rooms, Frontier College [established in 1899 as the Canadian Reading Camp Movement] soon evolved a more ambitious goal of bringing education to the labourers. (Selman & Dampier, 1991, p. 135)

Building upon its scattered and informal beginnings under mainly private and voluntary sponsorship, distance education also became incorporated within the formal education sector. In 1889, 22 years after Confederation, Queen's University was the first Canadian and North American university to begin credit correspondence courses through its newly created extension education department (Helm, 1989). Other provinces were soon to follow suit: for example, British Columbia in 1919, Alberta in 1923, Saskatchewan in 1925 and Manitoba in 1927 (Burge, Wilson, & Mehler, 1984). At the same time, provincial ministries of education developed primary and secondary correspondence education for children unable to attend school (Canadian Studies Directorate, 1989). This has expanded to the point at which more than a quarter of a million children, adolescents and adults are currently registered in programs offered by provincial ministries of education through their correspondence branches (Canadian Studies Directorate, 1989).

In the post World War II period, Canadian universities began offering more and more off-campus credit programming (Canadian Studies Directorate, 1989). Until the 1970s, traditional institutions were the major providers of this education. During this decade, three institutions dedicated to the delivery of distance education were created: Athabasca University in Alberta, the Open Learning Institute in British Columbia, and Télé-université in Quebec (Burge et al., 1984). Community colleges have also played a prominent role in the provision of distance education including, for example, North Island College (BC), Seneca College (ON), and Holland College (PEI). Today, students in any province or territory can enrol in distance education courses and even earn a degree or certificate from a post-secondary institution.

The history of Women's Studies within distance education is much shorter. For example, the first such course offered by Athabasca University in Edmonton, Alberta, was in 1985 even though this institute was established in 1972 (Bray, 1988; Burge et al., 1984). Although the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE) began using audio conferencing in 1982, it was not until January of 1989 that they first offered a graduate course in Women's Studies through a distance mode (Burge & Lenskyj, 1990). In terms of our case study, the University of Ottawa initiated teleconferenced teaching in 1981 through its Department of Continuing Education. It took twelve years, however, before a Women's Studies course was offered in the fall of 1993.

The above chronology of distance education indicates that its origins are older than the nation itself. As Burge (1990) notes, formal distance education has a 150 year old history. Since its pioneer roots, distance education has evolved continually in response to a shift from an agrarian to a service based economy, to the development of technological innovations, and to the changing needs of a dramatically altering population. Part of the reason for the explosion of interest and participation in distance education is its suitability for extending accessibility, its economic feasibility and its value for social development. These characteristics, which have been at the core of distance education since its inception, have particular relevance to women.

When attempting to compose a record of women's participation in distance education, we are faced with the problem of a "generic" student. Until recently, data on enrolment, graduation, field of study, etc., have failed to take gender into account. While descriptions of distance programs and procedures abound, and research into distance teaching and learning processes is growing rapidly, little comprehensive data is available concerning users. After completing a thorough search for statistics on numbers and types of users, we uncovered only scattered sources on participation rates in select institutes' distance programs or broad references to the typical female weighting in most distance education programs.

In overall university and college enrolment, women have constituted the largest proportion of learners (57-59%) since the early 1980s (Statistics Canada, 1994). Often quoted cross-Canada surveys, like that of Devereaux (1985) reporting on adult learners in both the formal and informal sectors, state that the majority of adult students (age 17 and over) and mature learners (age 25 and above) are women. With reference to distance education students, Burge and Lenskyj report that, "it is reliably estimated that over half the several million learners who make up the world's distance education population are women" (1990, p. 22). Individual institutions, such as The Open University in BC, the University of Moncton, and Athabasca University, indicate that women consistently make up between 55-75% of total distance education enrolment (Bourque, 1988; Spronk & Radtke, 1988; and Sturrock, 1988). In the course we taught, all of our distance education students were women.

Distance education is one of the forums in which growing numbers of women are making their voices heard. Whether they enter a study program for personal enhancement or to improve their employment opportunities, the large number of women returning to school via distance education signifies the importance of this learning mode as a means for women to challenge their marginalization in the social, political, and economic arenas of life (Faith, 1988).[7]

Feminist Pedagogy Across the Distance

Our concept of feminist pedagogy emerged from our experiences as teaching assistants holding discussion groups with anywhere from 10 to 60 individuals. As students who had been subject to a top-down, hierarchical, teacher-driven mode of instruction, we were not comfortable with replicating this form of teaching in our own classrooms. Reading the literature on feminist pedagogy, most notably, a special issue of *Women's Studies Quarterly* (1987), made us aware that we were not alone in viewing education as more than a process of depositing knowledge into student "bank accounts" (Freire, 1970). Writing on the subject of feminist pedagogy led us to further clarify our practice as feminist educators (Norlen, 1992; Smith, 1989). Out of our experiences as learners and teachers, we developed a vision of the classroom which is reflected in Shrewsbury's definition of feminist pedagogy as:

> ...engaged teaching/learning–engaged with self in a continuing reflective process; engaged actively with the material being studied; engaged with others in a struggle to get beyond our sexism and racism and classism and homophobia and other destructive hatreds and to work together to enhance our knowledge; engaged with the community, with traditional organizations, and with movements for social change. (1987, p. 6)

Many of these basic tenets of feminist pedagogy are similar to those in much of the literature on distance education and types of related education. For example, Leagans describes the process of extension education as,

> ...one of working with people, not for them; of helping people become self-reliant, not dependent on others; of making people the central actors in the drama, not stage hands or spectators; in short, helping people by means of education to put useful knowledge to work for them. (Leagans, 1961, cited in Blackburn & Flaherty, 1994, p. 1)

The critical difference between this learner-centred approach and feminist pedagogy is that the latter emerges out of a feminism which takes the material reality of women's experience into account. In its simplest form, feminism provides a critical understanding and analysis of the inequities women face and advocates strategies for change. The difficulty in presenting a single, inclusive definition of feminism relates to its long history. Over time, feminisms have emerged which differ in the emphasis they place upon sources of inequity, such as class, race/ethnicity, sexuality, dis/ability, as well as the avenues they promote for change (Jaggar & Rothenberg, 1993; Kramarae & Treichler, 1985).

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[7] While we may be perceived as exaggerating the effect of distance education on improving women's participation and status in social, economic, and political life, considerable debate exists concerning to what degree education enables women to widen their roles beyond the household.

As a result of the multiple perspectives incorporated within various feminist frameworks, we find it difficult to espouse the validity of one particular feminism over all others. Instead, we prefer to utilize the metaphor of lenses as articulated by Jaggar and Rothenberg,

> …feminists increasingly recognize that different theoretical approaches are likely to be useful in different circumstances and for different purposes. People typically employ different lenses depending on what they are studying, their location with respect to the object of study, the condition of their eyes, and the purposes of their investigation. The metaphor of lenses expresses the recognition that feminist theories ultimately are tools designed for a practical purpose–the purpose of understanding women's subordination in order to end it. (1993, p. xvii)

For feminist educators, unique pedagogical challenges arise when using a distance mode of education. The following case study offers insights into some of the challenges we faced in our collaborative effort at "crossing the distance," both geographic and symbolic, among learners and teachers. The challenges we address may appear, at first glance, to be issues related to either team-teaching, distance education, feminist pedagogy or Women's Studies. Rather than occurring singularly, however, they tended to intersect and compound each other: "…what is taught and how it is taught are two complementary and interacting parts of the whole" (Maher & Dunn, cited in Coulter, 1989, p. 18). Instead of artificially dealing separately with challenges that were often experienced simultaneously, in the following narrative we will address the intersecting issues as they arose.

During the final review class, students told us at length about their thoughts and feelings concerning their experiences with the course. As feminists like Dorothy Smith have pointed out, we must begin with the experience of women in order to break the circle of androcentric knowledge. For this reason, we use our teaching experience as the point of departure and incorporate the words of our women students throughout the ensuing account.

An Offer to Teach

In April of 1993, one of the directors of tele-conferenced courses at the University of Ottawa proposed offering a Women's Studies course to students in the outlying towns of Eastern Ontario. "Would you be interested in teaching the first ever Women's Studies course?," the man asked Edith. After some discussion with colleagues, she decided to accept the offer because there was a need for a feminist course that rural women could have access to. As one student mentioned during the review, "having a Women's Studies course tele-conferenced is better than nothing at all." The importance of accessibility is also underscored by Kirby and Chugh's (1993) findings that distance students, in an audio-teleconferencing environment, rate course availability as more important than class size or quality of sound transmission.

Having accepted the offer to teach, Edith realized that her course schedule was now extremely full. As a single mother of an adolescent son, she was worried about the time involved in developing and teaching a new course, as well as the requirement to visit each of the rural centres at least once. After discussing these concerns with Val, she suggested that we teach it together. A perfect solution, we thought, the benefits with half the workload! The naivety with which we approached this course surprises us even now. As will become clear, "crossing the distance" between our ideals and the real life situation was not as easy as we anticipated.

Getting Ready to Teach

Our initial euphoria of the benefits with half the workload was shattered very quickly. While past experience with preparing a course outline had shown that a couple of drafts usually sufficed, we spent hours going through draft after draft of the syllabus until we were both happy with it alone! This time, there were two people who had to agree on each item–goals of the course, schedule, readings, assignments, pedagogy, etc. While all team-teachers have to negotiate course content and methods, our feminist pedagogy meant that we needed to build in opportunities for student input and interaction during the course development process. In a participant-centred classroom, "students affect teachers, teachers affect students, and both affect the state of knowledge itself" (Porter & Eileenchild, cited in Klein, 1987, p. 191).

In terms of how to structure each three hour class, we decided to begin with a formal lecture followed by an informal discussion period. During the second half of the class, the students would break into small groups to discuss the readings or specific questions, and then we would reconvene to address issues raised in the groups. As it turned out, students initially had difficulty voicing their ideas with strangers, particularly "faceless ones," but by the end of the course they described the groups as "a great way to hash things out." As Bray (1988) points out in her experience as a tutor for a Women's Studies distance education course, group work allows a much deeper level of discussion and counteracts the isolation often felt by distance learners. As well, the exposure to a diversity of experience and the opportunity for disclosure made possible in group contexts are essential to consciousness-raising, an integral aspect of feminist pedagogy.

In terms of what content to provide to the students, we decided to introduce them to feminism, to the core concepts, theories, and research that have shaped Women's Studies, and to help them appreciate the ways in which its theories and findings have found application. To fulfil these objectives, we decided to begin with the founding mothers of the Women's Movement, the emergence of Women's Studies as a discipline and some of its initial debates. We would also touch on such themes as "re-discovering our voices," "women's rights as human rights," "whose body is it anyways?," and "new directions for Women's Studies." To best match these themes, we created a text with weekly readings drawn from a variety of authors and illustrated with cartoons, line drawings, photographs, poems, short stories, and newspaper clippings. This book of readings was intended to represent diverse perspectives on the chosen topics and to encourage students to challenge the authority of the printed word, as well as to be available for future reference. While the students found some of the academic readings "difficult and boring," the same issues explored in other formats were "fun and thought-provoking."

In keeping with the objectives of the course and our own feminist pedagogy, we left many of the decisions regarding course assignments to the students. For example, in one project they could select a traditional research paper, a critical book review, an oral history, an in-class presentation, or "other," such as a short story or sculpture. We felt it important to incorporate such a broad range of choice to enhance our students' control over their own learning processes, and to validate their abilities as knowledge producers rather than consumers. Expressing her reaction to the project choices, one woman said, "I first felt panic about all these options but then realized that choice is what it's all about."

Getting Acquainted

Our tele-conferenced course involved a classroom on the main campus with thirty students, and two rural centres with nine students each. This meant that 65% of our students had both audio and visual contact with us, while the remaining 35% had to rely upon audio only. Though we were dealing with the combination of a traditional classroom format and a distance mode of education, we quickly realized that similar problems and issues concerning women as learners arise in both contexts.

Each centre had projection equipment available, as well as an electronic blackboard which transmitted messages via a television screen. Whoever was lecturing wore a microphone headset which transmitted her voice to each of the centres. Students had desk-top speakers which they had to remember to turn on while commenting and then ensure were turned "off" after talking. The professor's voice, as well as the return comments, were heard in all of the centres but no visual image of the speaker was available, except in the imagination. One student recommended that in the future group photos should be distributed early in the course in order to "connect a voice with a face." While this is a response to one of the challenges of the nature of distance education technology, her suggestion also reflects the value feminist pedagogy places upon "engaged teaching/learning."

After we introduced ourselves and the course during the first class, we asked the students to write a letter describing themselves and their interests. This allowed us to modify course content in order to make it more relevant to their experiences and interests. The off-campus students indicated they were mainly rural women, as we had expected. Most were married (or had been), with children, running a household, and studying parttime. Not surprisingly, they tended to be middle-aged or older. Most were also working in the paid workforce, employed primarily in traditional female occupations, like nursing, teaching, or clerical work.

> I am a full-time teacher (grade 5), mother (2 sons–19 and 22), and wife. I would have included homemaker a few years ago but this is becoming much less important as I age.

They varied in that some were rather seasoned distance education students who had taken courses for as long as ten years, while a few were undertaking their first such course.

The Ottawa students were younger (18-24 years of age), less likely to have any tele-distance experiences, and more likely to be enrolled fulltime. Very few women in any of the centres had previous feminist or Women's Studies instruction, although the Ottawa students were more likely to have encountered it.

> Hello…I am 24 years old and am a third year Economics student here at Ottawa U. This course is my first experience with formal study in the women's studies field. I am currently enrolled in six courses and am graduating this spring to a position in the banking industry in Toronto.

Team-Teaching

In the traditional university classroom, the professor is generally seen as the whole "team". In the case that we are reporting on, the team involved at least seven individuals: two professors, two technicians, and three administrative support staff. We relied extensively on them in all three locations to ensure that we were "hooked up" with the out-of-town centres, to duplicate and send all materials in time for class, to pick up and forward completed assignments for marking, and then to return them to the students. While we had initially imagined that team-teaching referred only to us, in reality many other individuals played key roles. Our notion of an interactive feminist pedagogy meant that our students also had a role to play.

The students, however, were primarily aware of just the two of us; that alone was unusual to the majority of them. "Two professors? Well, who is the main one?" "Who do we see if we have questions?" "Who will evaluate us?" These were the typical questions posed to us at the beginning. For most of the students, their confusion was settled fairly quickly. They came to understand that we would confer on all decisions and therefore answers to problems would not be as quick to come.

The students experienced a few difficulties adapting to our team-teaching. Unfortunately, the feminist pedagogy we found most comfortable in the classroom sometimes placed our students in a position of discomfort. Students expected us, the instructors, to ***know*** and when we stepped out of the role of expert, they felt cheated, threatened and insecure. In their comments and actions they indicated quite clearly that we were not doing our jobs when we did not have the answer because we had to consult with one another. Though many eventually expressed the sentiment that "two heads were better than one," most women developed an individual preference for one or the other of us when they asked questions or needed advice. This appeared to resolve their discomfort regarding team-teaching. The students' reactions made apparent the distance between our expectations and the realities of team-teaching a Women's Studies, distance education course, while trying to implement a feminist pedagogy.

"Teach-nological" Challenges

As mentioned earlier, the first half of each three hour class was devoted to lecturing, but co-ordinating the technical aspects to ensure all centres were "on-line" often took more time than anticipated. We had to ask each centre separately if they had received class material, wait for their individual responses, and occasionally send someone in search of missing material. Each of these took time and seldom did we actually have a full lecture period.

The technology controlled us in other ways as well–from the lack of flexibility in the classroom to the clothing that we would wear. We could not walk in with newly discovered material because everything had to be sent out at least forty-eight hours in advance to reach the rural centres. We could show a film only if there were three copies available for simultaneous viewing. Seldom did all three classrooms finish the film at the same time, so again, we had to wait before continuing. The microphone headset was connected to a battery pack that had to be attached to our clothing so we always had to remember to wear something with pockets or a belt. Near the beginning of the course, one of us forgot and had to borrow a jacket from a student. We missed the freedom of the traditional classroom where we were not constantly controlled by the technology.

Some of our students expressed similar sentiments. As one woman said, "I was afraid of speaking into the mike, on top of speaking at all. It's more serious or official somehow." It was a great struggle for many of the women to speak, particularly into a microphone. This mode of communication was confusing and sometimes frustrating. The students had to learn to turn speaker boxes on and off each time any comment was made. This prevented the mikes from fading into the background. Their "in your face" quality, as one student put it, was continually reinforced.

Recent literature on the genderization of technology notes that there is a cultural conjunction between masculinity and technology and a disjunction between femininity and technology (Cockburn, 1985; Norlen, 1989; Rothschild, 1983). This implies that female students in distance education, faced with tele-communications technology, may experience it as disconcerting. The fact that our two male students used the classroom technology with ease, whereas the female students were more reluctant to do so, appears to support this possibility.

In addition to the formality of using a speaker box, naming themselves and identifying their centre discouraged students from commenting freely. Speaking as "Gena in Ottawa," rather than as an anonymous voice, magnified their responsibility for their ideas and their vulnerability to others' reactions. Disembodied, floating voices were also disconcerting when students neglected to identify themselves.

The students indicated that another frustrating aspect of the technology was the inability to speak simultaneously. As noted earlier, an important aspect of both feminist pedagogy and distance education is the occasions when students can discuss, in small and large groups. It helps break down barriers caused by diversity and eliminates the isolation of studying at a distance. Face-to-face discussion is often typified by voices overlapping on voices. However, when using a communication mode which transmits information in just one direction, it was imperative that only one speaker "had the floor" at a time. Judging when a speaker was finished or who had the floor next was not always easy. The beginning or ending of a comment was often "lost" during transmission resulting in frequent requests of "Could you repeat that?" Even by the end of the course, when the students had grown accustomed to turning their speaker boxes on and off, they had not adopted a new conversational style.

The course was scheduled as an evening session to allow access for women who did paid labour or had children. As one woman wrote in her letter of introduction, "I have a small daughter and can only attend evening classes at the moment." By the end of everyone's day, they (and we) were often tired. For many students, feminism was a new concept and being tired interfered with their learning process. In the small discussion groups in the rural centres, we were sometimes unable to help when contentious issues arose. Our physical absence contributed to many misunderstandings and to resistance in some students. Without privacy to deal with individual cases (since all communication through the speakers was overheard by everyone), we were unable to overcome this resistance on the spot. Individual students were also able to withhold their participation more easily when we could not visually monitor them.

Another disturbing coping mechanism was for the students to speak only within their own centres. The rural students occasionally turned off their speaker boxes, and tuned us out to carry on their own discussions. While we applauded their independence, we felt that they needed the instructors' intervention to help them make links to course materials, and that all the centres would benefit from an exchange of dialogue. We could do nothing, however, to be reconnected because this power lay entirely with the rural students. The technology made it easy for them to withdraw and to resist our feminist pedagogy by "disengaging" from the teaching/learning process.

Consciousness-Raising Across the Distance

Both feminist teachers and distance educators have consistently highlighted the role of education in social change. Such transformation can only occur through the raising of students' consciousness; that is, by encouraging them to re-examine their experiences in the context of larger cultural, social, and economic issues broached in the course. This, in turn, requires a pedagogy premised upon "formats that engage subjective experiences, encourage interaction, and treat knowledge as an ever-evolving, mutually developing process" (Bell, 1987, p. 75).

Re-examining one's experiences often poses challenges to basic belief systems and, therefore, contributes to feelings of discomfort. We have found that a pedagogical style which uses humour to lighten many issues often mitigates this unease. Unfortunately, our humour seldom came across the airwaves when the students could not see us–visual cues were missing for those sitting in a room with only voices in the air. Another helpful strategy involves making the formal portions of the class as relevant to each individual as possible by getting to know the students. Obviously, our familiarity with distant students was greatly reduced when only microphones and speaker boxes were available. The usual chances for casual conversation during breaks or after class were missing.

During the course, we became aware that a core group of students in one rural centre was familiar with and committed to feminist ideas, while the other centre was not. In the main classroom the split was about half and half. Because everything was audio only, a number of pre-conceived images developed (as we learned when we visited the rural centres). For example, the students who were primarily silent later said "the feminists were controlling the discussions."

In Ottawa we were aware that the differences in age and life experience of the students appeared to be the dividing line. As older women expressed ideas, the younger students occasionally looked at each other and rolled their eyes. In the main classroom we saw this and dealt with it, but in the rural centres we did not have visual cues to help us overcome the divisions that were occurring. As a result, resentment built up and obstructed the effectiveness of the communication process. While this often happens in traditional classrooms, being at a distance made resolving the differences problematic. We were not aware of the group dynamics until we visited the rural centres and, in one case, it was too late to resolve the entrenched attitudes.

The differences between the rural and urban centres became particularly visible after a "Women in History" lecture concluded. An Ottawa student suggested we replicate a traditional recipe book which would reflect not only the ingredients, but also the labour of our mothers and grandmothers as they created meals and maintained a home. Each student would supply one entry, and together, the knowledge we created would be a collaborative, concrete and lasting product to reflect the diversity of our own history as women, and to revalue an often denigrated aspect of women's work.

While the Ottawa students and one off-campus centre were enthusiastically supportive of this project, the other centre was first silent and then adamantly opposed. They expressed their horror at the prospect that their first ever Women's Studies course would produce, in their words, "yet another recipe book." After an exhaustive discussion, we learned that these off-campus women experienced great resistance and ridicule from friends, family, and coworkers for taking a Women's Studies course. Producing a "recipe book" would only magnify this hostility, they felt. For us, this reinforced Magda Lewis' observation that:

> ...we cannot expect...students will readily appropriate a political stance that is truly counter-hegemonic, unless we also acknowledge the ways in which our feminist practice/politics creates, rather than ameliorates, feeling of threat: the threat of abandonment; the threat of having to struggle within unequal power relations; the threat of psychological/social/sexual, as well as economic and political marginality; the threat of retributive violence–threats lived in concrete embodied ways. (1990, p. 485)

We learned that the students who had been exposed to feminist perspectives in prior courses were familiar with challenging basic beliefs about the values of women's work. They did not experience the recipe book as an unusual suggestion. For some of the distant students, juggling motherhood, homemaking, paid employment, and part-time studies appeared to contribute to their desire to create something "non-stereotypically female." To borrow from Virginia Woolf, having "a room of one's own" did not include revisiting the kitchen for these women.

This episode also reflected the difference in interaction that the main campus students had with us, that is, the informal freedom to converse during breaks (when the suggestion for the recipe book was first made). The off-campus students were brought into our "recipe" conversation midstream, thus reinforcing their "distance" and their perceived position as ***outsiders***.[8] For some of the students, this event set the tone for much of the remaining course and contributed to our difficulty in "crossing the distance".

For us, this draining experience brought home the demands of consciousness-raising across the distance. Ideally, education in the feminist classroom pushes students to see their experiences in new and different lights. The goal for the students is to integrate new learning and in the process modify past understandings, while remaining grounded in their experiences throughout, and thus, to develop a sense of themselves as knowledge producers (Shrewsbury, 1987). The "infamous recipe book episode," as our students came to refer to it, illustrates dilemmas a feminist distance instructor may encounter when attempting to achieve these pedagogical ideals.

"Signing Off"

One of our initial questions was: "Could we adapt the feminist pedagogical approaches we had developed in face-to-face classrooms to suit distance education?" By the end of the course, we answered this with a qualified yes. Our pedagogy met with considerable success, though there were many unanticipated aspects of the course which were difficult to adjust to. We were unprepared, initially, for the intersecting challenges of team-teaching a Women's Studies distance education course using a feminist pedagogy. As teachers, it was a unique experience of engaged teaching/learning.

When the course was finished–when all the planning and preparation, angst and frustration, exhaustion and exhilaration was over–we were still grappling with the question: "What aspects of the course design or our own behaviour made the course enlightening, even captivating for the main campus and one off-campus group, but maddening and isolating for the other rural centre?" Ultimately, the criteria used to judge the impact of Women's Studies distance education on students are "the degree to which [it] both empowers learners to make choices about their personal lives and encourages them to engage in socially conscious activities with others" (Coulter, 1989, p. 18).

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[8] We borrow this expression from Virginia Woolf's (1986) discussion of women as ***outsiders*** in education.

Most of our students expressed satisfaction and even delight by the end of the course, but one group of students, concentrated in an off-campus centre, expressed dissatisfaction and disappointment. If the students' course evaluations were any indication, our feminist perspective was an integral part of the most enthusiastic appraisals. Those students who claimed the most rewarding learning experience linked it with feminist consciousness-raising, and their growing understanding that what they thought were private problems were, in fact, public and political issues. It seemed, then, that the poor evaluations were linked with a failure to facilitate such consciousness-raising in one of the centres.

The origins of distance education have always emphasized both individual and social change. As one of our distant students declared, "I'll never forget this course. Everything I learned I now see in the world around me. I'll never again be the same person. Look out world, here I come." Molyneux also reminds us that, "...while education is a social process systematically organized and institutionalised, learning is a personal experience. It begins and ends with the individual..." (cited in Sweet, 1989, p. 3).

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EDUCATING UNION CANADA[1]

Bruce Spencer
Athabasca University

Abstract

This article provides an overview of labour education in Canada today. It discusses the range and nature of the provision, gives examples of programs and reviews the effectiveness of this major contribution to nonformal education for working people.

Résumé

Dans cet article nous proposons de presenter une vue d'ensemble de l'éducation scolaire ouvrière au Canada. Nous discuterons de l'étendue et de la nature de l'education nous fournirons des exemples de programmes, nous réexaminerons l'efficacité de l'éducation scolaire et nous montrerons enfin quel rôle celle-ci joue dans la formation non-scolaire des ouvriers.

> ...the largest public contribution to systematic adult education during the early seventies has been the financial support of the Federal Government for *labour education*.... The expenditures of these organizations (labour unions) on education has also increased, making it possible for thousands of Canadian workers to acquire skills of management, decision making, and knowledge about society that otherwise would have been very hard to achieve.
>
> It is of special importance to note that the money was given not to educational agencies, but to the labour organizations themselves. Most of these latter established their own educational programs, seeking only occasional assistance from the formal educational agencies. (Thomas, 1993, p. 15)

Introduction

Alan Thomas' reference to labour education in the popular text *The Craft of Teaching Adults,* alerts Canadian adult educators to an important sphere of adult education little known to them. This may not be so surprising because, as he makes clear, labour unions undertake most labour education themselves without the assistance of professional adult educators. Although the funding by the Federal Government has reduced significantly recently, and many companies claim to be engaged in workplace learning in the 1990s, union controlled labour education remains a major provider of nonformal adult education for working people.

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[1] This research comprises part of a three-year comparative study of worker education funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. A shorter version of this article was presented at the Society of Socialist Studies Conference, Calgary, June 12, 1994. This revised article has drawn on the comments of conference participants and union officials who responded to the earlier version.

This article is essentially descriptive. It:

1. Describes the scope of Canadian labour education.
2. Gives examples of union provision.
3. Discusses the involvement of educational institutions.
4. Explores labour education's contribution to union environmental policy.
5. Reviews the effectiveness of labour education in Canada.

A main purpose of labour education[2] is to prepare and train union lay members to play an active role in the union. Another purpose is to educate activists and members about union policy, about changes in the union environment such as new management techniques or changes in labour law. Labour education is also used to develop union consciousness, to build common goals and to share organizing and campaign experience. Unions have a small full time staff and therefore rely on what is essentially voluntary activity of their members to be effective at work; the labour education program is a major contributor to building an effective volunteer force.

Most labour union members learn about the union while on the job (what is often referred to as informal or incidental learning). They probably learn more and are most active during disputes, but they also learn from union publications and communications; from attending meetings, conferences, and conventions; and from the union's educational programs. Although labour education only caters to a small number of members in any one year it is "social," as opposed to personal, education. It is designed to benefit a larger number of members because the course participants bring the education to other union members. Labour education has a social purpose–to promote and develop the union presence and purpose, so as to advance the union collectively.

The Extent of Labour Education

It is difficult to present an accurate picture of the extent of labour education in Canada for several reasons:

1. There is no consistent statistical data on labour education courses offered.
2. There is no clear definition of what constitutes labour education.

While labour centrals such as the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) and Canadian Federation of Labour (CFL) do collect information on the numbers of courses provided by their affiliates or by themselves and the number of union members attending, they do not have the resources to compile statistical reports. There is also no consistency in the reporting of educational provision by affiliates, provincial labour bodies or independent unions. Courses might be provided by a union local or a labour council or they may be offered collaboratively with local colleges. They may draw on funds provided provincially or nationally. When courses are funded by the Government of Canada Human Resources Development (formerly Labour

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[2] The term "union education" can be used interchangeably with "labour education" in this article. Union education is sometimes reserved for courses run directly by unions as opposed to labour education courses run for unions by other providers.

Canada), records are kept and receipts forwarded, but the receipts only provide statistical data for those individuals claiming assistance and may not include a majority of those unionists in the course.

The CLC, (60% of Canadian union members belong to unions affiliated with the CLC), accounts for the largest slice of the Government of Canada Human Resources Development funds. It reports that 1,496 students received assistance for 24 provincial schools in 1992-1993 (this data is for both week-long "schools," which include several courses, and separate week-long courses or workshops), but estimates that between 10 to 15,000 union members attend courses in which the CLC is involved (personal communication, CLC staff, April 1994). If figures are added from the educational provision of individual unions and labour councils these figures can easily be tripled, but there are dangers of double counting. For example, a course provided essentially for an individual union might be offered at a provincial federation of labour school which is partly funded by the CLC. However, the educational provision made by individual unions, union locals, and labour councils is probably two to three times that made by the CLC and other union centrals.

There is also the question of what counts as labour education? Does an in-company course offered to union safety committee members, taught by union and management tutors count as "labour education?" If so does it still count if supervisors and management committee members are present? Does a two hour union induction program for new starters count as labour education?

Given these kinds of problems, it is probably of little value to attempt to pin down an accurate statistic of labour education in Canada. At best we can "guesstimate" based on the returns to the Government of Canada Human Resources Development, the records of individual unions and assumptions as to what constitutes "labour education." Some of the statistics include the following:

1. The Government of Canada Human Resources Development provided educational funds for the independent, nonaffiliated unions in 1992-1993 on the basis of a total of 454,000 members. The independents claimed 15,501 members participated in those funded courses, giving a participation rate of 3.4%.
2. To take an example of one union, the United Food and Commercial Workers International Union (UFCW) calculates 3,227 of its Canadian members participated in courses over an eleven-month period and another 668 members attended industrial conferences (giving a participation rate between 2% and 3.5% over one year on a membership of approximately 170,000).
3. As another example, the Ontario Nurses' Association (ONA) with 50,000 members educates 2,000 (4%) members per year.

Just as we can estimate the extent of labour education, we can also provide a list of items to be incorporated within a working definition of labour education. Mainstream labour education includes the following:

1. Courses lasting at least one half-day (thereby omitting short talks and inductions for new members).
2. All weekend, evening, and daytime classes up to and including the eight-week residential Labour College of Canada course.
3. Courses essentially controlled by the unions and targeted at their members, union representatives and officials.
4. Courses designed to enhance union effectiveness or develop union consciousness.
5. All courses for union members except specific "job" (vocational) training (but including courses on negotiating vocational training).

Using this definition and the statistical information available, we can guess that some 120,000 union members per year (3% of the total) underwent some form of labour education in Canada in the early 1990s. (The participation rate may have been double a decade earlier, when the economy was more buoyant and release time was easier to negotiate.)[3]

Such a "guesstimate" would place Canadian labour education at a similar level of provision to that in the UK and Australia (although there is probably less study time per student in Canada than in the UK), but much lower than the level of provision in Scandinavia (10% or more) where there are stronger traditions of union and workers' education and different relations between unions and the state.

An Overview of Labour Education

Most of the labour education courses provided by unions in Canada are ***tool*** courses (for example, shop steward training, grievance handling, health and safety). The next largest category are ***issues*** courses (for example, sexual harassment or racism) which often seek to link workplace and societal issues. A third group of courses can be labelled ***labour studies*** which seek to examine the union context (for example, labour history, economics, and politics).

Tool courses directly prepare members for active roles in the union and as representatives of the union, they are targeted at existing or potential union activists. They are provided directly by the unions, the provincial labour federations or the union centrals (such as the CLC), and only rarely placed in educational establishments, unlike the situation in the US and the UK where colleges and university extension programmes have traditionally provided some tool courses.

Many unions, such as the Public Service Alliance of Canada (PSAC) and the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE), layer their courses; that is, they have introductory and advanced programs. Advanced courses are available to those who have completed introductory courses. Some of these tool courses lead on to ***issue*** courses (sometimes referred to as "awareness" courses) which are specifically targeted at raising awareness of issues and are available after members have completed basic ***tool*** courses.

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[3] The origins of the CLC's Labour College is discussed in Swerdlow (1990), Chapter 10.

The union movement also provides more extensive and demanding educational opportunities such as the CLC's eight-week residential Labour College which teaches five courses–labour history, economics, sociology, labour law, and politics–at a first year university level. While the Labour College uses some university educators, it is directly accountable to the CLC and, although placed in the University of Ottawa, is a separate entity accountable to the CLC. This differs from the roughly equivalent Harvard's Trade Union Program, or adult residential colleges in the UK, such as Ruskin and Northern College. Although the Labour College has 60 places only each year, it builds union contacts among labour activists from different unions and has been in existence for 30 years (personal communication, Danny Mallet, CLC National Coordinator of Program Development, July 1994).

These more extensive courses are ***labour studies*** courses, designed to broaden participants' awareness of the context of labour unionism. Whilst the CLC Labour College of Canada is the flagship program, this category could also include:

1. Short courses, for example in labour history or economics, offered by labour councils over a number of evenings, or by provincial labour bodies (often in conjunction with the CLC) in a week-long school.
2. The Paid Educational Leave (PEL) courses offered by the Canadian Autoworkers (CAW) and Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) for their members.

While many universities in Canada offer labour studies concentrations to undergraduates as part of their degree offerings, few have dedicated programs of study designed for, and made available to, trade unionists. Those that do in Western Canada include:

1. Simon Fraser University Labour Program (Bernard, 1991).
2. Manitoba's University-Labour Three Year Certificate Programme (Saturday mornings).
3. University of Saskatchewan's Labour Studies Programme (3 hour evening classes for three years).

In the Maritimes the principal program is the Atlantic Region Labour Education Centre (ARLEC) run through St. Francis Xavier Extension, Nova Scotia. Other universities and colleges claim their classes are open to trade unionists but in some cases it is unclear if these are dedicated courses intended to provide a coherent program of study and if the programs are cosponsored by local trade unions. Certificates are granted in some cases but these courses are usually noncredit even if a certificate is awarded.

The intention of the dedicated courses is to supplement trade union tool courses with a broader educational program, and to provide a research basis for union activity. Although unions are represented on the "boards of studies" of these programs they are rarely union controlled in contrast to union run courses. (To be consistent with our earlier definition these should probably not be considered "labour education" but rather labour studies programs made available to labour unionists. However, in practice, many local unions are funding members to attend and do consider them labour or union education).

Beyond the university programs mentioned, there are also courses and programs offered by other educational bodies. Toronto's Metro Labour Education Centre provides tool and issue courses, and together with George Brown College offers a Labour Studies Certificate program. There is some similar work going on in individual community colleges. An interesting example of union-college cooperation, partly based on Toronto's experience, is provided by Ottawa and District Labour Council and Algonquin College which have established a Labour Studies Institute. The labour council, working with individual unions, offers a range of primarily tool training and issue courses, typically of 30 hours duration. Members attending the courses have their hours logged and can register for a labour studies certificate issued by the college when they have undertaken 240 hours of study including some core courses in labour studies (chosen from courses such as labour history, economics, politics and international affairs). The certificate does not give automatic credit transfer but will be taken into account when members apply for other courses at the college.

In other colleges, such as Capilano (Vancouver), courses are provided to meet the needs of particular unions and again cover the range of tool, issue and labour studies topics over a one- to five-day period. Most courses offered by Capilano are focused on two-day tool training for workplace representatives from particular unions, but they also offer public and broader courses and credit transfer. In spite of these examples, college and university provision of labour education is not widespread, the kind of service that Capilano offers small unions in the Vancouver area is organized in Manitoba by a committee of the Manitoba Federation of Labour. As small unions merge into larger organizations there could be even less demand for institutional provision as their representative training moves "in-house." Canadian college and university provision of labour education is much less than that offered in either the UK or the US.

Arguably, a review of labour education should include some reference to union-run literacy courses, many of which are tutored by fellow unionists and act as a bridge linking immigrant or illiterate workers to union concerns and publications. The Ontario Federation of Labour (OFL) sponsors an active "Literacy in the Workplace" program. Similarly, unions are responsible for a number of worker training programs which allow the unions to educate workers about union concerns alongside the vocational training. The building trades are particularly active in this area, but other examples are to be found in the sectoral training programs–the CAW involvement in autoworkers' training is a case in point–or within particular collective agreements such as those of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Unions, including noncraft unions, are becoming much more proactive in responding to company restructuring and deskilling and are arguing for reskilling, skills recognition, and skills profiling, as well challenging employers to live up to their rhetoric on pay for knowledge. However, these questions of worker training or worker education go beyond the scope of this article which is concerned with labour eduction or workers' education–education to support the labour movement not education for work. A case can be made for including some worker health and safety training in which unions are involved (this should not be confused with union safety representative training) within a review of labour education. These courses allow unions to argue for a union view (safe workplace) as opposed to a management view (safe worker) of health and safety. In Quebec and Ontario in particular, union-run worker health and safety training has been used as part of union organizing drives. In all of these cases it can be argued that sectoral or company money as well as union funds is being used to support "labour education."

Unions have also had some limited involvement in television productions such as *Work Week*, or in BC *Working TV*, which clearly have educational objectives. Union representatives participate in television and radio programmes in an attempt to present union perspectives, influence public opinion and to educate their members. Some unions are also actively involved in encouraging schools to broaden their curriculum to include labour issues and are providing speakers for school visits.

In summary, most labour education in Canada is ***tool training*** and ***issues*** courses targeted at union activists. In addition, unions and union centrals provide ***labour studies*** programs, often reserved for those activists who have been through the tool and issues courses, but sometimes targeted at members generally. A few educational institutions work with unions to provide labour education (more often labour studies) programs for labour unionists across Canada. Unions are also involved in workplace literacy and worker training programs and in televisual broadcasting, all of which are targeted at members and do include some elements of labour education. What follows is a discussion of different union's educational provision: first, an example of a union's education program which ties together these different strands of labour education; second, a discussion of professional union education; third, membership education; and fourth, a review of a union course on international issues.

An Example of Union Provision: CUPE's Six Level Program[4]

Individual unions offer a range of courses for activists. Although the particular offerings will vary, the kinds of courses offered by CUPE are broadly typical of those of other Canadian unions. CUPE's six level education program is graded and leads to a certificate of completion for members who have undertaken the six levels of courses–including the CLC Labour College.

Courses in levels one to four are usually offered at weekends or week-long seminars and are instructed by "peer instructors" or union staff. Broadly speaking, the levels are:

1. New Members and Officers

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[4] Thanks to Joe Bouchard, National Representative, CUPE, Niagara Area Office for the following information.

2. Steward Training
3. Collective Bargaining
4. Specialized Courses
5. Labour College Correspondence Courses
6. Labour College Residential Program.

Level One–New Members and Officers. Level one includes a course called *Our Union* which is designed to provide newer members and new local unions with knowledge about CUPE and how it functions. It also shows participants how to set up and run an effective union organization, including union committees. For example, it explains the role of union officers and how to conduct meetings. Another course offered at this level is the *Financial Officer Training* which is specially designed for secretary treasurers and trustees.

Level Two–Steward Training. Level two, Steward Training, is divided into two courses. The first is *Effective Stewarding*, a basic course which is primarily instructed by trained rank and file occasional instructors. The second course is *Advanced Steward Training* which is usually presented by union staff. This second course offers more analysis of contract language and arbitration cases than the "grievance handling" component of the first course.

Level Three–Collective Bargaining. Level three, Collective Bargaining, offers three courses to be taken consecutively. The *Introduction to Bargaining* course attempts to demonstrate how many of the negotiating skills used in daily life relate to the collective bargaining process. It also focuses on how to develop an overall bargaining strategy to achieve specific goals. The course includes:

1. How to set and pursue bargaining goals.
2. Dealing with the employer.
3. The importance of good communication skills.
4. Leadership in bargaining.
5. Developing effective tactics.
6. Building support for bargaining goals, both within the local and the community.
7. The right to strike.
8. Presenting a settlement to the membership.

The second collective bargaining course provides an overview of the collective bargaining system as it exists in Canada today. It outlines the roles played by the three main participants–employers, unions, and governments–and analyses the strengths and weaknesses of the system. It introduces the CUPE standard agreement and deals in detail with a number of contemporary issues.

The third course deals with formulating and substantiating collective bargaining demands and helps participants use research and statistical materials. When the course is given in a seminar setting, a mock bargaining session is a component.

Level Four–Specialized Courses. Level four, Specialized Courses, is divided into three categories:

1. Advanced discussions of material already covered such as advanced parliamentary procedure, arbitration, public speaking and face-to-face communications.
2. Courses designed to broaden the understanding of the role of trade union activity in the context of Canadian and world citizenship such as *Political Action, Understanding Economics, Labour Law.*
3. All the special issue courses such as *Health and Safety Training, Workplace Hazardous Materials Information System (WHMIS), Pay Equity, Employment Equity, Contracting Out, Aids in the Workplace, Union Counselling.*

Levels Five and Six-Labour College. The first two categories of Level Four serve the additional purpose of preparing members for the Level Five Labour College Correspondence course and Level Six Labour College of Canada eight week residential program.

Most of these courses, in the first four levels, are available at weekend seminars sponsored by the CUPE District Councils. Specific courses are arranged for union locals (or groups of them). In Ontario, the Ontario division sponsors up to three large weekend seminars with ten to twelve courses and upwards of 350 participants. CUPE National also holds three, week-long schools in Ontario. Some of these courses are available on a correspondence basis.

CUPE is also the sponsor of SoliNet, an electronic mail and computer conferencing system, which is made available to all sections of the labour and social movements. It links Canadians "from sea to sea to sea," and includes some subscribers from the USA, providing a vital exchange of information and ideas at a relatively low cost. It also uses the network to support its educational programs and is offering, in collaboration with Athabasca University, distance learning, university accredited, labour studies courses on SoliNet.

Many aspects of the CUPE six level program are replicated by other unions at local, provincial, and national levels. The mix of tool training and issue courses is common to typical union education programs in Canada; however, in some unions the level four courses on economics or labour law are left to the CLC sponsored provincial federation of labour schools. Course offerings also reflect the problems faced by a particular industrial sector. For example, the UFCW includes courses on repetitive strain injury as well as more common health and safety topics. It also has programs on layoffs and closures, and an extensive union sponsored literacy program.

Professional Unions: Nurses and Teachers

A growth area for organized labour in Canada since the 1960s has been public sector professionals, some of whom are organized within existing unions but more typically are organized independently into provincial unions, such as the ONA or the British Columbia Teachers' Federation (BCTF). Most of these provincial unions are not affiliated to any central labour body.

Many of the programs run by these organizations are similar to those of other unions but some reflect professional concerns. For example, the ONA has a program on professional responsibility which encompasses the dual accountability of nurses as employees and as professionals. The BCTF includes courses on a *Code of Ethics* and *Violence in Schools* within their programs.

Other courses offered reflect the particular situation facing members, such as courses on *Assertiveness Training* for nurses and on *Political Lobbying* for both groups. The BCTF in preparation for a shift from localized to centralized bargaining extended the availability of their education programs to include more local representatives who may be involved in contract administration.

These unions, or professional associations, face a number of problems, and while they are not unique to professional unionism, they are common to them. These include:

1. The cost involved in gathering together representatives from scattered workplaces.
2. Getting time off and meeting the costs of wages lost or replacement labour (for example, a supply teacher).
3. The problem of developing a "union consciousness" among members.

The BCTF would argue that what they are trying to do is develop a critical consciousness among their members, particularly in offering general courses on educational themes. It is clear that such programs also have an objective of building union identity by encouraging members to identify issues on which the union should campaign. Some unions have directly tackled the problem of developing union and class consciousness through a "membership education" program.

Membership Education: The CAW PEL Program

A number of unions are running membership education courses targeted at the broader membership and not just union activists. The most distinctive and intensive is that offered by the CAW. This program, which is now emulated by the CUPW, is not focused narrowly on preparing representatives for collective bargaining but on promoting an understanding of the union's social and political goals (Spencer, 1992; Saul, 1994).

The CAW and its predecessor the Canadian section of the United Auto Workers (UAW), have been running extensive educational programs for their members and activists throughout the postwar period. Since the split from the UAW, the CAW has refurbished its Family Education Centre at Port Elgin, Ontario (on the shores of Lake Huron) and overhauled its educational programs. Central to this refurbishment is the union's PEL program. The program is funded by a two to three cent per member, per hour benefit negotiated in contracts with employers. The money goes into a trust fund and is used to pay for lost wages, travel, accommodation and the educational costs of the program. The bargaining unit (usually a particular local) can send as many members as its contributions allow. The program consists of four, week-long residential courses, usually separated by two to three weeks back at work. The program is previewed by applicants at a weekend residential school, to which applicants' partners are invited and commitments made to take the full course. A PEL course would typically consist of 130 members subdivided into six groups. The union also offers the program in French. By 1994 more than 4,000 members had completed the CAW PEL program.

Each week (level) of the course has a separate theme:

Level 1	the present as history,
Level 2	sociology,
Level 3	political economy,
Level 4	social and political change.

Some study skills (e.g., basic math and reading) and union representative skills (e.g., reporting and effective speaking) are built into the course. There are also committees established at the outset from among the course members, which mirror the kind of committees operating throughout the union–substance abuse, international affairs, women, human rights, culture, and recreation. These committees organize events during the course and make recommendations to the course coordinator. The course concludes with a convention (mock-conference) focusing on the wide range of issues addressed during the course and reported on by the committees.

Videos are used extensively and shared by members, but they have not replaced written materials which are sometimes read aloud, using a system of voluntary readers in each group. (Reading aloud was a technique used in early North American unions. For example, Samuel Gompers, American Federation of Labor President (1886-1894 and 1896-1924), began his union work as a reader to cigar makers.) Each week there are a number of plenary sessions with union and guest speakers and with an opportunity for questions and discussion from the floor. These can vary depending on the issues of the day and on student requests. For example, topics might include free trade, refugees, Palestine, community politics, and coalition building. These sessions complement the work going on in the classroom and in student committees.

Local Union Discussion Leaders (LUDLs) lead the groups. These volunteers are union activists whose release can be negotiated for a particular week (their wages are paid for out of the PEL trust fund) and have received additional discussion leader training. In addition to training in teaching methods, these lay tutors meet annually to discuss changes in course content and updating of materials.

There is plenty of opportunity for student experience and knowledge to be used within the groups although the approach used is material and subject based, rather than just relying on student experience to provide course content. The union's purpose is to provide a broad educational experience which challenges their members to question social economic and political structures and to review the role of unions in society. They discuss the relationship between national and international questions as well as those between union members.

It is clear from talking to members that the course is an eye-opener for many participants, particularly for those who conceived of the union as having only a limited role. As a result of the experience, some will move from union card-carriers to activists (Dennis McDermott, a former head of the union and CLC President described his stay at Port Elgin in the 1950s as a turning point in his union activism). The experience is also social; contacts are made and members gain an understanding of different work and community situations. Articles and books are read and videos exchanged; newspapers are dissected and discussed. It is always difficult to evaluate the impact of this kind of course. The CAW contends that a majority of participants leave with a heightened union and social consciousness and that a substantial minority are prepared to take on union positions as a result.

A four-week residential membership education program is a model of the kind of PEL that can be won through negotiation. Its future, though, is dependent on what can be achieved in negotiations. A substantial number of students come from plants in the "big three" auto companies and those companies can be affected by layoff and staff reductions. The union is committed to extending the PEL clauses to all its contracts in all of the new sectors merging into CAW. At present approximately 75% of bargaining units, covering 93% of the union's total membership, have negotiated PEL. The biggest threat to the program comes from plant closures which increased in the early 1990s economic recession and the continuing restructuring of the Canadian economy.

It is important to recognize that the employer has no influence over the PEL program. It is not employer-paid time off as experienced in some joint union-management training courses. Once the contract includes a PEL clause the money collected goes into the CAW-PEL trust fund which pays the lost wages and expenses of members who attend the course. The member receives time off without pay from the employer. There is no government influence over the educational program the union offers its members.

This program is now being emulated by CUPW, who have negotiated a three-cents-per-member levy. They have used the Port Elgin facility to run a number of PEL classes alongside CAW courses in preparation for mounting a separate CUPW program.

Internationalism: Steelworkers' Humanity Fund Educational Program[5]

The CAW and CUPW PEL programs are not the only membership education courses to include international issues. A number of unions offer courses specifically on international issues, and given the increasing globalization of capital and the growth of free trade deals it is important to consider how unions have responded educationally to these developments. One of the most distinctive courses is that of the Steelworkers. What follows is a description of a course called *Thinking North-South* developed by the Steelworkers Humanity Fund which is taught in Steelworkers' week-long schools. Rank and file activists drawn from the

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[5] The following is a short summary of Marshall (1992).

280 bargaining units which have contributed to the Humanity Fund spend a week together thinking about the workings of the global economy.

Over 110 rank and file workers throughout Canada had participated in the course by 1992. Fifteen had also travelled to visit projects in El Salvador and Peru. The course was offered seven times in a two-year period, 1991 to 1992, using participatory educational methods. Participants map out the workings of the global economy, starting with their own workplace and eventually creating a complex map linking structural adjustment in the south with free trade in the north.

The instructor team, which includes worker-instructors who have done the course and travelled to other countries, have experimented with different approaches. One course included a role play of a press conference given by delegations at an international meeting on hemispheric initiatives. The "Peruvian delegation" and "Canadian delegation" made presentations on current economic policies. The "journalists" were divided into labour and mainstream press.

The course has tackled the question of how the media frames visions of the south as a recipient of charity rather than as a potential partner in solving world problems. One video used was *Simon Ngubane: Still on Strike*, a history of the South African metalworkers. (Responses to it included: "I had no idea there was such a sophisticated trade union movement in South Africa," and "Why does TV just show us black on black violence instead of news on trade unions?")

In addition to teaching internationalism, some Canadian unions sponsor international educational activity. The more extensive understanding of broader national and international context is often the focus of institutional labour studies courses.

Institutional Provision of Labour Studies

As discussed above, university and college provision of labour education is sparse but varied. Two of the more established labour studies programs targeted specifically at trade unionists are at the University of Manitoba and the University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon.

The Manitoba Federation of Labour-University of Manitoba certificate (Friesen, 1993) is a three year program established more than thirty years ago; students take one course per term, three hours a week (two courses per year). Courses include economics, politics, labour law, industrial relations and labour history. Graduating students can proceed to a labour studies degree program.

The University of Saskatchewan Labour Studies Program is run by the College of Commerce and is endorsed by the Saskatchewan Federation of Labour. The program began in 1988, and has attracted over 250 trade unionists. Courses range from *Labour History and the Role of Labour in Society* through *Labour Sociology*, *Labour Economics*, *Women and Work*, *New Technology*, and *Labour Law and Occupational Health and Safety*. After taking six courses over three years, students obtain a university certificate.

Perhaps more typical of labour studies programs in Canada is that offered by Brock University; although a new–five-year-old–program in industrial Ontario (St. Catharines), it is a degree program for mainstream students. With parttime students and evening classes it is possible for labour activists to take classes but it is not targeted at them, nor is there any credit given for union education courses.

Athabasca University, Alberta, provides another recent model of university credit labour studies courses, but as an open, distance university it is able to work directly with unions and the Federation of Labour to provide courses at labour schools (courses have been offered at the AFL Spring School and at the CAW, Port Elgin). Typically, Athabasca students are working adults studying parttime and those that are attracted to labour studies have a union background. Credit is given for some union education courses.

In Quebec, the Université du Québec à Montréal signed an agreement in 1976 with two labour centrals, the Confederation des syndicats nationaux (CSN) and the Quebec Federation of Labour (QFL) and have been providing labour education and research ever since. They are the only substantial institutional provider in Quebec.

Educational institutions offering longer labour studies courses provide union members with the opportunity to investigate substantive knowledge areas beyond their immediate experience, and allow students the time to reflect on labour's place in the political economy and within new social forces. As noted, the above unions are also addressing some of these questions directly on shorter union provided courses, and as a final example of how unions are educationally tackling these broader questions, those courses recently established by the CLC on the environment will be reviewed. This is an important example because it also illustrates labour education's contribution to resolving a controversy within organized labour.

Unions and the Environment

One of the key aspects of social unionism as defined by Canadian unions is coalition building with other social movements: unions recognise that they need to build links with other social movements if they are to influence public opinion and government policy. This raises an important question. To what extent can organized labour, an old social movement with its established bureaucracy and its own educational practices, adopt the concerns and educational practices of the "new" social movements such as women's groups, peace groups, or environmentalists? If we look at CUPE's program and those of other unions, we can argue that they have done much in this area:

1. Unions offer a number of courses addressing many "new social" issues such as employment equity, sexual or racial harassment.
2. Unions have campaigned for peace and against world poverty.
3. Unions have run campaigns and educational programs targeted primarily at members' behaviour outside the workplace, such as those against violence against women, and substance abuse. The CAW, in particular, runs a

number of short courses on these themes and has some separate programs for women, persons of colour, and physically challenged members.

Environmentalism, however, provides an interesting test for labour. The clash between conservation and economic growth has generally found labour siding with capital in support of development and jobs.[6] In other cases, unions have been split in their support for conservation or development of a particular resource. In the popular image, loggers and pulp and saw mill workers are lined up against environmentalists and native groups in demanding access to BC's forests.

This image is too simplistic. Unionized workers and their organizations are also concerned with longer-term employment; they do not support the despoiling tactics used by some corporations involved in resource extraction. Others live as well as work in the locality of a particular plant, be it mill or mine or municipal dump site. It is their families, not those of shareholders and directors, who breath in the foul discharge from the pulp mills. There can also be a coincidence of interests in that fewer chemicals in the plant improve the health and safety of workers and reduce the hazardous waste associated with the production process. Also the simplistic presentation of these issues in some media often does not allow for the diversity of opinion among union members. Just as environmentalists and native groups can have differences of opinion on development issues, so, too, can labour. The split between pulp and paper workers (Communications, Energy and Paperworkers [CEP]) and the woodworkers (International Woodworkers of America [IWA]) over forest management in BC is a prime example.

Given this framework, we can now look at the following question. How has organized labour set about developing a policy on the environment and what role has union education played? One of the problems for labour in dealing with environmental questions has been what environmental stance it could adopt. It had no well-developed theory to support its action. This situation changed to some extent with the publication of the Bruntland Commission's report (Brundland, 1987) and the Commission's enumeration of the principles of "sustainable development." Although this was not a labour movement document, it captured many of labour's concerns with simple conservationism and melded with some existing campaigns around ensuring future work and reduction in hazardous substances. For example, the CLC has been holding conferences on jobs and the environment since 1978. (A few unions have national policies which stand in contradiction to environmental concerns, support for nuclear energy by energy workers and for clear-cutting by the IWA are perhaps the most glaring examples. There can also be splits within unions, for example the desire of chemical workers–CEP members–to see chlorine used in papermaking and the determination of paperworkers–also CEP members–to see it phased out; or CUPE's local 1000, Ontario Hydro's, opposition to CUPE's national policy against nuclear energy).

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[6] It can also be argued that some environmental groups are antiworker, see Schrecker (1994).

Labour has argued for a blended approach to the issue of development and the environment. The following stands illustrate this point:

1. The International Chemical and Energy Workers' Federation stated that "to deny the need for economic growth in a world plagued by poverty and undernourishment for the bulk of its population is as unreasonable as to insist that such growth can continue to destroy the natural habitat of mankind without interruption."
2. The CAW have asserted that "workers must have the right to choose both economic security and a healthy environment for ourselves, our families and future generations."
3. Ted Shrecker (1993) argued that this can be achieved via the sustainable development concept which "requires that growth be revived, nationally and globally, *while conserving and enhancing the resource base* on which growth depends."[7] One of the key elements here is the recognition of the importance of renewable resources.

In order to ensure its perspectives were developed by its own affiliates and their members, the CLC began developing courses for union members. A number of provincial and national conferences preceded course development. In 1993, a one-week course, *Union Environmental Action* was written to be followed by materials on an introductory nine-hour course, *Workers' and the Environment* and a three-hour unit, *Pollution Prevention,* developed primarily for inclusion in other courses. Members attending these courses may also receive a copy of the CLC *Sustainable Development* publication.

Although the publication of these materials suggests a very fixed agenda, the course program allows members to inject their own concerns and examples. However, the goal of the CLC is to get course participants to understand the key issues and struggle with the difficult problems raised. Course participants are expected to read the background information and are supplied with lists of additional readings. Many of the problems raised are open ended with a variety of policy options discussed. The CLC lists different environmental groups and notes where there have been disagreements between these groups and different unions. The possibility for establishing contacts is left open.

In many ways these short courses, particularly the week long *Union Environmental Action* course, are examples of the best traditions of workers' education in which the sociopolitical and socioeconomic context is provided as a basis for consideration of policy decisions and union actions. These courses can be seen as issue based environmentalism, but are not focused on a specific local concern, as might informal learning in a local environmental group. They would provide context for such "learning" and do not preclude local or provincial union organization mounting such an educational event. On the contrary, by sensitising a broader constituency to the issues involved, these courses would be expected to result in more union environmental actions. Such actions may be a reaction to a particular event, a toxic dump site, for example, or initiated by the union membership as a result of heightened consciousness, for example, auditing company environmental practices.

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[7] Many of the examples and general points made in this section are taken from Shrecker (1993).

It is too early to evaluate the success of these courses but a number of features can be noted: (a) the material is discussion-based, beginning with students' experiences to date; (b) course members are provided with background material some of which is "taught" directly on the course, with the remainder provided as background reading; (c) instructors are rarely professional educators; and (d) the courses use lay and full time officials as instructors-facilitators. It should also be noted that labour pays for its own education, including loss of wages, the education grant from the Government of Canada Human Resources Development to the CLC is small and is without strings. All of which means that organised labour can take an independent stance on issues, whereas some environmental pressure groups may be dependent on government grant assistance to support their activities and therefore may be constrained when dealing with some issues.

In addition to CLC initiatives, a number of unions have been mounting their own campaigns. The pulp and paper section of the CEP have a pamphlet, developed from a Swedish pulp and paper union publication, which argues for treating forests as a renewable resource and for zero discharge of chemicals. They have taken this publication to all sections of their membership and run half-day schools explaining union policy.

Discussion and Evaluation

Union or labour education has been divided into ***tool training*** for union representatives, ***issue*** courses which connect workplace and society, and ***labour studies*** which looks at the broader context of unionism. While these categories overlap, they are nonetheless useful for differentiating between the main purposes of particular courses and how they relate to union organization and goals. Labour education is primarily targeted at representatives or activists in the union and they normally begin with basic ***tool training*** courses, and then move on to ***issues*** courses and eventually the more extensive ***labour studies*** courses and programs. Some unions offer membership (as opposed to representative or activist) education courses and in some cases such courses may more accurately be described as ***labour studies*** as they examine and explain the context of labour unionism. Labour education in Canada, therefore, can be viewed as having three main purposes:

1. To maintain and sustain union organization and diverse union purposes.
2. To promote change of policy and organizational goals.
3. To develop union consciousness and support social action.

State Funding

Federal Government support for labour education reached a peak in 1990-1991 of $8 million, calculated at $2.11 per capita. In 1994-1995 it was just over $4 million at $1.20 per capita. The Government of Canada Human Resources

Development did consider setting up a separate fund to promote its priorities within the Labour Education Program (LEP)[8] (Government of Canada Human Resources Development, 1990, recommendation 1) but it has not done so, preferring to use other funds to promote joint labour management schemes such as participatory management. This has left the LEP as a distinctive state contribution to union controlled education, essentially justified as "a substantial contribution to a more equitable distribution of public funds allocated to industrial relations education" (Government of Canada Human Resources Development, 1990, p. 114). Whilst it is clear that the Federal Government sees LEP funding as essentially contributing to a more "effective operation of the industrial relations system," it also recognises that courses contribute to "the broader labour movement and the community" and to union involvement in "public policy process" (Government of Canada Human Resources Development, 1990, p. 113). What this amounts to is a fairly broad view of the purposes of labour education and a "without strings" approach to granting state funds. LEP funding has directly, or indirectly; e.g., via support for course materials development, assisted a substantial proportion of labour education in Canada. LEP is, however, only funding a part of the labour education provision (Government of Canada Human Resources Development, 1990, p. 102) and makes no contribution to some, such as the CAW and CUPW PEL courses.

Effectiveness of Labour Education

This brings us to the concluding question. How effective is labour education in Canada? Since unions invest a lot of time and resources in education, over and above those provided by LEP, it is clearly important to them. However, other events in a unionist's life, such as a strike or participation in an actual negotiations, may provide more important and direct learning opportunities than a union course; no matter how carefully crafted, a course may be considered once removed from the actual experience. Nevertheless, unions regard education as underpinning the union effort in the workplace and in the community.

A study sponsored by the CLC in 1990 found that:

1. Members expected to benefit both themselves and the union by taking union courses.
2. The courses helped members to become more interested in the union.
3. Members were able to make better union decisions as a result of attending union courses (Vector, 1990).

Generally members thought courses were too short, but in other ways were content with the course experience.

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[8] LEP provides financial assistance to education initiatives of central labour bodies and independent trade unions. It was established in 1977, commencing with a direct contract with the CLC. Currently six central labour organizations and approximately ninety independent unions receive funding from Labour Canada.

While respondents felt the major impact of labour education was on how they did their union work, others included comments on how it changed the way they saw Canadian society (this was particularly notable in respondents from the Atlantic region) and influenced them to become involved in local politics and community actions. On the evidence of this study, the CLC's labour education programs clearly worked as a promoter of "social unionism" and the programs also worked as "education." Most students wanted more educational opportunity, preferably using the same format, but with two out of three also stating they were interested in taking labour courses at home.

In conclusion, the survey enhances the perception of union officials that education supports union activism. The link between education and activism was also confirmed in the Government of Canada Human Resources Development LEP study which included a survey of Labour College of Canada students (Government of Canada Human Resources Development, 1990, p. 75-84). Labour education, organization and activism are linked. The CLC's National Coordinator of Program Development, Danny Mallet, has argued that the diverse educational provision of Canadian unions has been a major factor in the growth of labour unionism in Canada during a period of international decline (personal communication, July 1994) (for example, in the last ten years unions in Canada have retained a density of approximately 37% with an increasing workforce and have therefore increased their membership, whereas unions in the USA, UK, Australia, and New Zealand have suffered declines in density and actual members of between one-quarter and one-half in the same time period).

Conclusion

This survey of labour education in Canada has illustrated the diversity and vibrancy of current provision. Future research will explore US, Australian and New Zealand labour education (and update the reports on the UK) and contrast union education responses to the globalization and restructuring of capital and labour markets. In this regard the withdrawal of state funding in the UK and New Zealand and the decline in federal support in Canada and Australia is significant, as is the move towards credentializing of union training across all five countries. The emphasis unions are giving to worker training also needs elaboration, as do the links between unions and public education bodies. Unions are beginning to use electronic and other forms of distance education to combat corporate global strategies and are rediscovering the importance of a "union conscious" as well as a skilled leadership and membership. The implications that all of these factors have for labour education curriculum, methods, students and tutors need to be examined.

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PERSPECTIVES

LITERACY AS AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY: THE TANZANIAN EXPERIENCE

Philemon A. K. Mushi
University of Dar es Salaam

Abstract

This study examines Tanzania's initiatives to use functional literacy programs as a vehicle for agricultural transformation. The functional literacy programs were introduced in four pilot regions in 1968, focusing on: reading, writing, numeracy, agriculture, nutrition, national ideology, fishing, and cattle raising. They were introduced to replace traditional literacy programs which had had only a disappointing impact on improving agricultural production. Following the pilot program, a national program was implemented in 1971 and continues to the present. Although the government hoped for significant changes in traditional farming practices, this has not happened due to a combination of factors including a lack of attention to the human and material resources needed, learners' motivations, and the local conditions under which the programs operate.

Résumé

Cette étude se penche sur une série d'initiatives d'alphabétisation fonctionnelle vouées au développement agricole en Tanzanie. Les projets, introduits dans quatre régions pilotes en 1968, avaient pour objet la lecture, l'écriture, le calcul, l'agriculture, l'alimentation, l'idéologie nationale, la pêche et l'élevage du bétail. Ces activités furent conçues pour succéder aux programmes conventionnels d'alphabétisation, dont l'impact sur les pratiques agricoles était jugé insuffisant. Suite au projet pilote, un programme national fut lancé en 1971 et subsiste à ce jour. Les attentes du gouvernement, anticipant des changements marqués dans les practiques agricoles traditionnelles, ne se concrétisèrent pas. Plusieurs facteurs peuvent être invoqués, dont le manque de ressources humaines et matérielles, la faible motivation des apprenants, et des conditions locales peu favorables.

Introduction

Tanzania has, since independence, considered agriculture to be the main engine of its economy. Agriculture constitutes the largest part of the country's Gross National Product (GNP) and is the main source of foreign exchange. Although the majority of the population is engaged in agriculture, farmers still use traditional methods of farming which the government believes limits the productivity of labour and cultivated land. In other words, the quality and quantity of agricultural production is hampered by a lack of modern farming skills.

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Immediately following independence, the government thought it was unfair to consider farmers old-fashioned simply because of their familiar farming practices; modern skills of farming were unknown to traditional African society and therefore to the majority of Tanzanian people (Nyerere, 1973). However, by the 1960s, traditional farming skills, although appropriate in the past, were considered obsolete because they could not cope with demands to increase production for world-wide consumption.

With the adoption of "Ujamaa" (the Tanzanian version of socialism) as a development strategy, modernization of agriculture became even more important because the country had limited capital resources. Ujamaa required that people live and work together in village communities to increase agricultural production and earn needed foreign currency. An increase in foreign currency was expected to lead to improvements in disposable incomes, a more rational investment of money, a better standard of living, and improved levels of sanitation and nutrition (Institute of Adult Education [IAE], 1971). In the effort of working towards agricultural transformation, functional literacy was considered a key skill. In the government's view, functional literacy would empower people as well as provide for them to improve the quality and quantity of agricultural production. In turn, this improvement in agricultural production was expected to increase circulation of foreign currency and boost the country's GNP.

To realize the objective of agricultural transformation, leaders were required to persuade and educate the rural population rather than force them to change farming methods. The country's political leadership saw part of its role, therefore, in educational terms; it wished to improve literacy and use functional literacy training as a means of bringing about adoption of modern farming skills. This necessitated government introduction of functional literacy programs to replace traditional literacy programs, which had treated literacy as an end in itself (Mushi, 1990). Traditional programs focused on the "3Rs" only (reading, writing, and numeracy skills), whereas functional literacy programs focused on the 3Rs as well as agriculture, national ideology, nutrition, fishing, and cattle raising.

Purpose of the Study and Research Methods

This study was conducted by the researcher in 1989 to investigate and analyze Tanzania's initiatives to use functional literacy as a vehicle for agricultural transformation during the 1970s and 1980s. In particular, this study investigated the manner in which the functional literacy program was conceived, formulated, and implemented. Ideally, the outcome of this analysis would be to improve an understanding of the context and constraints which influenced the functional literacy program design and development in Tanzania, and to enable adult education policy makers and planners to carry out informed modifications where necessary.

The study employed structured interviews with practising adult educators who participated in the design and implementation of the program. These included adult education officials at the Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC) and regional adult educators. Information generated from these interviews was cross-validated through document analysis. Legislative documents such as government circulars, government policy statements, MEC and Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) research reports, and other textual materials were analyzed to gather information on how these programs were formulated and implemented.

Major Findings and General Analysis

Program Development

Initially, the government's intention in designing the new functional literacy programs was to involve the community in identifying skills necessary to improve agricultural production (Nyerere, 1975, 1979). However, according to the report, "Adult Education and Development in Tanzania" (Johnsson, 1983), there were no proper surveys carried out to help develop the functional literacy programs. Instead, the programs were designed by a few experts who focused exclusively on agricultural concerns regarding the cash-crops that promised the greatest potential contribution to foreign exchange (J. Nindi, personal communication, January 25, 1989).

In justifying their planning approach, the MEC officials (A. Kalinjuma, personal communication, January 27, 1989) underlined that functional literacy programs were not a matter of "community choice", but were rather what was considered necessary by the Chama cha Mapinduzi Party (CCM) to achieve national development goals. Functional literacy programs, therefore, did not require participatory program planning. This point was further emphasized by Mbakile, the former assistant director of the Mwanza Literacy Centre, in his paper "Literacy and Post-Literacy Programs in Tanzania", (undated):

> It is nowadays commonly advocated that program clientele should be actively involved in program planning, etc. However, our experience shows that where political decisions and priorities are of overriding importance, the implementation of these by the government does not have to wait for participatory planning. The Party resolution on the eradication of functional illiteracy required the application of approaches, techniques and methods all of which could be developed with less participatory planning than desirable. (p. 27)

The functional literacy programs were, therefore, planned in the context of a framework that made no attempt to incorporate the views of the community.

Organization and Implementation

Strategies Employed. The campaign to eradicate illiteracy was organized in four phases, starting in 1971, and initially covered some 5.2 million participants (Nindi, 1984). It was funded by international agencies such as SIDA and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). The government directed primary schools to serve as educational centres for children in the mornings and for adults in the afternoons. In addition to school buildings, the literacy campaign also used factories, party offices, bars, market places, and dispensaries as classrooms.

Regional and district adult education coordinators were appointed to mobilize people for literacy activities as well as to coordinate and distribute literacy materials. The coordinators were assisted by various adult education committees formed from the grassroots to the national level. The CCM Party leadership organized mass rallies and speeches to mobilize people to attend classes. Radio education programs, jazz bands, and newspapers were used to further support this campaign (Mpogolo, 1980).

Adults who failed to attend literacy classes were discussed in the adult education committees. In some centres, by-laws were introduced to ensure regular attendance; those who did not attend classes without genuine reason were fined (Mbakile, undated). This decision, however, contrasted markedly with the country's underlying philosophy of adult learning. As Nyerere (1979) originally proposed, adult learning should not be imposed, because each learner is ultimately a volunteer in the learning process. In the functional literacy campaign, however, this principle was ignored.

Instructors and Instructional Procedures. As stated in a document by IAE (1971), both primary school teachers and volunteers were required to teach in functional literacy classes. The use of an eclectic approach to teach reading, writing, and simple numeracy was considered essential, for it provided the easiest way of teaching simple sentences with functional meaning. The approach therefore started with simple, functionally meaningful sentences followed by introduction of related words and syllables. The syllables were used to generate new words, phrases, and sentences. Vocational skills were taught by materials which related to the occupation of the participants. A cotton farmer, for example, was supposed to learn better methods of cotton growing by using a primer featuring cotton-growing information.

Although primary school teachers and volunteers were required to teach functional literacy programs specifically focusing on agriculture, they did not pre-train in either adult teaching methods or agriculture. As a result, most of these teachers failed to handle the theoretical and practical aspects of the functional literacy classes. Sumra and Bwatwa (1988) in their paper "Adult Education, Literacy Training and Skill Upgrading in Tanzania" noted:

> Primary school teachers have been trained to teach primary school pupils; they have had no training in teaching adults. As a result, they basically use the same methods for teaching adults as they do for teaching primary school pupils. Thus a teacher who has never been a farmer has the responsibility of teaching a farmer how to grow cotton better. (p. 268)

Clearly, the learners were placed in an awkward situation for they could not practise the "half-baked" skills imparted by literacy teachers. Their teachers were also hampered and could not apply proper assessments. As Lasway, assistant to the national director of adult education commented:

> Due to the poor quality of teachers, it has often been difficult for them to provide descriptive reports to accompany the quantitative reports. It is therefore difficult to make a qualitative evaluation of the class progress. (Lasway, 1985, pp. 313-314)

The government was eager to see a rapid improvement in agriculture, but neglected to improve the quality of its instructors. This exemplified the low status accorded to adult education; adult education was seen as a non-professional job that could be left to untrained teachers as it was thought that the teaching of adults required no specialized skills.

Literacy and Instructional Resources. The government conceived of functional literacy as a necessary means of working towards agricultural transformation, and seemed to view it as a mechanism for bringing about automatic transformation in a top-down manner. However, apart from the inadequacies of the classroom, other aspects of the program, such as the recommended purchases of agricultural equipment and resources, were not well matched to the students. For example, the programs concentrated on the use of fertilizers and seeds which had to be bought from cooperative shops at prices too high for the village communities (Kweka, 1987; Mlekwa, undated), rather than manure and seeds which could be produced locally. By the mid-1980s, over ten years since the start of the campaign, only 25% of the peasant population had managed to improve agricultural production (MEC, 1986). Literacy training alone obviously did not have the power to bring about important shifts in agricultural production; it needed to be linked with other conditions and facilities to be successful.

Literacy and Local Conditions. As stated earlier, functional literacy programs were developed in a top-down fashion, designed on assumptions that the needs, motivations, personalities and interests of the village communities were known. In fact, failure to involve village communities in determining their own learning needs was one of the main impediments to literacy initiatives in the country (Carr-Hill, 1991; Kater, 1992; Mushi, 1990). In some villages, functional literacy programs did not match the villagers' agricultural concerns (A. Nyiti, personal communication, February 2, 1989). For example, in villages where the main agricultural activity was coffee or banana production, teachers used texts on fishing as primers. According to Nindi (personal communication, January 25, 1989), the reason for this mis-match was the poor coordination of literacy activities in the village communities and a shortage of instructional materials.

Further interviews with J. Nindi (personal communication, date, 1989) and D. Mbunda (personal communication, February 14, 1989) revealed that the content of the programs was not of an appropriate level to motivate villagers who had been engaged in agricultural production for a long time. Ironically, given the objective of the campaign, some of the texts did not introduce any new ideas concerning agriculture. Consequently, students attended irregularly, displayed passive resistance, or dropped out. Some participants attended classes only when they wished or when the local authorities applied special force (i.e.; by-laws or fines).

Evaluation Procedures

In order to enable the government to ascertain whether the functional literacy objectives were being realized or not, an evaluation exercise was considered necessary. Evaluation instruments such as attendance registers and special forms referred to as Upimaji wa Kisomo (UMK) were employed to determine the levels of learners' enrolment, attendance, and performance. Apart from this, literacy tests (paper and pencil tests) were used to assess the extent to which reading, writing, and simple arithmetic skills had been mastered by the learners.

The tests were graded according to four levels of achievement. Level I consisted of learners who had enrolled in and attended two thirds of the literacy sessions offered in a year. Level II was composed of learners who qualified for Level I but who could write or do simple calculations. Level III was comprised of learners who attended as in Levels I and II but in addition could read and write simple texts as well as do simple arithmetic. Level IV included learners who attended as per the lower levels but who could also read newspapers and use acquired literacy skills in community development. Learners who achieved Levels III and IV were considered literacy graduates; those who achieved Level IV were considered functionally literate.

However, it appears that literacy tests were only relevant as far as Levels I and II were concerned because their main focus was on the 3Rs. Since Levels III and IV required adult learners to master the 3Rs as well as functional skills, literacy tests were in themselves unable to evaluate functional literacy. Therefore, other assessment tools were needed. In spite of this, the government appears to have overlooked this crucial aspect of a successful program.

Since 1975, literacy tests have been continuously used as assessment tools to evaluate functional literacy programs. They may work, in a limited fashion, to evaluate basic literacy skills, but they certainly do not provide an effective means for measuring any upgrading of agricultural skills, which was an equally important objective of the functional literacy campaign. One researcher noted:

> We have not succeeded in evaluation. We are still using the assessment tools used in assessing formal education. We cannot evaluate a better farmer through a paper and pencil exam. (D. Mbunda, personal communication, February 14, 1989)

In a larger sense, the literacy campaign was quite successful; in regard to the 3Rs, the literacy tests conducted across the country showed that the government managed to reduce illiteracy rates from 69% in 1967 to 9.6% in 1986 (MEC, 1986). However, in terms of functional literacy, even those people who apparently acquired functional literacy skills did not utilize them to improve agricultural production. A study conducted by Kinshaga (1985) revealed that the new idea of ox-cultivation, for example, appeared inimical to the values of some village communities. There was a feeling that using oxen for cultivation was brutal to the animals, and so farmers continued using hand hoes for cultivation. As cited above, the combination of inappropriate materials, teaching and evaluation methods, and insensitivity to local conditions resulted in disappointing levels of application of new agricultural methods;

in over ten years, only 25% of the rural population was able to improve agricultural production (MEC, 1986).

Literacy and Politics

The findings of the study showed very clearly that the literacy programs, although educational in nature, had political overtones, both in origin and in intended effects. In essence, these programs were designed to mobilize people to participate effectively in the task of agricultural improvement which was the basis of the country's socialist initiatives. Ujamaa was a development strategy which required literacy training as a means of reaching people in village communities to explain and popularize the strategy's objectives and to provide the social structure for its realization. Emphasis was placed on Ujamaa villages and cooperative service units in the village communities as a means of increasing agricultural production and raising people's living standards generally. It was this need which partly influenced the objectives of adult education and literacy campaigns in the country:

> The third objective of adult education must be to have everyone understand our national policies of socialism and self-reliance. We must learn to understand the plans for national economic advancement so that we can ensure that we all play our part in making them a success and that we all benefit from them. (Nyerere, 1975, pp. 1-3)

Leaders were deemed crucial to the success of the Ujamaa villages, since living and working together depended on people's cooperation. The leaders used education as an instrument of persuasion about the objectives and implementation of Ujamaa strategy. Ujamaa therefore came to be a political strategy centred on literacy as a key organizing tool. The focus of the literacy programs, therefore, was not so much to develop small communities, but to achieve nationally defined goals and interests. The CCM Party therefore decided why, and how, and what they felt people needed to learn.

Concluding Comments and Recommendations

The study has examined Tanzania's efforts to use functional literacy as an instrument for achieving agricultural transformation in the country. The aim was to improve an understanding of the context and constraints which influenced the functional literacy program design and implementation in the country and to enable adult education policy makers and planners to make informed modifications where necessary and formulate relevant programs.

It has been noted that the functional literacy programs used to improve Tanzanian agriculture employed a top-down approach to realize nationally defined needs and interests. There was no dialogue between the government and the village communities with regard to program development and implementation. Although the government hoped for significant shifts in agricultural practices, this did not happen. The programs were developed without adequate information about local conditions, human and material resources, and learners' motivations or interests. The programs thus failed to generate sufficient learner motivation, which resulted in high rates of dropout, passive resistance to programs, and government enforced by-laws and fines to "encourage" attendance.

Given the results cited in this survey, it would seem that if literacy programs are to serve as a vehicle for agricultural transformation, then people should be involved in the development and evaluation process of the programs to be offered. The programs should reflect local conditions, and not simply the leaders' and politicians' assumptions and interests. There should also be a proper interaction and intercommunication between the educators and the participants with a view to making the programs responsive to local conditions. Finally, the government should also consider the development and training of adult educators themselves, both in content areas and in educational techniques. This would enable the educators to better equip adult students with essential knowledge and skills required for improving agricultural production.

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BOOK REVIEWS/RECENSIONS

L'ANDRAGOGIE: CHAMP D'ÉTUDES ET PROFESSION, UNE HISTOIRE À SUIVRE

Madeleine Blais, Estelle Chamberland, Mohamed Hrimech
et André Thibault (1994). Montréal: Guérin universitaire

Jeter un regard en arrière, explorer ce qui a contribué au développement de l'andragogie et faire le point sur ce que cette approche éducative auprès des adultes a contribué au développement de ses pionniers, des apprenants et de l'institution qui l'a abritée, tels sont quelques uns des buts principaux de ce volume. L'entreprise est importante, délicate, concluante.

Elle est importante parce que l'andragogie est un champ d'études jeune, en voie de définition et encore assez méconnu malgré la présence incontournable du phénomène de l'apprentissage des adultes dans notre société. Ainsi, l'ouvrage trace un premier bilan du développement de l'andragogie à l'Université de Montréal en démontrant comment, puisant ses principes et ses méthodes à plusieurs autres disciplines connexes, elle s'est progressivement construite une identité propre en tant que domaine d'études et pratique éducative adaptée aux caractéristiques des apprenants adultes.

Délicate. Affirmer sa spécificité ne va jamais sans soulever des questions, des résistances, voire de l'opposition, surtout si la vision proposée contient un ferment innovateur. Le volume souligne habilement les tensions institutionnelles vécues et met heureusement l'accent sur les progrès qui ont résultés de l'action éclairée, volontaire et persévérante de membres de l'institution.

Concluante aussi par la qualité et la quantité des réalisations présentées: le renouvellement constant des programmes d'études, la riche contribution des étudiants, l'engagement dynamique d'un corps professoral et la variété des champs de recherche explorés.

Le volume est composé de cinq chapitres. Le premier chapitre évoque les circonstances et certaines péripéties qui ont marqué le développement de l'andragogie, comme champ d'études à l'Université de Montréal depuis 1965. La contribution déterminante du fondateur, Claude Touchette, y est soulignée. Le deuxième chapitre résume à grands traits les croyances et les valeurs ainsi que les principes qui inspirent aujourd'hui les professeurs de ce secteur dans leur conception de l'apprentissage, de l'apprenant adulte, de l'intervention éducative andragogique et du rôle de l'andragogue. Il retrace aussi brièvement les influences majeures et diversifiées qui ont marqué leur cheminement professionnel. Le troisième chapitre traite de l'évolution des programmes d'études en andragogie depuis 1969, à cette université et d'autres universités québécoises. Il présente aussi une analyse fort intéressante du champ actuel d'études aux trois cycles selon treize catégories de contenus. Le tableau d'ensemble qui s'en dégage est éclairant et constitue un point de repère important pour les concepteurs de programmes en andragogie. Le quatrième chapitre parle des forces vives de l'andragogie à l'Université de Montréal: les étudiants, les professeurs réguliers et chargés de cours, et le personnel qui a collaboré à la recherche et à l'administration quotidienne des programmes. Enfin, le dernier chapitre présente une analyse thématique des mémoires (74) et des thèses (70) complétés par les étudiants aux études avancées en andragogie depuis 1970. Les thèmes développés par les diplômés ont été regroupés selon cinq catégories de contenus: les éducateurs d'adultes, les fondements de l'éducation des adultes, l'apprentissage, les apprenants adultes, l'organisation et l'administration de l'éducation des adultes. Cette analyse constitue une autre façon efficace de démontrer la spécificité du champ de l'andragogie.

L'apport de l'ouvrage

Les données brutes de cet ouvrage proviennent d'entrevues faites auprès des professeurs, de questionnaires répondus par les étudiants, de documents administratifs et de rapports de recherche qui ont été soumis à une analyse de contenus. Sans prétendre à l'exhaustivité, les résultats présentent un tableau d'ensemble de ce qu'est l'andragogie d'hier à aujourd'hui: ses racines, son histoire, son champ d'études et de pratique sociale et un aperçu des caractéristiques de ses praticiens. C'est une première au Québec. De la question initiale: "Qu'est-ce que l'andragogie?" émerge non seulement une définition formelle qui met l'accent sur la relation d'aide à l'apprentissage autonome de l'adulte dans toutes les sphères et à tous les moment de sa vie mais aussi une définition descriptive qui fait état de nombreuses manifestations concrètes et vécues.

Du point de vue pratique, cet ouvrage contient une mine d'informations. Il pourra être avantageusement utilisé par des étudiants en quête d'informations et qui considèrent l'andragogie comme choix professionnel. Il peut certainement contribuer à clarifier l'identité des praticiens et la mission d'une association professionnelle dans ce domaine. Les chercheurs y trouveront aussi une importante source bibliographique, surtout dans le dernier chapitre. Enfin, de lecture très abordable, il pourra aussi éclairer le public en général sur les réalités que recouvre le mot "andragogie".

Oui, la lecture du livre est convainquante: il y a effectivement là une histoire à suivre! On peut, entre autres, souhaiter que l'étude soit ultérieurement étendue à l'ensemble des éducateurs et éducatrices d'adultes du Québec afin de dégager un portrait encore plus complet de leurs particularités.

Benoît Charbonneau
Université du Québec à Hull

ADULT EDUCATION, EXPERIENTIAL LEARNING AND SOCIAL CHANGE: THE POSTMODERN CHALLENGE.

Danny Wildemeersch and Theo Jansen (Eds.) (1992). VUGA Reeks Vormings: En Ontwikkelingswerk Uitgerverij B.V., 's-Gravenhage

In April of 1991, as a part of a two year project, a group of adult education theorists and practitioners from across Europe met at a seminar in Belgium to examine critically the issues of experiential learning and social transformation as a part of the field of adult education. Traditional beliefs and concepts that were once held to be self-evident in a modernist tradition were challenged by these educators. In this collection of thirteen chapters, they have attempted to gain a more insightful understanding of their work by examining it from a postmodern perspective. The result of their work is a provocative book, which encourages the reader to develop new ways of approaching theory and practice in the field of adult education on both sides of the Atlantic.

The first chapter discusses a number of the common themes which run throughout the book and gives a brief summation of each of the chapters. The conceptual framework outlined by Weil and McGill which defines four villages of experiential learning is outlined, with an emphasis given to how people "purposefully" reflect upon their learning experiences, and how they actively "give personal meaning" to reality. The challenges of applying a postmodern perspective to adult education is discussed, particularly with regards to the issue of self-responsibility of the learner, and the dependency of individuals on larger organizations.

In the next chapter Wildemeersch considers the role of theory in adult education. He argues that meaningful learning-processes involve a combination of everyday reflection and more formal theoretical analysis (p. 23). He questions the concept of the autonomous learner, and examines the feminist critique of the critical theoretical perspective. Wildemeersch acknowledges that he has been "forced to re-examine and reflect upon his own beliefs as an adult educator, to examine the ambiguities of autonomy and heteronomy, and to accept that plurality and difference are inevitable outcomes of democratic learning and teaching" (p. 29). In a somewhat unclear conclusion he explains that while there will be no ultimate "correct" answers, he believes that educators have responsibilities to be developed within the context of communicative interaction rather than through autonomous experiences.

In the third chapter Koen Raes states that "the postmodern world is antitheoretical and that the very legitimacy of intellectual activity is increasingly challenged" (p. 35). He argues that even though we no longer accept the grand theories of the past it does not mean that we have to do away with all theorizing. We cannot make a radical break from modernity, because we cannot "question all practices, all claims to truth, validity, legitimacy, etc. simultaneously, because we would lose any ground for questioning at all" (p. 46). Raes states that the postmodern critique has shown us the importance of understanding language and the influence it has on shaping our views. Both oral and written language have similar constraints and influences and have functioned historically as a source of power. He warns that we have to retain the ability to reason, and accepts that there will be a multiplicity of perspectives in a postmodern world.

In the fourth chapter Dirk Van Damme looks at educational optimism as an underlying dogma which claims that education can solve most social problems. He states that educational optimism is a legacy of the Enlightenment, and discusses how, increasingly, the educational system is expected to assume responsibilities traditionally assigned to the community, family, and church, teaching about topics such as sexuality and racism. The education system is also expected to deal with new social problems such as the environment and drug addiction. In addition, the education system is under pressure to provide more programs for people who want credentials that will allow them to participate in a competitive economy. From a postmodernist perspective, Van Damme argues that educational optimism seems very naive, as education may actually be used oppressively and tends to reinforce existing inequalities rather than change them. He does not believe that the educational system can continue to be taxed by an unending extension of different programs, but be acknowledges (perhaps from the view of being an educational optimist himself) that the appeal exists because "an educational approach to social problems tends to be a more human, less alienating and less offensive strategy than many other human interventions" (p. 61).

The next chapter by Patrick Allegaert and Luc Vanmarcke is filled with a variety of literary excerpts that supposedly illustrates the postmodern condition. The significance of these (a kiwi is a postmodern fruit?!!) elude this particular reader. The most important point this chapter makes is that "there is a need for adult education to retain substantial rationality, or some sense of autonomy, because otherwise it will be overtaken by functional rationality, which can be seen in the tendency in the adult education field towards professionalisation, utilitarianism, and marketing" (p. 72).

The issue of theorising experiential learning is explored by Chrysoula Kosmidou and Robin Usher in the sixth chapter. Like several other authors in this book, they argue that individuals are not completely autonomous because each person is situated in the world. The individual is an abstraction, because we are by nature social beings, not only influenced by society, but also a part of it. At the same time, however, people retain some independence of thought, despite external influences. Language is an important meaning-giving system, and serves to define our experiences. Discourses are important even though they can be a source of conflict, because some become more dominant, powerful, and influential than others. However, people can resist power, and they always have the capacity for change.

Kosmidou and Usher discuss the importance of reflecting on one's actions, so one develops a greater sense of agency because the action is not purposeless. They argue that "a critical theoretical stance can also assist students to attain autonomy and lead to personal and social transformations" (p. 87).

In the seventh chapter on "Experiential learning and modernity," Theo Jansen and Jumbo Klercq discuss how theories are subject to external influences, just as knowledge and concepts are. "Reflexive modernisation" means that there is a constant erosion of historically evolved institutions and concepts, so many theories that were long accepted are now being challenged by a postmodern perspective. Individuals, through "reflexive biographies" have also become aware of a multitude of choices and opportunities that did not used to exist, or were previously strongly determined by external influences such as the family or community (p. 95). Memories of the past no longer seem to have any bearing on decisions for current situations. Understanding of local areas is no longer sufficient for reflection and understanding of one's life experiences, because globalization impacts on everyone's lives in ways which are often not immediately apparent.

Jansen and Klercq argue that while experiential learning evolves from, and is suited to, a fragmented life, it is insufficient because it neglects aspects of ideology and power. The role of responsible educators must include informing students about a wide range of information, not just the areas that are of current interest to them. Informal theories must be confronted with formal ones, which are outside the scope of everyday practice of the learning subject. Educators have to present a critical perspective "not as dogmatic truths, but rather as challenges of dominant prejudices and unreflected suppositions" (p. 101).

These authors believe that there is a need for metatheoretical input—global theories which offer new perspectives for the modern conditions of existence at large. The challenges posed for adult educators are to first of all develop and understand these theories, then to be able to make the links between the student's experiences and these types of theories, and finally, to change organizational conditions as well as the ability to motivate the learner. This is a thoughtful, well developed chapter, and if one were to make only a single selection from this book to read, this is the one I would recommend.

In the eighth chapter, Frans Berkers tries to show how postmodernity can be analyzed by taking the concept of experiential learning as a starting point. He emphasizes that people need more than basic subsistence—they need culture. "This influences the way in which people in their daily lives think about vital problems and the ways in which they reach decisions relating to these problems" (p. 107). From a postmodern perspective many of our past philosophies and the "great myths" or "great ideologies" have eroded, but there is nothing to replace them with. He says that utilizing the sociological imagination can be a source of power, to develop an individual's way of thinking, and he cites a need for wilful learning. However, his explanation of wilfulness and its link to exemplary experiential learning are not clearly expressed.

Dave O'Reilly's chapter on "Negotiated learning/negotiated knowledge" illustrates some of the difficulties of applying postmodern concepts of learning in a modernist institution. He discusses an independent study program which was introduced at a polytechnic institute in London in 1974. Independent study can be seen as a postmodernist course because of its emphasis on heterogeneity and difference, student centred focus, and challenges to traditional knowledge. The difficulties with the program were that the institution resisted allowing students to pursue curriculum content which it felt was too radical, such as the study of astrology, since it was out of the boundaries of what academics define as accepted areas of intellectual study. In conclusion he notes that while this project eventually folded, other independent schools of study have opened. "While the former failure may indicate to some the impossibility of a postmodern project, others may see the emergence of new forms of independent study as a signal of the inevitable demise of modernism" (p. 134).

In the tenth chapter, Harry Houbin addresses what he calls the "Quality question." In business, quality is measurable by client satisfaction. He doubts whether these same measures can be used in adult education, however, since students might not be in the best position to competently assess their programs. Houbin poses a variety of questions which confront the field of adult education as it operates within a competitive market, in which education is often viewed as a commodity rather than as a discipline which can lead to personal growth and social transformation. He notes that the average client does not want "his emotional life, his expressiveness, his moral-practical rationality to be addressed" (p. 143). The consequence for adult education programs, is that it is more important for a program to look good, so that it can be marketed, than for it to be good.

The eleventh chapter by Danny Wildemeersch examines many of the challenges which are facing the adult education field. He says "We must not only wonder what the future will look like. We must simultaneously wonder what kind of future we want" (p. 155). Adult educators are being called upon to make important decisions. These decisions are often difficult to make because we do not have long established criteria to base our choices on. We are faced with many challenges, such as long standing structural unemployment, environmental concerns, and the need for racial and gender equality. There is a responsibility to make informed decisions, in order to ensure that adult education will obtain a respected position in society.

The final chapter by Laure van Loosbroek, examines Theme-Centred Interaction (TCI) which is an approach to experiential learning developed by a Jewish psychoanalyst who fled from Nazi-Germany to America. She explains the purpose and value of the program, and concludes that TCI has a future because it is situated in the intersection of modernism and postmodernism. The openness of this program towards social change and willingness to accept difference seems to suggest that it may be able to adapt to a postmodern world.

Adult Education, Experiential Learning and Social Change: The Postmodern Challenge does not present a cohesive or comfortable view of some of the changes taking place in the field of adult education. The contributors hold different "visions" of adult education, some focused more on the diversification of learners, or particular programs, and others were more troubled by the political implications of a changing global economy and environment. Some felt that a critical perspective of education had to be developed, while others rejected this, or called for a multiplicity of viewpoints.

The general consensus of the authors from a postmodern perspective is that the field of adult education has changed dramatically from its traditional origins, and one can no longer look back at formerly held "grand narratives" for answers. Focusing completely on the individual also seems to pose problems, however, since individual experience has a limited capacity to offer insights into the nature of larger social problems. No individual can possibly be aware of the multitude of factors which impinge on their existence, and the subjective interpretation of each individual is affected by many external factors.

Adult educators are also questioning their ability to effect social transformations, and whether in fact it is their role to attempt to do this. Many of the authors are concerned about the process of instrumental rationalization which is effecting adult education by subjecting it to marketing and consumer whims, rather than focusing on more fundamental issues.

Parts of the book were not clearly understandable, and in places the translation to English is awkward; i.e., "touch the sore" rather than "touch on a sore point" (p. 158). It is an interesting book, however, because it presents a mixture of new and challenging ideas about experiential learning and social change in a postmodern world. In many ways this book poses more questions than it answers, but it serves as a starting point for discussion about the role of adult education in the future.

Patti Gouthro
St. Mary's University

FASHIONING FARMERS: IDEOLOGY, AGRICULTURAL KNOWLEDGE AND THE MANITOBA FARM MOVEMENT, 1890-1925.

Jeffery M. Taylor (1994). Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, University of Regina

The cover for *Fashioning Farmers* describes it as examining "the educational institutions that developed in Manitoba agriculture before 1925, the dominant ideologies that arose within these institutions, and the impact these ideologies had on the agrarian movement within the province." The author argues that the curriculum developed by the Manitoba Agricultural College produced a "knowledge" and an "identity" that displaced an older radical agrarian ideology. This book is therefore important for educational scholars who are interested in understanding the formation of knowledge and Canadian identity as well as the roots of adult education.

The book begins by explaining the historical context including the growth of state education structures and the agrarian, working class, and women's movements. It then provides a more detailed outline of the educational institutions with chapter three dedicated to an examination of the Manitoba Agricultural

College (MAC) and its influence on school and adult curriculum through the development of an extension service. This is followed by an account of the theoretical and practical components of dominant ideology. The analysis here discusses how a new ideology was formed, how social problems were defined and named. The author then discusses the language used to describe the worlds of Manitoba farmers, the competing voices and in particular the feminist critique which challenged the dominant ideology within the farm women's movement.

As this outlines suggests, this is not an easy book. It will resonate with more serious graduate students, with those who see the importance of ideology in framing the understandings of Canadians. One of the problems with a simple Freireian approach to adult education has been a belief that "naming the world renders it intelligible" is unproblematic. Insufficient attention has been paid to how difficult it is to escape a hegemonic ideology, to find a language that is "one's own." This book helps to problematize this issue by providing historical evidence of how the popular language of agrarianism was formed.

In relation to the historical context Jeffery Taylor argues that by the end of the 1920s "prairie agriculture was firmly established as a household-based economy producing commodities for international and national markets. Farm households purchased virtually all of their nondomestic inputs and sold virtually all of their produce in the capitalist market" (p. 11). He next turns to examine women's domestic work and traces how the subordination of agricultural production lead to the effective subordination of domestic work arguing that the farm woman had to "manage the domestic sphere of the household in conformity to the market" (p. 14). Taylor then moves from production to identity, to trace how the social and political ideology of farmers developed. He looks at practical and theoretical ideologies and at ideologies of resistance; that is, how critical ideologies developed in relation to production. He concludes this context chapter with discussions of the development of the educational state, and gender resistance.

Adult educators will perhaps be most interested in the account of public education institutions in Manitoba agriculture and how the development of agricultural economics, rural sociology, and domestic science within the MAC came to provide the dominant viewpoint of farmers. Taylor discusses the development of agricultural courses and how the college extension supplanted the farmers' institutes as the provider of outreach and adult education. The agenda for this program was to provide "better" farming techniques, thus rooting Manitoban farmers within the "agro-industrial capital" view of farming.

The author also discusses farmers' connections to other popular movements and links this to resistant ideologies within the farmers' movement. At this point it would have been useful to adult educators to know more about nonformal adult education operating within the farm and workers' movements. While there is some discussion of competing education and social movements for farm women, it would have been helpful to understand more about the relative strength of radical farm women's organizations versus the Women's Institutes and their differing educational agendas. There is, however, a useful discussion of the relationship between radical farm women and the suffrage movement.

In his analysis of how the dominant ideology was formed Taylor includes a number of quotes describing the role ascribed to farm women. These will provide valuable ammunition for feminist scholars: Taylor argues "the farm woman's social identity was based upon her homemaking role and was expressed through male language and institutional models" (p. 79). He then discusses how this conditioned the public and community roles played by women, centering them on homemaking, motherhood, and citizenship.

The chapter on the language of agrarianism looks at radical, conservative, and female agrarianism and argues that while the dominant conservative ideology was established by the 1920s there was a residual of radical agrarianism throughout the first quarter of the twentieth century. This radicalism was too weak, however, to influence the political agenda of Manitoba farmers or to provide support for farm women faced with an appropriation of their goals by middle-class women.

Overall *Fashioning Farmers* is a valuable resource for adult educators who wish to better understand the educational, social, and economic forces which underpin the foundations of Canadian adult education. It would be even more useful if it had an index.

Bruce Spencer
Athabasca University

THE THIRD CONTRACT: THEORY AND PRACTICE IN TRADE UNION TRAINING.

Michael Newman (1993). Sydney: Stewart Victor Publishing

At first glance, Michael Newman's book would appear to be only of interest to those engaged in labour or workers' education. While his central audience is labour educators, his arguments are important for others involved in nonformal adult education and provide illumination for all adult educators. His work as a "union trainer" in Australia provides a backdrop for a wide-ranging discussion of adult education/training methods and philosophies. In the core of the book he works systematically through four traditions which he sees as the basis for adult education and training in Australia: the liberal tradition, drawing essentially on United Kingdom (UK) experience; the mechanistic, which includes Malcolm Knowles and Cyril Houle; psychotherapy, including Carl Rogers and Jack Mezirow; and community development and social action, which review contributions by Myles Horton, Paulo Freire, and Jane Thompson among others. He is sympathetic to all contributions and explores how these writers can be useful to adult educators (in his case union trainers).

The thrust of his argument is that there is a "third contract" in union training which goes beyond the contract between the formal union structure and the trainer (the first contract, which may be linked with mechanistic training for union roles) or that between the course participants and the trainer (the second contract, a more humanistic relationship linked to personal development). The third contract is "between the participants in the course and the union they belong to." In Newman's view, the saying "the members *are* the union" (p. 38) is clearly linked to notions of collectivity and democratic participation, and, consequently, should draw on community education and social action frameworks.

I am not convinced the author has captured the special nature of labour or union education in his notion of the third contract. Yet I am sympathetic to his recognition of a union course as a group with a common identity and purpose not easily reproduced in a different adult education milieu. It is also important to understand that union work contracts are collective contracts between the union membership and the employer, in which individualism plays no part. This special notion of "collectivism" is rare in modern day society and may not exist in any other adult education classroom, at least in this extreme form. He is also correct in identifying the special relationship which can exist between a committed union trainer and a class of labour unionists which enjoy shared experience and values. His writing validates much of my twenty-plus years in labour education.

The Australian Trade Union Training Authority (TUTA) is a state-supported yet union-controlled body quite different from anything existing elsewhere. It has been the fountain of union training in Australia. Although individual unions have also provided courses, TUTA has dominated the scene and set the standards (at present TUTA's role is under review). It has also provided the language within which labour education is discussed: union training rather than union education or labour education; union trainers not labour educators or industrial tutors. This language is important, as Newman would recognize—see his discussion of Freire (p. 218-243) and, combined with the limited experience of TUTA training course (few of which exceed four days) provides a context for Newman's work. It can be argued that he is combatting a limited de-politicized view of "union training" by invoking a richer tradition of workers' and adult education.

He knows that if unions are to remain important bases for democratic struggle, then union education has to be more than "tool training" (for example, courses on representing members and how to bargain) delivered in a mechanistic manner. He discusses the shift to mega-unions (in Australia this could result in 20 or fewer unions by the turn of the century) and the changes associated with globalization and restructuring, and makes his call to fully recognize the potential of union training before it is too late:

> The third contract is essential to the continued success of a union. If the interaction between a union as a sum of its members and a union as an organisation is vigorously and continually democratic, then that union will be able to resist domestication by employers, governments and its own peak bodies and, when necessary, will be able to engage in radical action. Defining, redefining, establishing and continually re-establishing this third contract must be the overriding purpose of all our training. (p. 272)

The book discusses union culture and depicts well the texture of union education. Newman's examples are generally very insightful. However, one or two appear naive: for example, when he is discussing how trainers were asked to "sell" the union/government accord or new management "participation" committees to members. In the UK there were always trade union tutors who would resist "incorporation" and "management sponsorship" and we did not need Mezirow to help us! The real struggle is not so much establishing an appropriate educational philosophy as developing a more independent perspective than that of the sponsoring union.

There are a number of other dubious claims made in the text, for example, arguing that union training is rooted in the liberal tradition because they sometimes discuss liberal issues (p. 77) is the same as the old "slipped in" argument in the UK; that is, we do not need to structure in sessions on economics, history or politics because they can be "slipped in by the tutor." Yes, there can be some discussion, but it is limited, ill-prepared and usually does little to advance understanding; it needs to be contrasted with a structured course for unionists dealing specifically with these issues, as they are in the Canadian Auto Workers (CAW) or Labour College of Canada courses. In fact, a few pages later (p. 83) he gives a good example of why spending a couple of hours on something is not good enough. While he uses this to discuss a failure of method by the visiting speaker, it also illustrates my point.

To nitpick through the text would misrepresent its many good arguments and description. At times it is more of a "how to" book with good discussion on group work and how the whole variety of adult educational methods can be a rich resource for union educators (UK tutors who have accepted the Trade Union Council [TUC] "one-way" approach should take note!), than an analysis of the politics of workers' education. He explains clearly that simply being a facilitator is not good enough in many situations: trainers have to teach. He also debates the many authorities he quotes and progresses logically towards the community education and social action model as a key element in union training. He argues that one of the central purposes of union training is to advance democracy, particularly economic democracy. But he does not discuss this extensively. What kind of social action is needed, what it is we should be promoting, remains a central question for labour educators.

The book draws globally from the writings of adult educators. Unfortunately, Newman is unaware of the variety of union education experienced outside Australia. The two- and three-year courses offered by Leeds University or the similar length labour studies program at Manitoba are not mentioned, nor is the eight-week residential course of the Labour College of Canada or anything similar. As a result he does not draw distinctions between "tool courses," "issue courses," and "labour studies" which may have helped him apply different approaches to different situations and relate those to the different authorities he discusses. He does not discuss the tensions that can exist between university- or college-based educators and unions. Nor is he aware of the power and control the TUC exercised over tutors involved in their scheme; thus, he misses out on some implications for his third contract from these sources. The fierce debates in the UK about methods on union courses that masked issues of control could have enlivened and enriched his discussion of adult education methods and philosophies as they applied to union training in Australia. However, these are quibbles about the universality of Newman's analysis.

Nonetheless, I would argue that new forms of union education, such as that developed by the CAW in their Paid Educational Leave program or the distance learning courses being developed in UK unions which examine the broader sociopolitical and economic contexts, are central to achieving Newman's goal. A four-day training course cannot cut it; a more sustained program with a "labour studies" focus is needed. I think "union training" undertaken by "union trainers" is too limited a title for his vision. At the very least it has to be seen, and named, "education."

Bruce Spencer
Athabasca University

Graduate Degrees in Canada-Adult Education and Cognate Subjects/Diplômes d'études supérieures au Canada-Éducation des adultes et sujets connexes - 1994.*

Graduate degrees awarded by Canadian universities in adult education and cognate subjects/Mémoires et thèses en éducation des adultes et sujets connexes - 1994. Compiled by/Données recueillies par: G. Ambury, L. Devlin, M. Gillen, J. Hayes, K. Kennett, R. O'Reilly, D. MacKeracher, S. Scott, F. Sénécal, T. Sork, M. Waldron.

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Madame Nicole A. Tremblay, Ph.D., Département de psychopédagogie et d'andragogie,
Université de Montréal, C.P. 6128, succursale Centre-Ville, Montréal (Québec) H3C 3J7